

# **Baconian Reference Book**

*Commentarius Solutus*

### **Also by the Author:**

*In Remembrance.* Noble House, 2003.

*Closing Stages.* Noble House, 2004.

*The Elenpilates Stockpile Workbook.* iUniverse publications, 2004.

*Arrow to the Moon.* Selected as a quarterfinalist in the American Screenwriter Association's 9th Annual International Screenplay Competition, 2006.

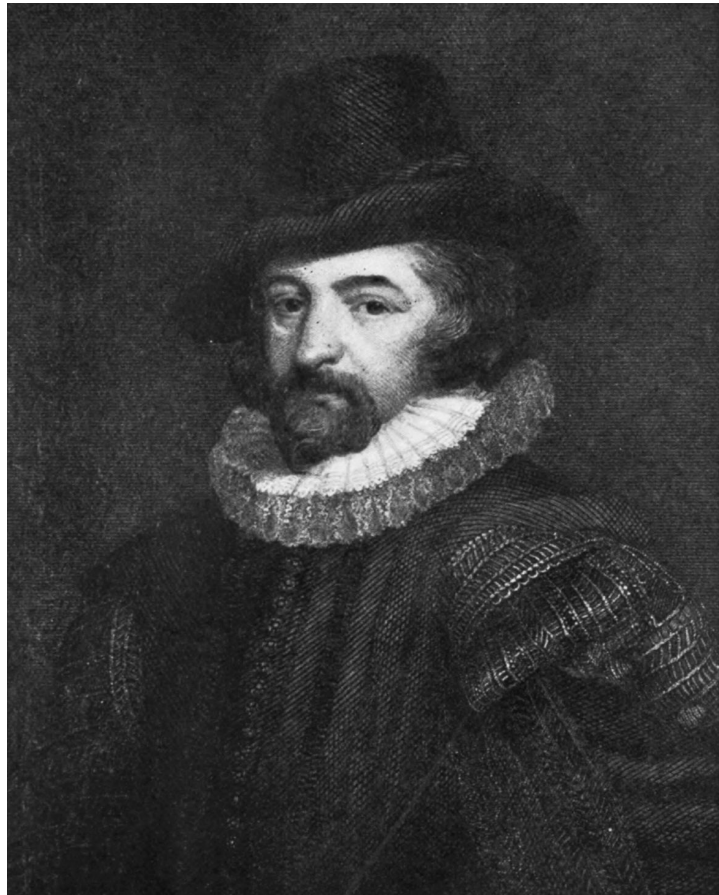
*Sir Francis Bacon's Journals, The Rarest of Princes.* iUniverse publications, 2007.

*Optimus Maximus: Francis Bacon's words and phrases compiled in a Lexicon form for the present and future ages.* Xlibris Corporation, 2008.

“He that talketh what he knoweth, will also talk what he knoweth not.” — Francis Bacon

# Baconian Reference Book

## *Commentarius Solutus*



Portrait of Sir Francis Bacon  
By Van Somer

A finding list of the  
Wisest and Brightest of Baconianism

Lochithea  
Author of *Sir Francis Bacon's Journals*

iUniverse, Inc.  
New York Bloomington

# **Baconian Reference Book**

## **Commentarius Solutus**

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# In Memory

## **Moniti meliora** **Anonymous Sonnet**<sup>1</sup>

A Secret murder hath been done of late,  
Unkindness found, to be the bloody knife,  
And she that did the deed a dame of state,  
Faire, gracious, wise, as any beareth life.  
To quite herself, this answer did she make,  
Mistrust (quoth she) hath brought him to his end,  
Which makes the man so much himself mistake,  
To lay the guilt unto his guiltless friend.  
Lady not so, not feared I found my death,  
For no desert thus murdered is my mind,  
And yet before I yield my fainting breath,  
I quit the killer, though I blame the kind.  
You kill unkind, I die, and yet am true,  
For at your sight, my wound doth bleed anew.

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1 *The Phoenix Nest*, 1593. Among the poets represented in the *Phoenix Nest* are Kit Marlowe's friends Thomas Watson, Matthew Roydon and George Peele

“He that talketh what he knoweth, will also talk what he knoweth not.”

—Francis Bacon

Good Advice for Satan’s Kingdom; this is certain: if what Bacon says is true, what Christ says is false. The Prince of Darkness is a gentleman and not a man: he is a Lord Chancellor.

—William Blake

DICTIONARY, n. A malevolent literary device for cramping the growth of a language and making it hard and inelastic. This dictionary, however, is a most useful work.

—Ambrose Bierce <sup>2</sup>

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2 *The Devil’s Dictionary*, 1881

# Contents

Acknowledgments . . . . .	viii
Introduction . . . . .	ix
The Life of The Right Honourable Francis Bacon . . . . .	1
A Finding List:	
Part I.    Bacon's Words and Phrases of the English then of the Latin . . . . .	13
Part II.   Bacon's Acquaintances, Friends, Companions, Colleagues. . . . .	167
Alphabetically:	
Part III.  Elizabethan Facts and Historical References . . . . .	293
Part IV.  Bacon's Works . . . . .	641
Religious Works . . . . .	642
Literary Works . . . . .	643
Philosophical Works . . . . .	659
Professional Works . . . . .	691
Authors who published Bacon's Works . . . . .	695
Chronological Order:	
Part V.    Important Letters written by Bacon . . . . .	723
Undated:	
Part VI.   Important Letters written by Bacon . . . . .	797
Brief Glossary . . . . .	801
Bibliography . . . . .	803
Bibliography Undated . . . . .	811
Articles . . . . .	813

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3 {[www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org)}



# Introduction

One main object of this volume is to set forth the power, beauty, wealth, and wit of language that Francis Bacon possessed, ever since Dr. Samuel Johnson refreshed the English language with sparkling drops of the future when he said: "A Dictionary of the English language might be compiled from Bacon's works alone." And as the quaint old French essayist, Montaigne, has said: "The flowers I have gathered are from others; the string that ties them together is mine own." A string to which the author ascribes great worth to be offered to the world of literature.

Spedding, in his "History and Plan" of *Works*, Vol. I., tells the reader, "Bacon's works were all published separately, and never collected into a body by himself; and though he had determined, not long before his death, to distribute them into consecutive volumes, the order in which they were to succeed each other was confessedly irregular; a volume of moral and political writings being introduced between the first and second parts of the *Instauratio Magna*, quite out of place, merely because he had it ready at the time." And so in a likewise manner, this work may be seen as bringing together a collection of Bacon's works, phrases, comments, statements, his era that lived among the cobwebs of the ancient Greeks within the domineering works of the Romans, and upon the secretive literature of the ancient Alchemists.

Interest was to offer spacious leisure for a forest of the English language as it existed in Bacon's wit, taken from his experiences of his life, his readings, his acquaintances, and from his career that swelled between two sovereigns: Queen Elizabeth I., and King James I.

**The Phoenix Nest  
The Chess Play  
Very Aptly Devised by N.B. Gent.**

A Secret many years unseen,  
In play at Chess, who knows the game,  
First of the King, and then the Queen,  
Knight, Bishop, Rooke, and so by name,  
Of every Pawn I will describe,  
The nature with the quality.

## The King

The King himself is haughty Care.  
 Which overlooketh all his men,  
 And when he seeth how they fare,  
 He steps among them now and then,  
 Whom, when his foe presumes to check,  
 His servants stand, to give the neck.

## The Queen

The Queen is quiet, and quick Conceit,  
 Which makes her walk which way she lift,  
 And roots them up, that lie in wait  
 To work her treason, ere she wist:  
 Her force is such against her foes,  
 That whom she meets, she overthrowes.

The following Parts were decided to be included:

- Part I.

Words and phrases in English and Latin that was used by Bacon and may easily be referred back to his works derived from, that remain not so familiar in our modern language or have possibly changed in meaning.

This was an important intention that would be supplementary help to students on their studies of Bacon, or, of other authors of the era that would have been quoted in other works of that age or even at an earlier age than Bacon's.

There must be a sad mistake somewhere if Part I., was abandoned so quickly. The name of Shakespeare admonishes us to state the fact, none more memorable in the history of English letters, that contemporary with the Bard of Avon, in the era of Elizabeth and James, flourished a large number of writers, men of very great genius. The works of all these writers have commanded a good deal of attention, to the great advantage of our speech, their diction is so light, vigorous, and of such ivory polish.

Many years ago, in the late 1800's, a sermon came from an eloquent young Methodist minister on Abraham's offering up of Isaac, in which were many impressive paragraphs; yet only one was in the very least remembered. Speaking of Isaac as an only son, he said: "Parents are aware that the only child in a family is apt to get a little bit spoil'd." These artless words of the hearth and homestead, "a little bit spoil'd," shall never be forgotten as one reads the writings of the age. They brought the speaker into our home and down to our level; they made the whole so life-like. Such precisely is often an effect of mid-cut, as when "don't" is used in today's language. Of such words, that have built the phrases of the times, Part I., embodies from Bacon's writ. This

would mean quite simply, that the Elizabethan spelling has been secured in many phrases and should be seen with more interest to the reader to continue than to abandon.

- Part II.

In this section, it was felt the need to contain all persons referred to in Bacon's works, speeches, and letters who were his acquaintances, friends, or companions.

They are given a well deserved synoptic yet understandable biography. This way, all references noted to persons mentioned by Bacon would be well understood to why he referred to them, and under what circumstances they surrounded his lifestyle. In continuation to these synoptic biographies, are their works either in a detailed account or in a synoptic form after each individual biography.

Where no additional information is added to those works, is due to the lack of historical records, which is believed to be more and more noted to modern researchers on the history of those times and especially when compiling such a volume as this one.

A jesty note from Edmund Burke will end the introduction to this part: "Strip majesty of its externals and it is merely a jest." [(m)ajest(y).]

- Part III.

In this part it seemed interestingly in want in modern English literature the important historical facts with references that either had imminent effect on Bacon or had directly influenced historical events of the time.

This portion of work also involves the Authorship Controversy that originated during the 1800's. The entrance of this controversy into this volume was inevitable; and if we approach it as Cicero says, that "if a poem is a speaking picture, a picture should be a silent poem", then we probably shall conclude Shakespeare is Bacon or Bacon is Shakespeare. Much evidence has been included in surmising this statement, and the conclusion to the fact shall be left to the Reader.

- Part IV.

Contained here is the mention of all Bacon's works that we have witnessed from the publications of histrionic authors who brought them forward for public reading. In the author's humble opinion of this work, such a list would have been found in the eighteenth century quite abundantly among periodicals or articles, yet in our day and age, it is scarcely recognized by many, excluding Baconians, if Bacon wrote anything other than his histrionic *Essays*.

His works are given in alphabetical order, date of publication, publishers' name, and if the work was reprinted, the date is duly given and if the work was translated or not.

In many titles, the Elizabethan spelling has been kept and has been changed only if this did not interfere with the original meaning of the text.

- Part V., and VI.

These two sections hold the most important letters that Bacon wrote during his lifetime; Part V., in chronological order, and Part VI., undated.

Wherever personal reference is made to Shaksper of Stratford, the reputed dramatist, the name is so spelled, Will Shaksper; but where the reference is to the author of the Plays, as such, treated as a pseudonym, spelling it as it was printed on the title-pages of many of the early quartos, William Shakespeare. In all cases of citation, except in those where confusion would arise, the originals are followed.

Hence it is that the same name hath been so often disguised unto the staggering of many who have mistook them for different,

The same they thought was not the same,  
And in their name they sought their name.

Thus I am informed that the honourable name of Villiers is written fourteen several ways in their own evidence, and the like, though not so many, variations may be observed in others. <sup>4</sup>

Lochithea 2007

Author's Web site: {[www.lordverulam.org](http://www.lordverulam.org)}

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<sup>4</sup> Fuller. *Worthies*, fol. London 1662

**The Life of The Right Honourable Francis Bacon,  
Baron of Verulam, Viscount St. Alban.  
By William Rawley, D.D.  
His Lordship's First and Last Chaplain and of Late his  
Majesty's Chaplain in Ordinary.** <sup>5</sup>

The Life—The Honourable Author <sup>6</sup>

Francis Bacon, the glory of his age and nation, the adorning and ornament of learning, was born in York House, or York Place, in the Strand, on the two and twentieth day of January, in the year of our Lord 1560. His father was that famous Counsellor to Queen Elizabeth, the second prop of the Kingdom in his time, Sir Nicholas Bacon, Knight, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England; a Lord of known prudence, sufficiency, moderation, and integrity. His mother was Anne, one of the daughters of Sir Anthony Cook; unto whom the erudition of King Edward the Sixth had been committed; a choice lady, and eminent for piety, virtue, and learning; being exquisitely skilled, for a woman, in the Greek and Latin tongues. These being the parents, you may easily imagine what the issue was like to be; having had whatsoever nature or breeding could put into him.

His first and childish years were not without some mark of eminency; at which time he was endued with that pregnancy and towardness of wit, as they were presages of that deep and universal apprehension which was manifest in him afterward; and caused him to be taken notice of by several persons of worth and place, and especially by the Queen; who (as I have been informed) delighted much then to confer with him, and to prove him with questions; unto whom he delivered himself with that gravity and maturity above his years, that her Majesty would often term him, "The young Lord-Keeper." Being asked by the Queen how old he was, he answered with much discretion, being then but a boy, that he was two years younger than her Majesty's happy reign; with which answer the Queen was much taken. <sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Spedding. *Life*, Vol. I. p. 3: This is the title of an edition printed in 1670, after Dr. Rawley's death, and prefixed to the ninth edition of the *Sylva Sylvarum*. The text of the *Life* itself is taken from the second edition of the *Resuscitatio*, the latest with which Dr. Rawley had anything to do. I have, however, modernised the spelling; altered at discretion the typographical arrangement as to capitals, italics, and punctuation, which is very perplexing to a modern eye and has nothing to recommend it; and added the notes

<sup>6</sup> This *Life* was first published in 1657, as an introduction to the volume entitled *Resuscitatio*; or *bringing into public light several pieces of the works, civil, historical, philosophical, and theological, hitherto sleeping, of the Right Honourable Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, Viscount St. Alban*; according to the best corrected copies. Of this volume a second edition, or rather a re-issue with fresh title page and dedication, and several sheets of new matter inserted, appeared in 1661; the *Life of the Honourable Author* being prefixed as before, and not altered otherwise than by the introduction of three new sentences; to make room for which two leaves were cancelled. A third edition was brought out in 1671 by the original publisher, containing a good deal of new matter; for which however Dr. Rawley, who died in 1667, is not answerable

<sup>7</sup> This last sentence was added in the edition of 1661. The substance of it had appeared before in the Latin *Life* prefixed to the *Opuscula Philosophica* in 1658, which is only a free translation of this, with a few corrections

At the ordinary years of ripeness for the University, or rather something earlier, he was sent by his father to Trinity College, in Cambridge, <sup>8</sup> to be educated and bred under the tuition of Doctor John White-gift, <sup>9</sup> then master of the College; afterwards the renowned Arch Bishop of Canterbury; a prelate of the first magnitude for sanctity, learning, patience, and humility; under whom he was observed to have been more than an ordinary proficient in the several arts and sciences.

Whilst he was commorant in the University, about sixteen years of age, (as his Lordship hath been pleased to impart unto myself), he first fell into the dislike of the philosophy of Aristotle; not for the worthlessness of the author, to whom he would ever ascribe all high attributes, but for the unfruitfulness of the way; being a philosophy (as his Lordship used to say) only strong for disputations and contentions, but barren of the production of works for the benefit of the life of man; in which mind he continued to his dying day.

After he had passed the circle of the liberal arts, his father thought fit to frame and mould him for the arts of state; and for that end sent him over into France with Sir Amyas Paulet <sup>10</sup> then employed Ambassador lieger into France; by whom he was after awhile held fit to be entrusted with some message or advertisement to the Queen; which having performed with great approbation, he returned back into France again, with intention to continue for some years there. In his absence in France his father the Lord-Keeper died, <sup>11</sup> having collected (as I have heard of knowing persons) a considerable sum of money, which he had separated, with intention to have made a competent purchase of land for the livelihood of this his youngest son (who was only unprovided for; and though he was the youngest in years, yet he was not the lowest in his father's affection); but the said purchase being unaccomplished at his father's death, there came no greater share to him than his single part and portion of the money dividable amongst five brethren; by which means he lived in some straits and necessities in his younger years. For as for that pleasant site and man of Gorhambury, he came not to it till many years after, by the death of his dearest brother, Mr. Anthony Bacon, <sup>12</sup> being returned from travel, he applied himself to the study of the common law, which he took upon him to be his profession a gentleman equal to him in height of wit, though inferior to him in the endowments of learning and knowledge; unto whom he was most nearly con joined in affection, they two being the sole male issue of a second venter. In which he obtained to great Excellency, though he made that (as himself said) but as an accessory, and not his principal study. He wrote several tractates upon that subject: wherein, though some great masters of the

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8 He began to reside in April 1573; was absent from the latter end of August 1574 till the beginning of March, while the plague raged; and left the University finally at Christmas 1575, being then on the point of sixteen. See *Whitgift's Accounts*, printed in the *British Magazine*, Vol. XXXII. p. 365., and Vol. XXXIII. p. 444

9 Also spelt Whitgift

10 Sir Amyas landed at Calais on September 25, 1576, and succeeded Dr. Dale as Ambassador in France in the following February. See *Burghley's Diary*, Murdin, pp. 778, 779, and Part II: *Paulet Amyas*

11 February 1578–79

12 Anthony Bacon died in the spring of 1601. See a letter from Mr. John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carlton, in the State Paper Office, dated May 27, 1601

law did out-go him in bulk, and particularities of cases, yet in the science of the grounds and mysteries of the law he was exceeded by none. In this way he was after awhile sworn of the Queen's Council Learned, Extraordinary; a grace (if I err not) scarce known before.<sup>13, 14</sup>

He seated himself, for the commodity of his studies and practice, amongst the Honourable Society of Gray's Inn, of which House he was a member; where he erected that elegant pile or structure commonly known by the name of "The Lord Bacon's Lodgings", which he inhabited by turns the most part of his life (some few years only excepted) unto his dying day. In which House he carried himself with such sweetness, comity, and generosity, that he was much revered and beloved by the readers and gentlemen of the House. Notwithstanding that he professed the law for his livelihood and subsistence, yet his heart and affection very early period as the date of this appointment was more carried after the affairs and places of estate; for which, if the Majesty royal then had been pleased, he was most fit.

In his younger years he studied the service and fortunes (as they call them) of that noble but unfortunate Earl, the Earl of Essex; unto whom he was, in a sort, a private and free counsellor, and gave him safe and honourable advice, till in the end the Earl inclined too much to the violent and precipitate counsel of others his adherents and followers; which was his fate and ruin.<sup>15</sup>

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13 He had been admitted *da societette introrum* of Gray's Inn on June 27, 1576; commenced his regular career as a student in 1579; became utter barrister on June 27, 1582; benchers in 1586; reader in 1588; and double reader in 1600. See Harl. MSS. 1912, and *Book of Orders*, p. 56

14 Spedding: I suspect he was mistaken, both as to the date and the nature of it. The title he got no doubt from a letter addressed by Bacon to King James, about the end of January 1620–21. "You found me of the Learned Council, Extraordinary, without patent or fee, a kind of *individuum vayum*. You established me and brought me into Ordinary." Coupling this probably with an early but undated letter to Burghley, in which Bacon thanks the Queen for "appropriating him to her service," he imagined that the thanks were for the appointment in question. This however is incredible. A copy of this letter in the Lansdowne Collection gives the date, October 18, 1580; at which time Bacon had not been even a student of law for more than a year and a half, and could not therefore have been qualified for such a place; still less could such a distinction have been conferred upon him without being much talked of at the time and continually referred to afterwards. Moreover, we have another letter of Bacon's to King James, written in 1606, in which he speaks of his "nine years service of the crown." This would give 1597 as the year in which he began to serve as one of the Learned Council; at which time it was no extraordinary favour, seeing that he had been recommended for solicitor general three or four years before, both by Burghley and Egerton. It appears however to have been no regular or formal appointment. He was not sworn. He had no patent; not even a written warrant. His tenure was only *ratione verbi regii Elizabethae*. Elizabeth, who "looked that her word should be a warrant," chose to employ him in the business which belonged properly to her Learned Council, and he was employed accordingly. His first service of that nature, the first at least of which I find any record, was in 1594. In 1597 he had come to be employed regularly, and so continued till the end of the reign, and was familiarly spoken of as "Mr. Bacon of the Learned Council."

15 Spedding: The connexion between Bacon and Essex appears to have commenced about the year 1590 or 1591, and furnishes matter for a long story too long to be discussed in a note. His conduct was much misunderstood at the time by persons who had no means of knowing the truth, and has been much misrepresented since by writers who cannot plead that excuse. The case is not however one on which a unanimous verdict can be expected. Always, where choice has to be made between fidelity to the state and fidelity to a party or person, popular sympathy will run in favour of the man who chooses the narrower

His birth and other capacities qualified him above others of his profession to have ordinary accesses at Court, and to come frequently into the Queen's eye, who would often grace him with private and free communication, not only about matters of his profession or business in law, but also about the arduous affairs of estate; from whom she received from time to time great satisfaction. Nevertheless, though she cheered him much with the bounty of her countenance, yet she never cheered him with the bounty of her hand; having never conferred upon him any ordinary place or means of honour or profit, save only one dry reversion of the Register's Office in the Star Chamber, worth about £1.600 per annum, for which he waited in expectation either fully or near twenty years; <sup>16</sup> of which his Lordship would say in Queen Elizabeth's time, that it was like another man's ground initialling upon his house, which might mend his prospect, but it did not fill his barn; (nevertheless, in the time of King James it fell unto him); which might be imputed, not so much to her Majesty's averseness and disaffection towards him, as to the arts and policy of a great states man then, who laboured by all industrious and secret means to suppress and keep him down; lest, if he had risen, he mought [might] have obscured his glory. <sup>17</sup>

But though he stood long at a stay in the days of his mistress Queen Elizabeth, yet after the change, and coming in of his new master King James, he made a great progress; by whom he was much comforted in places of trust, honour, and revenue. I have seen a letter of his Lordship's to King James, wherein he makes acknowledgment, that he was that master to him, that had raised and advanced him nine times; thrice in dignity, and six times in office. His offices (as I conceive) were Counsel Learned Extraordinary. <sup>18</sup> His Majesty, as he had been to Queen Elizabeth; King's Solicitor-General; His Majesty's Attorney-General; Counsellor of Estate, being yet but Attorney; Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal of England; lastly, Lord Chancellor; which two last places, though they be the same in authority and power, yet they differ in patent, height, and favour of the Prince;

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duty; for the narrower duty is not only easier to comprehend, but, being seen closer, appears the larger of the two. But though sentiments will continue to be divided, facts may be agreed upon; and for the correction of all errors in matter of fact, I must refer to the *Occasional Works*, where the whole story will necessarily come out in full detail. In the mean time I may say for myself that I have no fault to find with Bacon for any part of his conduct towards Essex, and I think many people will agree with me when they see the case fairly stated

- 16 The reversion, for which he considered himself indebted to Burghley, was granted to him in October 1589. He succeeded to the office in July 1608. In the Latin version Dr. Rawley adds that he administered it by deputy
- 17 The person here alluded to is probably his cousin Robert Cecil, who, though he always professed an anxiety to serve him, was supposed (apparently not without reason) to have thrown obstacles secretly in the way of his advancement. Also see Part II: *Cecil Robert*
- 18 Spedding: Dr. Rawley should rather have said "Counsel Learned, no longer Extraordinary." It is true indeed that King James did at his first entrance confirm Bacon by warrant under the sign manual in the same office which he had held under Elizabeth by special commandment. But it was the "establishing him and bringing him into Ordinary" with a salary of 40*l.*, which he reckons as first in the series of advancements. This was in 1604. He was made Solicitor in 1607, Attorney in 1613, Counsellor of State in 1616, Lord Keeper in 1617, Lord Chancellor in 1618. His successive dignities were conferred respectively in 1603, 1618, and 1620–21



since whose time none of his successors, until this present honourable Lord,<sup>19</sup> did ever bear the title of Lord Chancellor. His dignities were first Knight, then Baron of Verulam; lastly, Viscount St. Alban; besides other good gifts and bounties of the hand which His Majesty gave him, both out of the Broad Seal and out of the Alienation Office,<sup>20</sup> to the value in both of eighteen hundred pounds per annum; which, with his manor of Gorhambury, and other lands and possessions near thereunto adjoining, amounting to a third part more, he retained to his dying day.

Towards his rising years, not before, he entered into a married estate, and took to wife Alice, one of the daughters and coheirs of Benedict Barnham, Esquire and Alderman of London; with whom he received a sufficiently ample and liberal portion in marriage.<sup>21</sup> Children he had none; which, though they be the means to perpetuate our names after our deaths, yet he bade other issues to perpetuate his name, the issues of his brain; in which he was ever happy and admired, as Jupiter was in the production of Pallas. Neither did the want of children detract from his good usage of his consort during the intermarriage, whom he prosecuted with much conjugal love and respect, with many rich gifts and endowments, besides a robe of honour which he invested her withal; which she wore unto her dying day, being twenty years and more after his death.<sup>22</sup>

The last five years of his life, being withdrawn from civil affairs<sup>23</sup> and from an active life, he employed wholly in contemplation and studies a thing where of his Lordship would often speak

19 Spedding: Sir Edward Hyde was made Lord Chancellor June 1, 1660. This clause was added in 1661; the leaf having been cancelled for the purpose

20 Here the paragraph ended in the first edition. The rest was added in 1661

21 It appears, from a manuscript preserved in Tenison's Library, that he had about 220*l.*, a year with his wife, and upon her mother's death was to have about 140*l.*, a year more. Also see Part II: *Barnham Alice*

22 Spedding: By the "robe of honour" is meant, I presume, the title of Viscountess. It appears however that a few months before Bacon's death his wife had given him some cause of grave offence. Special provision is made for her in the body of his will, but revoked in a codicil, "for just and great causes," the nature of which is not specified. Soon after his death she married Sir John Underwood, her gentleman-usher. She was buried at Eyworth in Bedfordshire on June 29, 1650

23 Spedding: On May 3, 1621, Bacon was condemned, upon a charge of corruption to which he pleaded guilty, to pay a fine of 40,000 pounds; to be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's pleasure; to be forever incapable of sitting in Parliament or holding office in the State; and to be banished for life from the verge of the Court. From that time his only business was to find means of subsistence and of satisfying his creditors, and to pursue his studies. His offence was the taking of presents from persons who had suits in his Court, in some cases while the suit was still pending; an act which undoubtedly amounted to corruption as corruption was defined by the law. The degree of moral criminality involved in it is not so easily ascertained. To judge of this, we should know, first, what was the understanding, open or secret, upon which the presents were given and taken, for a gift, though it be given to a judge, is not necessarily in the nature of a bargain to pervert justice: secondly, to what extent the practice was prevalent at the time, for it is a rare virtue in a man to resist temptations to which all his neighbours yield: thirdly, how far it was tolerated, for a practice may be universally condemned and yet universally tolerated; people may be known to be guilty of it and yet received in society all the same: fourthly, how it stood with regard to other abuses prevailing at the same time, for it is hard to reform all at once, and it is one thing for a man to leave a single abuse unreformed while he is labouring to remove or resist greater ones, and another thing to introduce it anew, or to leave all as it was, making no effort to remove any. Now all this is from the nature of the case very difficult to ascertain. But the whole question, as it regards Bacon's character, must be con-

during his active life, as if he affected to die in the shadow and not in the light; which also may be found in several passages of his works. In which time he composed the greatest part of his books and writings, both in English and Latin, which I will enumerate (as near as I can) in the just order wherein they were written: <sup>24</sup>

- The History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh
- Abcedarium Nature, or a Metaphysical piece which is lost <sup>25</sup>
- Historia Ventorum
- Historia Vitæ et Mortis
- Historia Densi et Rari, not yet printed <sup>26</sup>
- Historia Cravis et Levis, which is also lost <sup>27</sup>
- A Discourse of a War with Spain
- A Dialogue touching an Holy War
- The Fable of the New Atlantis
- A Preface to a Digest of the Laws of England
- The beginning of the History of the Reign of King Henry the Eighth

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sidered in connexion with the rest of his political life. In this place it may be enough to say that he himself always admitted the taking of presents as he had taken them to be indefensible, the sentence to be just, and the example salutary; and yet always denied that he had been an unjust judge, or “had ever had bribe or reward in his eye or thought when he pronounced any sentence or order;” and that I cannot find any reason for doubting that this was true. It is stated, indeed, in a manuscript of Sir Matthew Male’s, published by Hargrave, that the censure of Bacon “for many decrees made upon most gross bribery and corruption, gave such a discredit and brand to the decrees thus obtained that they were easily set aside;” and it is true that some bills were brought into the House of Commons or the purpose of setting aside such decrees; but I cannot find that any one of them reached a third reading; and it is clear from Sir Matthew’s own argument that he could not produce an instance of one reversed by the House of Lords; and if any had been reversed by a royal commission appointed for the purpose (which according to his statement was the only remaining way), it must surely have been heard of; yet where is the record of any such commission? Now if of all the decrees so discredited none were reversed, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that they had all been made *bona fide* with regard only to the merits of the cases, and were in fact unimpeachably just; and we may believe that Bacon pronounced a true judgment on his own case when he said to his friends (as I find it recorded in a commonplace book of Dr. Rawley’s in the Lambeth Library), “I was the justest judge that was in England these fifty years; but it was the justest censure in parliament that was these two hundred years.”

<sup>24</sup> In the Latin version Dr. Rawley adds, *quamprcesens observavi*; which gives this list a peculiar value

<sup>25</sup> A fragment of this piece was recovered and printed by Tenison in the *Baconiana*

<sup>26</sup> This was true in 1657; but it was printed the next year in the *Opuscula Philosophica*; and, therefore, for “not yet printed,” the Latin version substitutes *jamprimum typis mandata*. In the edition of 1661 a corresponding alteration ought to have been made in the English, but was not; and as the words occur in one of the cancelled leaves they must have been left by oversight

<sup>27</sup> This was probably the tract which Grüter says he once had in his hands, and which he describes as merely a skeleton, exhibiting heads of chapters not filled up

- De Augmentis Scientiarum, or the Advancement of Learning, put into Latin, <sup>28</sup> with several enrichments and enlargements
- Counsels Civil and Moral, or his book of Essays, likewise enriched and enlarged
- The Conversion of certain Psalms into English Verse
- The Translation into Latin of the History of King Henry the Seventh
- Of the Counsels Civil and Moral <sup>29</sup>
- The Dialogue of the Holy War
- Of the Fable of the New Atlantis, for the benefit of other nations
- His revising of his book De Sapientia Veterum
- Inquisitio de Magnete
- Topica Inquisitionis de Luce et Lumine; both these not yet printed <sup>30</sup>
- Sylva Sylvarum, or the Natural History

These were the fruits and productions of his last five years. His Lordship also designed, upon the motion and invitation of his late Majesty, to have written the reign of King Henry the Eighth; but that work perished in the designation merely, God not lending him life to proceed farther upon it than only in one morning's work; whereof there is extant an *exungue leonem*, already printed in his Lordship's *Miscellany Works*.

There is a commemoration due as well to his abilities and virtues as to the course of his life. Those abilities which commonly go single in other men, though of prime and observable parts, were all conjoined and met in him. Those are, sharpness of wit, memory, judgment, and elocution. For the former three his books do abundantly speak them; which with what sufficiency he wrote, let the world judge; but with what celerity he wrote them, I can best testify. But for the fourth, his elocution, I will only set down what I heard Sir Walter Raleigh once speak of but he gave them a weightier title when he had them translated into "the general language:" That the Earl of Salisbury was an excellent speaker, but no good penman; that the Earl of Northampton (the Lord Henry Howard) was an excellent pen man, but no good speaker; but that Sir Francis Bacon was eminent in both.

I have been induced to think, that if there were a beam of knowledge derived from God upon any man in these modern times, it was upon him. For though he was a great reader of books, yet he had not his knowledge from books [only], but from some grounds and notions from within himself; which, notwithstanding, he vented with great caution and circumspection.

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<sup>28</sup> We learn also from the Latin version that Bacon worked at the translation of the *Advancement of Learning* himself

<sup>29</sup> These were the Essays as they appeared in the third and last edition

<sup>30</sup> These words are omitted in the Latin version, and must have been left by oversight in the edition of 1661; for they occur in one of the cancelled leaves; and the works in question had been printed in 1658. The error is the more worth noticing because it shows that wherever the English and the Latin differ, the Latin must be regarded as the later and better authority

His book of *Instauratio Magnet* (which in his own account was the chiefest of his works) was no slight imagination or fancy of his brain, but a settled and concocted notion, the production of many years labour and travel. I myself have seen at the least twelve copies of the *Instauration*, revised year by year one after another, and every year altered and amended in the frame thereof, till at last it came to that model in which it was committed to the press; as many living creatures do lick their young ones, till they bring them to their strength of limbs.

In the composing of his books he did rather drive at a masculine and clear expression than at any fineness or affectation of phrases, and would often ask if the meaning were expressed plainly enough, as being one that accounted words to be but subservient or ministerial to matter, and not the principal. And if his style were polite, it was because he would do no otherwise. Neither was he given to any light conceits, or descanting upon words, but did ever purposely and industriously avoid them; for he held such things to be but digressions or diversions from the scope intended, and to derogate from the weight and dignity of the style.

He was no plodder upon books; though he read much and that with great judgment and rejection of impertinences incident to many authors; for he would ever interlace a moderate relaxation of his mind with his studies, as walking, or taking the air abroad in his coach,<sup>31</sup> or some other befitting recreation; and yet he would lose no time, inasmuch as upon his first and immediate return he would fall to reading again, and so suffer no moment of time to slip from him without some present improvement.

His meals were reflections of the ear as well as of the stomach, like the *Nodes Atticce*, or *Convivia Deipnosophistarum*, wherein a man might be refreshed in his mind and understanding no less than in his body. And I have known some, of no mean parts, that have professed to make use of their note-books when they have risen from his table. In which conversations, and otherwise, he was no dashing man,<sup>32</sup> as some men are, but ever a countenancer and fosterer of another man's parts. Neither was he one that would appropriate the speech wholly to himself, or delight to outwit others, but leave a liberty to the co-assessors to take their turns. Wherein he would draw a man on and allure him to speak upon such a subject, as wherein he was peculiarly skilful, and would delight to speak. And for himself, he contemned no man's observations, but would light his torch at every man's candle.

His opinions and assertions were for the most part binding, and not contradicted by any; rather like oracles than discourses; which may be imputed either to the well weighing of his sentence by the scales of truth and reason, or else to the reverence and estimation wherein he was commonly had, that no man would contest with him; so that there was no argumentation, or pro and con (as they term it), at his table: or if there chanced to be any, it was carried with much submission and moderation.

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31 In the Latin version Dr. Rawley adds gentle exercise on horseback and playing at bowls

32 The word dash is used here in the same sense in which Costard uses it in *Love's Labour's Lost*: "There, ain't please you; a foolish, mild man; an honest man, look you, and soon dashed:" Dr. Rawley means that Bacon was not a man who used his wit, as some do, to put his neighbours out of countenance

I have often observed, and so have other men of great account, that if he had occasion to repeat another man's words after him, he had an use and faculty to dress them in better vestments and apparel than they had before; so that the author should find his own speech much amended, and yet the substance of it still retained;<sup>33</sup> as if it had been natural to him to use good forms, as Ovid spake of his faculty of versifying.<sup>34</sup>

When his office called him, as he was of the King's Council Learned, to charge any offenders, either in criminals or capitals, he was never of an insulting and domineering nature over them, but always tender hearted, and carrying himself decently towards the parties (though it was his duty to charge them home), but yet as one that looked upon the example with the eye of severity, but upon the person with the eye of pity and compassion.

And in civil business, as he was Counsellor of Estate, he had the best way of advising, not engaging his master in any precipitate or grievous courses, but in moderate and fair proceedings: the King whom he served giving him this testimony, that he ever dealt in business *suavibus modis*; [smoothly;] which was the way that was most according to his own heart. Neither was he in his time less gracious with the subject than with his sovereign. He was ever acceptable to the House of Commons when he was a member thereof. Being the King's attorney, and chosen to a place in Parliament, he was allowed and dispensed with to sit in the House; which was not permitted to other attorneys.<sup>35</sup> And as he was a good servant to his master, being never in nineteen years service (as himself averred) rebuked by the King for anything relating to his Majesty, so he was a good master to his servants, and rewarded their long attendance with good places freely<sup>36</sup> when they fell into his power; which was the cause that so many young gentlemen of blood and quality sought to

33 This is probably the true explanation of a habit of Bacon's which seems at first sight a fault, and perhaps sometimes is; and of which a great many instances have been pointed out by Mr. Ellis; a habit of inaccurate quotation. In quoting an author's words, especially where he quotes them merely by way of voucher for his own remark, or in acknowledgment

34 Of the source whence he derived it, or to suggest an allusion which may give a better effect to it, he very often quotes inaccurately. Sometimes, no doubt, this was unintentional, the fault of his memory; but more frequently, I suspect, it was done deliberately, for the sake of presenting the substance in a better form, or a form better suited to the particular occasion. In citing the evidence of witnesses, on the contrary, in support of a narrative statement or an argument upon matter of fact, he is always very careful. As an edition of Bacon would hardly be complete unless it contained Ben Jonson's famous description of his manner of speaking, I shall insert it here: "Yet there happened in my time one noble speaker, who was full of gravity in his speaking. His language (where he could spare or pass by a jest) was nobly censorious. No man ever spake more neatly, more pressly, more weightily, or suffered less emptiness, less idleness, in what he uttered. No member of his speech but consisted of his own graces. His hearers could not cough, or look aside from him, without loss. He commanded where he spoke; and had his judges angry and pleased at his devotion. No man had their affections more in his power. The fear of every man that heard him was, lest he should make an end." *Discoveries*: under title *Dominus Verulamius*

35 A statement of the truth of which abundant evidence may be found in all the records which remain of the proceedings of the House of Commons. The first Parliament in which he sat was that of 1584: after which he sat in every Parliament that was summoned up to the time of his fall

36 *Gratis*, in the Latin version; *i.e.* without taking any money for them; an unusual thing in Bacon's time, when the sale of offices was a principal source of all great men's incomes

list themselves in his retinue. And if he were abused by any of them in their places, it was only the error of the goodness of his nature, but the badges of their indiscretions and intemperances.

This Lord was religious: for though the world be apt to suspect and prejudge great wits and politics to have somewhat of the atheist, yet he was conversant with God, as appeareth by several passages throughout the whole current of his writings. Otherwise he should have crossed his own principles, which were, that a little philosophy maketh men apt to forget God, as attributing too much to second causes; but depth of philosophy bringeth a man back to God again. Now I am sure there is no man that will deny him, or account otherwise of him, but to have him been a deep philosopher. And not only so; but he was able to render a reason of the hope which was in him, which that writing of his of the *Confession of the Faith* doth abundantly testify. He repaired frequently, when his health would permit him, to the service of the church, to hear sermons, to the administration of the sacrament of the blessed body and blood of Christ; and died in the true faith, established in the Church of England.

This is most true he was free from malice, which (as he said himself) he never bred nor fed.<sup>37</sup> He was no revenger of injuries; which if he had minded, he had both opportunity and place high enough to have done it. He was no heaver of men out of their places, as delighting in their ruin and undoing. He was no defamer of any man to his Prince. One day, when a great statesman was newly dead that had not been his friend, the King asked him, what he thought of that Lord which was gone? He answered, that he would never have made his Majesty's estate better, but he was sure he would have kept it from being worse; which was the worst he would say of him: which I reckon not among his moral, but his Christian virtues.

His fame is greater and sounds louder in foreign parts abroad, than at home in his own nation; thereby verifying that divine sentence, *A prophet is not without honour, save in his own country, and in his own house*. Concerning which I will give you a taste only, out of a letter written from Italy (the storehouse of refined wits) to the late Earl of Devonshire, then the Lord Candish: "I will expect the new Essays of my Lord Chancellor Bacon, as also his History, with a great deal of desire, and whatsoever else he shall compose: but in particular of his History promise myself a thing perfect and singular, especially in Henry the Seventh, where he may exercise the talent of his divine understanding."

This Lord is more and more known, and his books here more and more delighted in; and those men that have more than ordinary knowledge in human affairs, esteem him one of the most capable spirits of this age; and he is truly such. Now his fame doth not decrease with days since, but rather increase. Divers of his works have been anciently and yet lately translated into other tongues, both learned and modern, by foreign pens. Several persons of quality, during his Lordship's life, crossed the seas on purpose to gain an opportunity of seeing him and discoursing with him; whereof one carried his Lordship's picture<sup>38</sup> from head to foot over with him into France, as a thing which he

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37 "He said he had breeding swans and feeding swans; but for malice, he neither bred it nor fed it." From a commonplace book of Dr. Rawley's in the Lambeth Library

38 This picture was presented to him by Bacon himself, according to the Latin version

foresaw would be much desired there, that so they might enjoy the image of his person as well as the images of his brain, his books. Amongst the rest, Marquis Fiat, a French nobleman, who came Ambassador into England, in the beginning of Queen Mary, wife to King Charles, was taken with an extraordinary desire of seeing him; for which he made way by a friend; and when he came to him, being then through weakness confined to his bed, the Marquis saluted him with this high expression, that his Lordship had been ever to him like the angels; of whom he had often heard, and read much of them in books, but he never said them. After which they contracted an intimate acquaintance, and the Marquis did so much revere him, that besides his frequent visits, they wrote letters one to the other, under the titles and appellations of father and son. As for his many salutations by letters from foreign worthies devoted to learning, I forbear to mention them, because that is a thing common to other men of learning or note, together with him.

But yet, in this matter of his fame, I speak in the comparative only, and not in the exclusive. For his reputation is great in his own nation also, especially amongst those that are of a more acute and sharper judgment; which I will exemplify but with two testimonies and no more. The former, when his History of King Henry the Seventh was to come forth, it was delivered to the old Lord Brook, to be perused by him; who, when he had dispatched it, returned it to the author with this eulogy, "Commend me to my Lord, and bid him take care to get good paper and ink, for the work is incomparable." The other shall be that of Doctor Samuel Collins, late provost of King's College in Cambridge, a man of no vulgar wit, who affirmed unto me, that when he had read the book of the *Advancement of Learning*, he found himself in a case to begin his studies anew, and that he had lost all the time of his studying before.

It hath been desired, that something should be signified touching his diet, and the regimen of his health, of which, in regard of his universal insight into nature, he may perhaps be to some an example. For his diet, it was rather a plentiful and liberal diet, as his stomach would bear it, than a restrained; which he also commended in his book of the *History of Life and Death*. In his younger years he was much given to the finer and lighter sort of meats, as of fowls, and such like; but afterward, when he grew more judicious,<sup>39</sup> he preferred the stronger meats, such as the shambles afforded, as those meats which bred the more firm and substantial juices of the body, and less disposable; upon which he would often make his meal, though he had other meats upon the table. You may be sure he would not neglect that himself, which he so much extolled in his writings, and that was the use of nitre; whereof he took in the quantity of about three grains in thin warm broth every morning, for thirty years together next before his death. And for physic, he did indeed live physically, but not miserably; for he took only a maceration of rhubarb, infused into a draught of white wine and beer mingled together for the space of half an hour, once in six or seven days, immediately before his meal (whether dinner or supper), that it might dry the body less; which (as he said) did carry away frequently the grosser humours of the body, and not diminish or carry away

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39 More judicious (that is) by experience and observation: *experientid edoctus* is the expression in the Latin version

any of the spirits, as sweating doth. And this was no grievous thing to take. As for other physic, in an ordinary way (whatsoever hath been vulgarly spoken) he took not. His receipt for the gout, which did constantly ease him of his pain within two hours, is already set down in the end of the *Natural History*. It may seem the moon had some principal place in the figure of his nativity: for the moon was never in her passion, or eclipsed,<sup>40</sup> but he was surprised with a sudden fit of fainting; and that, though he observed not nor took any previous knowledge of the eclipse thereof; and as soon as the eclipse ceased, he was restored to his former strength again.

He died on the ninth day of April in the year 1626, in the early morning of the day then celebrated for our Saviour's resurrection, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, at the Earl of Arundel's house in Highgate, near London, to which place he casually repaired about a week before; God so ordaining that he should die there of a gentle fever, accidentally accompanied with a great cold, whereby the defluxion of rheum fell so plentifully upon his breast, that he died by suffocation; and was buried in St. Michael's church at St. Albans being the place designed for his burial by his last Will & Testament, both because the body of his mother was interred there, and because it was the only church then remaining within the precincts of old Verulam: where he hath a monument erected for him in white marble (by the care and gratitude of Sir Thomas Meautys, Knight, formerly his Lordship's secretary, afterwards clerk of the King's Honourable Privy Council under two Kings); representing his full portraiture in the posture of studying, with an inscription composed by that accomplished gentleman and rare wit, Sir Henry Wotton. But howsoever his body was mortal, yet no doubt his memory and works will live, and will in all probability last as long as the world lasteth. In order to which I have endeavoured (after my poor ability) to do this honour to his Lordship, by way of conducting to the same.

Finis.

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40 Lord Campbell (who appears to have read Dr. Rawley's memoir only in the Latin, where the words are *quoties luna defecit sive edipsinpassa est*), supposing *defecit* to mean *waned*, discredits this statement, on the ground that "no instance is recorded of Bacon's having fainted in public, or put off the hearing of any cause on account of the change of the moon, or of any approaching eclipse, visible or invisible." And it is true that *indefectus lunae* meant a change of the moon, or even a dark moon (which it might have meant well enough if the Romans had not chosen to appropriate the word to quite another meaning), the accident must have happened in public too often to pass unnoticed. But Dr. Rawley was too good a scholar to misapply so common a word in that way. He evidently speaks of eclipses only, and of eclipses visible at the place. Now it is not at all likely that lunar eclipses visible at Westminster would have coincided with important business in which Bacon was conspicuously engaged, often enough (even if he did faint every time) to establish a connexion between the two phenomena. Of course Dr. Rawley's statement is not sufficient to prove the reality of any such connexion; but there is no reason to suppose it an invention and the fact of the fainting-fits may be fairly taken, I think, as evidence of the extreme delicacy of Bacon's temperament, and its sensibility to the sky influences. That Bacon himself never alluded to this relation between himself and the moon is easily accounted for by supposing that he was not satisfied of the fact. He may have observed the coincidence, and mentioned it to Dr. Rawley and he (whose common place book proves that he had a taste for astrology) may have believed in the physical connexion, though Bacon himself did not



## A Finding List:

### Part I. Bacon's Words and Phrases of the English then of the Latin

Words and phrases in English and Latin that was used by Bacon and may easily be referred back to his works derived from, that remain not so familiar in our modern language or have possibly changed in meaning.

This was an important intention that would be supplementary help to students on their studies of Bacon, or, of other authors of the era that would have been quoted in other works of that age or even at an earlier age than Bacon's.

There must be a sad mistake somewhere if Part I., was abandoned so quickly. The name of Shakespeare admonishes us to state the fact, none more memorable in the history of English letters, that contemporary with the Bard of Avon, in the era of Elizabeth and James, flourished a large number of writers, men of very great genius. The works of all these writers have commanded a good deal of attention, to the great advantage of our speech, their diction is so light, vigorous, and of such ivory polish.

Many years ago, in the late 1800's, a sermon came from an eloquent young Methodist minister on Abraham's offering up of Isaac, in which were many impressive paragraphs; yet only one was in the very least remembered. Speaking of Isaac as an only son, he said: "Parents are aware that the only child in a family is apt to get a little bit spoil'd." These artless words of the hearth and homestead, "a little bit spoil'd," shall never be forgotten as one reads the writings of the age. They brought the speaker into our home and down to our level; they made the whole so life-like. Such precisely is often an effect of mid-cut, as when "don't" is used in today's language. Of such words, that have built the phrases of the times, Part I., embodies from Bacon's writ. This would mean quite simply, that the Elizabethan spelling has been secured in many phrases and should be seen with more interest to the reader to continue than to abandon.

**A (English)**

**A discord** Resolved into a concord improves the harmony. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. II).

**A good name** Is as a precious ointment. (Bacon, *Essays: Epis. Dedic.*).

**A man** Cannot love again that which he thinks he has ceased to love. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. II).

**A soft answer** Turneth away wrath. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. II).

**A strait glove** Will come more easily on with use. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**A thousand years** Are but as one day. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**A youth** Set will never be higher. (Bacon, *Promus*).<sup>41</sup>

**Abase** To depress; to lower. It is a point of cunning to wait upon him with whom you speak with your eye; yet with a demure *abasing* of it sometimes. (Bacon).

**Abortive** For I never saw but that business is like a child which is framed invisibly in the womb; and if it come forth too soon, it will be *abortive*. (Bacon, *Letter to King James*).

**Abortment** From the word *abort*. The thing brought forth out of time; an untimely birth.

Concealed treasures, now lost to mankind, (all be brought into use by the industry of converted penitents, whose wretched carcasses the impartial laws dedicate, as untimely feasts, to the worms of the earth, in whose womb those deserted mineral riches must ever lie buried as loft *abortments* unless those be made the active midwives to deliver them. (Bacon, *Physical Remains*).

**About** Nearly; *circiter*. Also round; the longed: way, in opposition to the short straight way.

When the boats were come within *about* sixty yards of the pillar, they found themselves all bound, and could go no farther; yet so as they might move to go about, but might not approach nearer. (Bacon, *New Atlantis*).

Gold had these natures; greatness of weight; closeness of parts; fixation; pliantness, or softness; immunity from rust; colour, or tincture of yellow: Therefore the sure way (though most *about*) to make gold, is to know the causes of the several natures before rehearsed. (Bacon, *Natural History*, No. 328).

**Above** Over-head; in a higher place.

To men standing below, men standing aloft seem much lessened; to those *above*, men standing below, seem not so much lessened. (Bacon).

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41 Pott Henry, Mrs. *The Promus or Formularies and Elegancies by Francis Bacon*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1883

**Absorb** The evils that come of exercise are that it doth *absorb* and attenuate the moisture or the body. (Bacon).

**Abstersive** That has the quality of absterging or cleansing.

It is good, after purging, to use apozemes and broths, not so much opening as those used before purging; but *abstersive* and mundifying clysters also are good to conclude with, to draw away the reliques of the humours. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

**Abuse** From *abuti*, to misuse, to deceive, but not necessarily with any intention to injure, to impose upon. Also so used by Caxton in 1477. This sense is preserved in the negative disabuse.

The world hath been much *abused* by the opinion of making gold: the work itself I judge to be possible; but the means hitherto propounded, are in the practice, full of error. (Bacon, *Natural History*, No. 126).

You are much *abused*, if you think your virtue can withstand the King's power. (Bacon, *Adv.*, 1605).

**Abusive** Deceitful; a sense little used, yet not improper.

It is verified by a number of examples, that whatsoever is gained by an *abusive* treaty, ought to be restored in integrum. (Bacon, *Considerations on War with Spain*).

**Accelerate** To make quick, to hasten, to quicken motion; to give a continual impulse to motion, so as perpetually to increase.

Take new beer, and put in some quantity of stale beer into it; and see whether it will not *accelerate* the clarification, by opening the body of the beer, whereby the grosser parts may fall down into less. (Bacon, *Natural History*, No. 307).

In which council the King himself, whose continual vigilancy did suck in sometimes causeless suspicions, which few else knew, inclined to the *accelerating* a battle. (Bacon, *Henry VII.*).

**Accidental Generations of winds** Those which do not produce or create an impulsive motion, but either excite it by compression, or drive it back by repercussion, or roll and agitate it by curves. And this is affected by external causes, and the position of contiguous bodies. (Bacon, *History of Winds*). [Also see *Names of Winds*.]

**Action** Narrations, in verity and sincerity. (Bacon, *Adv.* Bk. II).

**Accompany** To associate with; to become a companion to.

No man in effect doth *accompany* with others but he learneth, ere he is aware, some gesture voice, or fashion. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

**Accord** A compact; an agreement; adjustment of a difference in music.

There was no means for him to satisfy all obligations to God and man, but to offer himself, for a mediator of an *accord* and peace between them. (Bacon, *Henry VII.*).

Musical note: Try, if there were in one steeple two bells of unison, whether the striking of the one would move the other, more than if it were another *accord*. (Bacon, *Natural History*, No. 281).

**Account** An opinion previously established.

These were designed to join with the forces, at sea, there being prepared a number of flat-bottomed boats to transport the land forces under the wing; of the great navy: for they made no *account*, but that the navy should be absolutely master of the seas. (Bacon, *Considerations on War with Spain*).

**Accustomably** According to custom.

Touching the King's fines *accustomably* paid for the purchasing of writs original, I find no certain beginning of them, and do therefore think that they grew up with the chancery. (Bacon, *Alienation*).

**Acid** Sour, sharp.

Wild trees last longer than garden trees; and in the same kind, those whose fruit is *acid*, more than those whose fruit is sweet. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

**Acrimony** Sharpness, corrosiveness.

There be plants that have a milk in them when they are cut; as, figs, old lettuce, sow-thistles, spurge. The cause may be an inception of putrefaction: for those milks have all an *acrimony*, though one should think they should be lenitive. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

**Active good** Apparent good of the individual. (Bacon, *Adv.* Bk. II).

**Administrator** He was wonderfully diligent to enquire and observe what became of the King of Arragon, in holding the Kingdom of Castille, and whether he did hold it in his own right, or as *administrator* to his daughter. (Bacon, *Henry VII.*).

**Admission** The act or practice of admitting.

There was also enacted that charitable law, for the *admission* of poor suitors without fee; whereby poor men became rather able to vex, than unable to sue. (Bacon, *Henry VII.*).

By means of our solitary situation, and our rare *admission* of strangers, we know most part of the habitable world, and are ourselves unknown. (Bacon, *New Atlantis*).

**Adoe** Bustle; to do; used in the same sense in many dialects. (Bacon, *Essays: IX & XII*).

**Adulteration** From adulterate. The act of adulterating or corrupting by foreign mixture: contamination.

To make the compound pass for the rich metal simple, is an *adulteration*, or counterfeiting; but if it be done avowedly, and without disguising it may be a great saving of the richer metal. (Bacon, *Natural History*, No. 798).

**Adure** To burn up. This word was no longer in use by 1647.

Such a degree of heat, which doth neither melt nor scorch, doth mellow, and not *adure*. (Bacon, *Natural History*, No. 319).

**Adust** Parched; burnt up. (Bacon, *Essays: XXXVI*).

**Advancement** Let those who distrust their own powers observe myself, one who have amongst my contemporaries been the most engaged in public business, who are not very strong in health (which causes a great loss of time), and am the first explorer of this course, following the guidance of none, nor even communicating my thoughts to a single individual; yet having once firmly entered in the right way, and submitting the powers of my mind to things, I have somewhat advanced (as I make bold to think) the matter I now treat of. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Bk. I).

And in places of moment, rather make able and honest men yours, than advance those that are otherwise because they are yours. (Bacon, *Letter to Villiers*).

And for those she advanced to places of trust, she kept such a tight rein upon them, and so distributed her favours, that she held each of them under the greatest obligation and concern to please her, whilst she always remained mistress of herself. (Bacon, *Memory of Elizabeth*).

**Adversity** It was a high speech of Seneca, that the good things which belong to Prosperity are to be wished, but the good things which belong to *Adversity* are to be studied. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Adversity*).

Certainly, if miracles be the command over nature, they appear most in *adversity*. (*Ibid*).

Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament, *adversity* is the blessing of the New, which carrieth the greater benediction, and the clearer revelation of God's favour. Prosperity is not without many fears and distastes, and *adversity* is not without comforts and hopes. (*Ibid*).

**Advisedly** Surprise may be made by moving things, when the party is in haste and cannot stay to consider *advisedly* of that which is moved. (Bacon, *Essays: XXIII*).

**Advoutress** An adulteress. (Bacon, *Essays: XIX*).

**Advoutry** Adultery.

He was the most perfidious man upon the earth, and he had made a marriage compounded between an *advoutry* and a rape. (Bacon, *Henry VII.*).

**Æsop's fables** The fly that sat on the pole of a chariot at the Olympic races and said *what a dust do I raise*. (Bacon, *Thema Cæli & Essays: LIV*).

Minerva makes a house, and Momus says it should have been on wheels, to get away from bad neighbours. (Bacon, *Essays: XLV*).

**Afar** We hear better when we hold our breath than contrary; insomuch as in listening to attain a sound *afar* off, men hold their breath. (Bacon, *Natural History*, No. 284).

**Affect** Affection; passion; sensation.

It seemeth that as the feet have a sympathy with the head, so the wrists have a sympathy with the heart; we see the *affects* and passions of the heart and spirits are notably disclosed by the pulse. (Bacon, *Natural History*, No. 97).

**Affectation** If behaviour and outward carriage be intended (attended to) too much, first, it may pass into affectation,<sup>42</sup> and then (what more unseemly than to be always playing a part?) to act a man's life. But, although it proceed not to that extreme, yet it consumeth time, and employeth the mind too much. Certainly the intending of the discretion of behaviour is a great thief of meditation? (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Affectionate** Strongly inclined to; disposed to; with the particle to.

As for the Parliament, it presently took fire, being *affectionate*, of old, to the war of France. (Bacon, *Henry VII.*).

**Affinity** All things that have *affinity* with the heavens, move upon the centre of another, which they benefit. (Bacon, *Essays*: XXIV).

**Again** A second time; once more; marking the repetition of the same thing.

The poor remnant of human seed, which remained in their mountains, peopled their country *again* slowly, by little and little. (Bacon, *New Atlantis*).

**Age deforms and wears both mind and body** Old age, if it could be seen, deforms the mind more than the body. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Antitheta III. 3).

In youth the body is erect; in old age, bent into a curce. Old age has an ill-natured envy. (Bacon, *Hist. Life & Death*).

**Age in judgment** All is not in years to me; somewhat is in hours well spent. (Bacon, *Promus* 152).

My last years, for so I account them, reckoning by health, and not by age. (Bacon, *Letter to Sir R. Cecil*).

A man that is young in years may be old in hours, if he have lost no time; but that happeneth rarely. Natures that have much heat are not ripe for action till they have passed the meridian of their years, for the experience of age, in all things that fall within the compass of it, directeth them. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Youth and Age*).

**Aider** From aid. He that brings aid or help; a helper; an ally.

All along as he went, were punished the adherents and *aiders* of the late rebels. (Bacon, *Henry VII.*).

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<sup>42</sup> So in edition, 1622; the earlier edition has the old form *affection* for *affectation*

**Air** Fleas breed principally of straw or mats, where there hath been a little moisture, or the chamber and bed-straw kept close, and not *aired*. (Bacon, *Natural History*, No. 696).

**Alarum** Alarm; of importance.

**Albada** From the Spanish *alborada*, dawning. This salutation, entered as an experiment in Bacon's private commonplace book, c.1596, has since appeared but once in English print: in *King Lear*, first published in 1608.

Good dawning. (Bacon, *Promus*, 1594–96).

**Alchymist** One skilled in Alchemy. (Cockeram).<sup>43</sup>

**Alcohol for water** The French chemist Lassaigue found that alcohol extracted a red colouring matter from unboiled lobster shells. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XI).

**Alcohole** The Turks have a black powder, made of a mineral called *alcohole*, which with a fine long pencil they lay under their eyelids, which doth colour them black, whereby the white of the eye is set off more white. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Alimentation** Bacon states of the general doctrine, that alimentation is by separation. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XLVIII). Boussingault, during the eighteenth century, regarded animal fat as the representative of the fatty matters contained in the food.

**Alkermes** Theriaca. From which treacle is a corruption, is the name of a nostrum invented by Andromachus, who was physician to Nero. About Bacon's time what was called mineral kermes, which was a preparation of antimony. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. IV).

**All is not in years** Somewhat is in hours well spent. (Bacon, *Promus*).

**All things** Do by scale ascend to unity. (Bacon, *Promus*).

**Alphabet** The notion of an alphabet of the universe, of which Bacon has spoken more than once, must therefore be given up as a secret cipher. It could at best be only an alphabet of the present state of knowledge. And similarly of the analysis into abstract natures on which the process of exclusion depends. No such analysis can be used in the manner which Bacon prescribes to us, for every advance in knowledge presupposes the introduction of a new conception, by which the previously existing analysis is rendered incomplete, and therefore erroneous. (Spedding).<sup>44</sup>

If the sow with her snout should happen to imprint the letter *A* upon the ground, wouldst thou therefore imagine that she could write out a whole tragedy as one letter? (Bacon, *Interpretation of Nature*).

<sup>43</sup> H.C. Gent. *The English Dictionarie or an Interpreter of hard English words*. London: A.M. for T.W., 1647

<sup>44</sup> Spedding. *Works*, Vol. I. p. 87

**Always** Let losers have their words. (Bacon, *Promus*).

**Amazons** Let me put a feigned case of a land of *Amazons*, where the whole government, public and private, yea, the militia itself, was in the hands of women. I demand, is not such a preposterous government (against the first order of nature, for women to rule over men) in itself void, and to be suppressed? (Bacon, *Holy War*).

**Ambition** is like a choler, which, if it be stopped and cannot have its way, becometh a dust, and thereby malign and dangerous. So ambitious men, if they be checked in their desires, become secretly discontent, and look upon men and matters with an evil eye. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Ambition*).

Men suddenly flying at the greatest things of all, skip over the middle. (Bacon, *Adv*).

Let us look all around us, and observe where things stoop, and where they mount, and not misemploy our strength where the way is impassable. (*Ibid.*).

There is use also of ambition in pulling down the greatness of any subject that overtops. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Ambition*).

**Ambrosia** After the poets; the meat of the poets. (Cockeram).

**Amplitude** Of reward; endeavour. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Amydo** Mistake for amylo (ἀμυλο); amyllum or starch is mentioned by Celsus as one of the *cibiles*. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. IV).

**An instrument** In tuning. (Bacon, *Promus*).

**Analogies** Men's labour should be turned to the investigation and observation of the analogies of things as well in wholes as in parts. For these it is that detect unity and lay a foundation for the sciences. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Bk. II., XXVII).

**Ancients** Bacon refers namely to Aristotle. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**And it were shame** That men should have examined so carefully the tinklings of their own voice, and should yet be so ignorant of the voice of nature. (Bacon, *The Nature of Things*).

**And so on** For twice as much more. (Murdin, 718).

**Anger** Causeth paleness in some, and the going and coming of the colour in others: also trembling in some: swelling, foaming at the mouth, stamping, bending of the fist. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

It hath been observed that in anger the eyes wax red; and in blushing, not the eyes, but the ears, and the parts behind them. (Bacon, *Nat. Hist.* IX. 872).

If the anger of a Prince, or superior, be kindled against you, and it be now your turn to speak, Solomon directs (1) that an answer be made; (2) that it be soft. The first rule contains three precepts, *viz.*: 1. To guard against a melancholy and stubborn silence, for this either turns



the fault wholly upon you, or impeaches your superior. 2. To beware of delaying the thing, and requiring a longer day for your defence. 3. To make a real answer, not a mere confession or bare submission, but a mixture of apology and excuse the answer should be mild and soft, not stiff and irritating. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Aphorism 1).

Anger is a kind of baseness, as it appears well in the weakness of those subjects in whom it reigns: children, women, sickfolks. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Anger*).

Contempt is that which setteth an edge upon anger as much, or more, than the hurt itself; and, therefore, when men are ingenious in picking out circumstances of contempt, they do kindle their anger much. (*Ibid*).

In a fit of anger do not act anything that is irrevocable. (*Ibid*).

Let not the sun go down upon your anger. (*Ibid*).

In all refrainings of anger, it is the best remedy to gain time, and to make a man's self believe that the opportunity of his revenge is not yet come; but that he foresees a time for it, and so to still himself in the mean time and reserve it. (*Ibid*).

**Annals and Journals** The History of Times is also rightly divided into *Annals* and *Journals*; which division, though it takes its name from periods of time, yet has also reference to the choice of subjects. For it is well observed by Cornelius Tacitus, after touching upon the magnificence of certain buildings, "That it was found suitable to the dignity of the Roman people to commit to Annals only matters of note, but such things as these to the Journals of the City;" thus referring matters concerning the state to Annals, but the less important kind of actions or accidents to Journals. Certainly, in my judgment, there ought to be a kind of heraldry in arranging the precedence of books, no less than of persons. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Annoy** Trouble; hurt.

His pleasures shall be mated with *annoies*. (Whitney).<sup>45</sup>

Well more *annoie* is in me than is in thee of this mischaunce. (Chaucer).

For grieve whereof the lad w'ould after ioy, but pynd away in anguish and selfe-wild *annoy*. (Spencer).

Good angels guard thee from the boar's *annoy*. (Shakespeare).<sup>46</sup>

**Ant-hill of Arts** Who knows then but this work of mine is copied from a certain old book found in the most famous library of St. Victor, of which Master Francis Rabelais (1490–1553) made a catalogue? For there is a book there entitled the *Ant-hill of Arts*. (Bacon, *De Aug*).

The humour of making catalogues of imaginary books probably began with Rabelais. Rabelais' *Abbey of Thelema* is a Utopian dream, holding much in common with Bacon's *New Atlantis*, and the Rosicrucian commonwealths of John Val Andreas. The *Gargantua and Pantagruel* of

<sup>45</sup> Whitney. *Choice of Emblemes*, Emblem 219, 1.9, 1866

<sup>46</sup> Shakespeare. *Richard III*. Act V. Sc. 3. 156

Rabelais, probably the profoundest Masonic problem yet to be unriddled. Many of his notions were purely Masonic, but whether he knew anything of Masonry, it is difficult to say. Many passages, however, prove that he was acquainted with the Hermetic branch of the subject. The description of the Abbey of Thelema, where every one was to do just as he pleased, together with its government, may take its place beside More's *Utopia*, Plato's *Republic*, and Bacon's *New Atlantis*. Rabelais is a forbidden book to many, on account of its containing much that a thin-skinned modern century does not like to see expressed in writing, but has no scruple, as daily experience shows, to put in practice. (McKenzie). <sup>47</sup> [Also see Part II: *Rabelais François*]

**Antimasque** A grotesque interlude introduced between the acts of the masque, to which it served as a foil and contrast, and hence its name. Let anti-masks not be long, they have been commonly of fools, satyrs, baboons, wild men, antiques, beasts, spirits, witches, Ethiops, pigmies, turquets, nymphs, rustics, cupids, statuas moving, and the like. As for angels it is not comical enough to put them in anti-masks; and anything that is hideous, as devils, giants, is on the other side as unfit. But chiefly let the music of them be recreative, and with strange changes some sweet odours suddenly coming forth, without any drops falling, are in such a company, as there is steam and heat, things of great pleasure and refreshment. (Bacon, *Essay*: 37).

**Antinomia** Used in the sense of a contradiction between different laws by Justinian. In Plutarch (*Symposiaca*, IX.13) it is nearly equivalent to what Jurisconsults designate by the phrase *casus perplexus*. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VIII).

**Antipater** Antipater was not praised for keeping to the Macedonian dress, but generally for the severity of his way of life. Alexander compared Antipater to a white striped garment, which on the inside the clavus being an external appendage showed no trace of white but was purple throughout. In the *Adv.*, and *Apo.*, Bacon speaks of the Macedonian habit of black. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. I).

**Antiquities** Remnants of histories, are like the spars of a shipwreck, when, though the memory of things be decayed and almost lost, yet acute and industrious persons, by a certain persevering and scrupulous diligence, contrive out of genealogies, annals, titles, monuments, coins, proper names and styles, etymologies of words, proverbs, traditions, archives and instruments as well public as private, fragments of histories scattered about in books not historical. (Bacon, *De Aug.*).

**Antiquity** In the book of *Esdra*, we read that the world has lost its youth, and that the times begin to wax old. Several writers in the age which preceded Bacon's had already made use of this remark, for in that age men were no longer willing to submit to the authority of antiquity, and still felt bound to justify their dissent.

Antiquity is like fame, her head is muffled from our sight. The world's youth, and the latter times its age. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

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<sup>47</sup> McKenzie. *Royal Masonic Eyclopaedia*, p. 614

(One disease of learning) is the extreme affecting of two extremities; the one Antiquity, the other Novelty. Surely the advice of the prophet is the true direction in this matter, “Stand ye in the old ways, and see which is the good way, and walk therein.” Antiquity deserveth that reverence, that men should make a stand thereupon, and discover what is the best way; but when the discovery is well taken, then to make progression. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I). <sup>48</sup>

**Apostata** An apostate. Before such words were completely naturalized, it was common to write them in the original form. But the practice was not uniform. Bacon, in his *Essays*, sometimes writes *statua*, and sometimes *statue*. Mr. Gifford would restore *apostata*, in all the passages of Massinger where the modern editors have changed it to *apostate*; and in most instances, the verse requires it, as: “To punish this apostata with death.” (Unnat. Combat, Act I).

**Appalement** Depression; discouragement; impression of fear.

As the furious slaughter of them was a great discouragement and *appalement* to the rest. (Bacon, *Henry VII.*).

**Apparitions** As in infection and contagion from body to body it is most certain that the infection is received by the body passive, but yet is by the strength and good disposition thereof repulsed and wrought out before it is formed into a disease; so much the more in impressions from mind to mind, or from spirit to spirit, the impression taketh, but is encountered and overcome by the mind and spirit, which is passive, before it work any manifest effect. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv.*, 1622–25).

**Aqua Tophana** Has been supposed, by some persons, to have been a solution of arsenic, with the addition of the herb cymbalaria, growing on old walls; by others it is supposed to have consisted of cantharides and opium. The poisons found in the casket of St. Croix, the lover of Brinvilliers, were corrosive sublimate, opium, regulus of antimony and vitriol. Such poison was said to have been used also on Sir. Thomas Overbury. Accordingly, Sir Edward Coke took occasion, with reference to the connection between the Earl and Countess of Somerset to say, “Poison and adultery went together.” [Also see Part III: *Overbury case of 1616*.]

**Arcana Microcosmi** Or the hid secrets of Man’s body discovered, with a refutation of Francis Bacon’s *Natural History*. <sup>49</sup>

**Arguments** Reason is governed by practice, instead of practice by reason.

Fitted to practice, in a reversed order. (Bacon, *Essays: XVII*).

**Arithmetic** Does not come from the Hindoos or Arabs, but from the Greeks according to M. Chasles. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismi, IXXI).

<sup>48</sup> Bacon stops short in this quotation from Ephes. IV. 26. St. Paul continues: “Neither give place to the devil.” This portion of the text is alluded to in Othello. Act II. Sc. 3: “It hath pleased the Devil; drunkenness to give place to the Devil Wrath.”

<sup>49</sup> pp. 263–4

**Art and nature** I am the rather induced to set down the history of Arts as a species of Natural History, because it is the fashion to talk as if Art were something different from Nature, so that things artificial should be separated from things natural as differing wholly in kind. (Bacon, *Intellectual Globe*).

**Art of memory** In Selden's *Table-talk* he is made to affirm that, whatever may be said of great memories, no man will trust his memory when writing what is to be given to the world. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. V).

The Art of Memory is built upon two intentions; Prenotion and Emblem. By Prenotion I mean a kind of cutting off of infinity of search. For when a man desires to recall anything into his memory, if he have no prenotion or perception of that he seeks, he seeks and strives and beats about hither and thither as if in infinite space. But if he have some certain prenotion, this infinity is at once cut off, and the memory ranges in a narrower compass; like the hunting of a deer within an enclosure. And therefore order also manifestly assists the memory; for we have a prenotion that what we are seeking must be something which agrees with order. Emblem, on the other hand, reduces intellectual conceptions to sensible images; for an object of sense always strikes the memory forcibly and is more easily impressed upon it than an object of the intellect; insomuch that even brutes have their memory excited by sensible impressions; never by intellectual ones. And therefore you will more easily remember the image of a hunter pursuing a hare, of an apothecary arranging his boxes, of a pedant making a speech, of a boy repeating verses from memory, of a player acting on the stage, than the mere notions of invention, disposition, elocution, memory, and action. (Bacon, *De Aug.*).

It is difficult to believe that when Prospero begged his daughter to give him the *image* of anything she might have retained in her memory of the time of their arrival on the island, the author did not have in mind the philosophical thesis on the art of memory that had been composed by Bacon ten or twelve years earlier.

**Artificial heat** Greenhouses were not known in Bacon's time as he speaks of it in his *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum 35. In *Syl. Sylv.*, 412, Bacon speaks of housing hot country plants to save them, and in his *Essay: Of Gardens*, of stoving myrtles. The idea was introduced into England from Holland about the time of the revolution. The orangery at Heidelberg formed about the middle of the seventeenth century, is said to be the earliest conservatory on record. It is related that Albertus Magnus, entertaining the Emperor at Cologne during the winter, selected for the place of entertainment the garden of his monastery. (Grimm). <sup>50</sup> In the *Maison Champêtre*, encyclopaedia of gardening and agriculture published in 1607, nothing is said of it, nor is there anything on the subject in the writings of Porta, though in his *Natural Magic* he has spoken of various modes of accelerating the growth of fruits and flowers.

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50 *Deutsche Sagen*

**Arts of nature** In working upon and altering nature by art. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II)

**Arts of pleasure** Are as many as the sense themselves are. To the eye belongs painting, with innumerable other arts of magnificence in matter of buildings, gardens, dresses, vases, gems; to the ear music, with its various apparatus of voices, wind, and strings; and of all the sensual arts those which relate to sight and hearing are accounted the most liberal; for as these two senses are the purest and most chaste, so the sciences which belong to them are the most learned; both being waited upon by the mathematics, and one having some relation to memory and demonstrations, the other to manners and affections of the mind. The rest of the sensual pleasures, with the arts appertaining to them, are held in less honour, as being nearer akin to luxury and magnificence. Unguents, perfumes, delicacies of the table, and especially stimulants of lust, are more in need of a censor to repress them than a master to teach them. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

The pleasure of the eyes is chiefly painting, with a number of other arts (pertaining to magnificence) which respect houses, gardens, vestments, vases, cups, gems, and the like. The pleasure of the ears is music, with its various apparatus of voices, wind, and strings; water instruments, once regarded as the leaders of this art, are now almost out of use. (Bacon, *De Aug.*)

**Arundineous** As it were; in some sort.

As for the daughters of King Edward IV., they thought King Richard had said enough for them; and took them to be but *as* of the King's party, because they were in his power, and at his disposal. (Bacon, *Henry VII.*).

**As charms are nonsense**, nonsense has a charm. A favourite saying of Robert Fludd to his patients. (Rochester).

**As good as the best** (Bacon, *Promus*).

**As the tongue** Speaketh to the ear, so the gesture speaketh to the eye. (King James I).

**Aspersión** from *aspergere*, to sprinkle, as in baptism, with no sinister meaning. So used also by Fox, 1553–87. The primitive sense of the word, but not now used. Todd quoted Bacon for it.

There is to be found, besides the theological sense, much *aspersión* of philosophy. (Bacon).

**Astonishment** Caused by the fixing of the mind upon one object of cogitation, whereby it doth not spaiate and transcur, as it useth; for in wonder the spirits fly not, as in fear; but only settle, and are made less apt to move. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv.*).

**Astrology** It was Bacon's opinion that the influence of the stars is exerted, not on individual men, but directly on masses of men, though he made an exception in favour of certain persons who, he said, "are more susceptible, and of softer wax, as it were, than the rest of their species." It is clear that Cassius would not have been included by him in his excepted class.

As for astrology, it is so full of superstition that scarce anything can be discovered in it. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, 1622).

Chiefly the mould of a man's fortune is in himself. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Fortune*, 1607–12).

**At rest** As the Ark in the Temple. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Atalanta** As the golden ball thrown before Atalanta, which while she goeth aside and stoopeth to take up she hindereth the race. (Bacon, *Of the Interpretation of Nature*).

**Attach** The Tower was chosen, that if Clifford should accuse great ones, they might, without suspicion or noise, be presently attached. (Bacon, *Henry VII.*).

**Attendant winds** This term is my own; and I have invented it lest the observation of them be forgotten or confused. My meaning is this. Take any country and divide the year into three, four, or five parts. If any wind blows there for two, three, or four to these parts, and a contrary wind for only one part, the wind which blows oftenest is called the attendant wind of that country. And the same is the case with respect to the weather. (Bacon, *History of Winds*). [Also see *Names of Winds*.]

**Atheists** The contemplative Atheist is rare, yet they seem to be more than they are, for all that impugn a received religion or superstition are, by the adverse part, branded with the name of Atheist; but the great Atheists indeed are hypocrites, which are ever handling holy things, but without feeling; as they needs must be cauterized in the end. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Atheism*).

**Augustus** As we see in Augustus Cæsar, (who was rather diverse from his uncle than inferior in virtue,) how when he died, he desired his friends about him to give him a *Plaudite*; as if he were conscient to himself that he had played his part well upon the stage. This part of knowledge we do report also as deficient: not but that it is practised too much, but it hath not been reduced to writing. And therefore lest it should seem to any that it is not comprehensible by axiom, it is requisite, as we did in the former that we set down some heads or passages of it. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

In Bacon's character of Augustus he acknowledges that he was inferior to Julius in strength of mind, but answers that he was superior in beauty and health of mind, Julius' aspirations being restless, boundless, and inordinate; those of Augustus sober, well ordered, and within compass. (Bacon, *Imago Civilis Augusti Cæsaris*).

**Authority** For authority it is of two kinds: belief in an art and belief in a man. For things of belief in an art, a man may exercise them by himself; but for belief in a man, it must be by another. Therefore, if a man believe in astrology, and find a figure prosperous; or believe in natural magic, and that a ring with such a stone, or such a piece of living creature, carried, will do good, it may help his imagination. But all authority must be turned either upon an art or upon a man; and where authority is from one man to another, there the second must be ignorant, and such are witches and superstitious persons, whose beliefs, tied to their teachers, are in no wit controlled

either by reason or experience (as) boys and young people, whose spirits easiliest take belief and imagination. (Bacon, *Nat. Hist.* 947).

**Automatic musical instruments** There were lately with us certain Batavians who had constructed a musical instrument which, when exposed to the rays of the sun, uttered harmonious sounds. It is probable this was caused by the expansion of heated air, which was able to impart motion to the elements. (Bacon, *Phænomena Universi*, previous to 1622).

## A (Latin)

**A noxe teipsum** A chiding or disgrace. (Bacon, *Col. Good & Evil*).

**Ab omni parte beati** Blessed in all respects. (Bacon).

**Absurdis** Absurd, is applied to the answer given by a deaf man (Sitrdus) which has nothing to do with the question, hence it signifies, deaf to reason, unreasonable. (Bacon, *Essays: VI & XIVII*).

**Ac tibi pro tutis insignia facta placebunt** And to you distinguished deeds please when they are cautious. (Bacon).

**Actum erat de amicitia** Was caused by friendship. (Bacon).

**Ad castigationem, et non ad destructionem** Punishing him, but not to destruction. (Bacon, *Apologie*, 1603).

**Ad filios** Artefius records the conversation wherein his master, Boemund, transmitted to him the first principles of all knowledge, and it is remarkable that in this and similar cases the disciple is called *mi fili* by his instructor, a circumstance which shows from what source Bacon derived the phrase *ad filios*, which appears in the titles of several of his early pieces. Even in the *De Aug.*, the highest and most effectual form of scientific teaching is called the *methodus ad filios*.

I cannot think that the merit of this method had anything to do with secrecy. For the distinctive object of it is stated to be the *coninuatio et ulterior progressus* of knowledge; and its distinctive characteristic, the being *solito apertior*. Its aim was to transfer knowledge into the mind of the disciple in the same form in which it grew in the teacher's mind, like a plant with its roots on, that it might continue to grow. Its other name is *Traditio Lampadis*, alluding to the Greek torch race, which was run, not between individuals, but between what we call *sides*. [Also see *Traditio Lampadis*].

The term *fili* alludes to the successive generations, not who should inherit the secret, but who should carry on the work. (Spedding).

**Ad ollas carniū** To the fleshpots. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Aequinoctia** The equinoxes. (Bacon, *Essays: XV*).

**Aërie mellis coelestia dona** The gift of heaven aërial honey. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II; Virg. *Georg.* IV., 1).

**Affectatio, ingenuitatis putredo lucens** The same image occurs in Raleigh's *Lye*: "go tell the Court it glows and shines like rotten wood." (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI).

**Alia Tiberio morum via** Tiberius' ways were different. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Aliqua sunt injuste facienda, ut multa juste fieri possint** That there may be justice in many things there must be injustice in some. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Aliquid nimis** Anything inappropriate. (Bacon).

**Aliud agree** Get immersed in other things. (Bacon).

**Altum silentium** A lofty silence. (Bacon, *Apologie*, 1603).

**Amici fures temporis** Friends are thieves of time. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Analogia** The intention of this work of Cæsar was probably to determine uncertain points of language by the analogy of cases which were free from doubt. In the *Origines of Isidorous*, I. c. 27, we find an account of what grammarians mean by analogy. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. I).

**Anatomia vivorum** Anatomy of the living subject. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Anchora spei** An anchor of hope. This motto is also found in the Coat of Arms of George Puttenham; a shield with a hand coming out of a cloud and holding onto an anchor entwined with vine. [Also see Part II: *Puttenham George*; Part III: *Arte of English Poesie*]

**Animi nil magnæ laudis egentes** Souls that have no care for praise. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

Souls that care not for praise. (Bacon, *De Aug.*; Virgil, *Æn.* V., 751).

**Animo sedato et libero** Calmer. (Bacon).

**Annon sicut lac mulsisti me, et sicut cascum coagulasti me?** Hast thou not drawn me forth like milk, and curdled me like cheese? (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Ante omnia, fili, custody cor tuum; nam inde procedunt actiones vitæ** Keep thy heart with all diligence, for thereout come the actions of thy life. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Antiperistasin** This doctrine is of the increase of intensity of one of two contraries by the juxtaposition of the other, and is applied by Aristotle (*Meteor.* I. c.13) in the case of heat and cold, to explain the formation of hail. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. II).

**Antiquam exquirite matrem** Seek out your ancient mother. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).



**Antiquitas sæculi juvenus mundi** Early ages were the world's youth. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. I).

Writers, earlier than Bacon or contemporary with him, have given similar reflections. We may refer to Gilbert, to Galileo, to the *Apologia pro Galileo* of Campanella, and particularly to the *Cena di Cenere* of Giordano Bruno; also, in the second book of Esdras, and in Casmann's *Problemata Marina* published in 1546.

**Aqua regia** Mixture of nitric and hydrochloric acids; its power of dissolving gold is ascribed by Davy to the liberation of chlorine by the mutual action of the two acids, the different result in the case of silver arises from the insolubility of chloride of silver. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XII).

**Arcane impereii** Mysteries of empire. (Bacon).

**Ars inveniendi adolescit cum inventis** Every act of discovery advances the art of discovery. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Artificialis congelationis aquæ** The artificial congelation of water by snow and salt. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. III).

**Artiplicis** Artichoke. (Bacon, *Vitæ et Mortis; Syl. Sylv.*).

**Ascendam, et ero similes altissimo** I will ascend and be like unto the highest. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Aspera arteria** Also called *artier*, name for the windpipe, and Greek equivalent *τραχεία* [tracheia] owe their origin to the theory according to which all the arteries are air-vessels. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv.*).

**Audacter calumniare, semper aliquid hæret** That the wounds they inflicted might heal, but would always leave a scar, taken from the advice given by Medius to Alexander's sycophants. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VIII).

**Augusto profluens, et quæ principem deceret, eloquentia fuit** That his style of speech was flowing and prince like. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Aura leni** Easy on the ear, a still small voice. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. I).

**Axiomata** Bacon's way of using the word *axioma* as if it were equivalent to *enuntiatum* or *propositio* he derived from Peter Ramus. [Also see Part II: *Ramus Petrus*; Part III: *Dead Faith in Aristotle*]

The word is used in the same way by Cicero, who probably took it from the Stoics. Bacon's first instance resembles that which Aristotle gives in the *Anal. Post.* I. 8. But most of his other instances are of a different character. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. II).

## B (English)

**Bak'd-meat** Means generally, meat prepared by baking, but in the common usage of our ancestors it signified more usually a meat pie; or perhaps any other pie. This signification has been a good deal

overlooked. Dr. Samuel Johnson says only “meats dressed by the oven;” yet the very quotation he employs, from Bacon, leads to a suspicion of the truth; for there they are classed with sweetmeats.

**Balance** The overplus of weight; that quantity by which, of two things weighed together, one exceeds the other. Care being taken, that the exportation exceed in value the importation; and then the *balance* of trade must of necessity be returned in coin or bullion. (Bacon, *Advice to Villiers*).

**Barbarous** The thing being equally seen in civilised people who know no common language. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Bardes** Ancient poets. (Cockeram).

**Bark** A small ship, from the low Latin *barca*. The Duke of Parma must have flown, if he would have come into England; for he could neither get *bark* nor mariner to put to sea. (Bacon, *War with Spain*).

**Base populace** In the 1622 edition, as seen in the manuscript, it seems to have been first written *populare*. (Bacon, *History of King Henry VII.*).

**Bashfulness** is a great hindrance to a man, both of uttering his conceit, and understanding what is propounded to him; wherefore it is good to press himself forwards with discretion, both in speech, and company of a better sort. (Bacon, *Short Notes for Civil Conversation*).

**Bate** The true meaning of the word is beautifully exemplified in the following passage of Bacon: “Wherein (*viz.*, in matters of business) I would to God that I were hooded, that I saw less; or that I could perform more: for now I am like a hawk that hates, when I see occasion of service; but cannot fly because I am tied to another’s fist.”

**Batoon** A staff or club.

We came close to the shore, and offered to land; but straightways we saw divers of the people with *bastons* in their hands, as it were, forbidding us to land. (Bacon, *New Atlantis*).

**Bay** The state of anything surrounded by enemies, and obliged to face them by an impossibility of escape. This ship, for fifteen hours, fate like a stag among hounds at the *bay*, and was sieged and sought with, in turn, by fifteen great ships. (Bacon, *War with Spain*).

**Be a comfort** Comfortable things. (Bacon, *History of King Henry VIII.*).

**Beastly multitude** Beast with many heads. (Bacon, *Charge against Talbot*, 1614).

Monster with many heads. (Bacon, *Conference of Pleasure*, 1592). This is a characterization of the people, as distinguished from the nobility.

**Beauty** Cosmetic. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

The best part of beauty is that which a picture cannot express. (Bacon, *Remains*).

In beauty, that of favour is more than that of colour, and that of decent and gracious motion, more than that of favour. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Beauty*).

The greatest ornament is the inward beauty of the mind. The gifts or excellencies of the mind are the same as those of the body: beauty, health, strength. Beauty of the mind is showed in graceful and acceptable forms, and sweetness of behaviour. (Bacon, *Advice to Rutland*).

**Behaviour** Is like a garment; and it is easy to make a comely garment for a body that is itself well-proportioned; whereas a deformed body can never be helped by tailors art, but the counterfeit will appear. (Bacon, *Advice to Rutland*).

Behaviour seemeth to me as a garment of the mind, and to have the conditions of a garment. For it ought to be made in fashion; it ought not to be too curious; it ought to be shaped so as to set forth any good making of the mind, and hide any deformity; and, above all, it ought not to be too straight or restrained for exercise and motion. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VIII. Ch. 1).

Seldom did I see his Lordship take up a book. He only ordered his chaplain and me to look in such and such an author for a certain place, and then he dictated to us early in the morning what he had invented and composed during the night. (Peter Boëner, one of Bacon's servants).

**Betel** Is a certain root, celebrated through all the East, which the Indians and others use to carry in their mouths, and chew; whereby they are wonderfully refreshed, and enabled to endure fatigues, and throw off disorders, and strengthened for sexual intercourse. It appears to be a kind of narcotic, because it blackens the teeth exceedingly. (Bacon, *History of Life and Death*).

**Better** Is the last smile than the first laughter. (Bacon, *Col. Good & Evil*).

**Beware** Of being too material; of keeping too close to the matter. (Bacon, *Essays: XXV*).

**Bewray** To reveal.

**Birds** Are as well taught in the dark as by light. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Birth** A soul was carried to its birth. (Bacon, *Plato's Republic*).

**Blame** Epictetus used to say (1) that one of the vulgar, in any ill that happens to him, blames others; (2) a novice in philosophy blames himself; (3) and a philosopher blames neither the one nor the other. (Bacon, *Apo.* 250, 233).

**Blaming** I love a confessing modesty, I hate an accusing one. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Antitheta).<sup>51</sup>

**Blanch** To give a fair appearance; to disguise. And commonly, by amusing men with a subtlety, blanch the matter. (Bacon, *Essay: XXVI*).

**Black** Will take no other hue. (Bacon, *Promus*, fol. 83).

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51 To this, Spedding appends this foot-note: "I do not understand this sentence."

**Bleed afresh** That the wounds of a body slain will bleed afresh upon the approach of the murderer. (Bacon, *Apophthegms*).

**Blind** Not having all the facts.

He that cannot see well, let him go softly. (Bacon, *Remains*).

**Blood** To heat; to exasperate.

When the faculties intellectual are in vigour, or drenched, or, as it were, *blooded* by the affections. (Bacon, *Apophthegms*).

By this means, matters grew more exasperate; the auxiliary forces of French and English were much *blooded* one against another. (Bacon, *Henry VII.*).

I ever liked the Galenists, that deal with good compositions, and not the Paracelsians, that deal with these fine separations. (Bacon, *Letter to Cecil*, 1595).

**Bloody Percy** Modern biographers refer to Lady Anne Bacon's dislike for "bloody Percy" who is also coined as "Francis Bacon's bed companion". (Spedding).<sup>52</sup>

**Board** They learn what associates and correspondents they had, and how far everyone is engaged, and what new ones they meant afterwards to try or *board*. (Bacon, *Henry VII.*).

**Boldness** Is the pioneer of folly, confidence is the mistress of fools, and the sport of wise men. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Antitheta).

Boldness is ever blind; for it seeth not dangers and inconveniences: therefore it is ill in counsel, good in execution; so that the right use of bold persons is, that they never command in chief, but be seconds under the directions of others; for in counsel it is good to see dangers, and in execution not to see them except they be very great. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Boldness*).

Boldness is dullness of the sense joined with malice of the will. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Antitheta).

**Books** We see, then, how far the monuments of wit and learning are more durable than the monuments of power or of the bands. For have not the verses of Homer continued twenty-five hundred years or more, without the loss of a syllable or letter; during which time infinite palaces, temples, castles, cities, have been decayed and demolished? (Bacon, *Adv.*, 1603–05).

It is not possible to have the true pictures or statues of Cyrus, Alexander, Caesar, no, nor of the Kings or great personages of much later years, for the originals cannot last, and the copies cannot but leese of the life and truth. But the images of men's wits and knowledges remain in books, exempted from the wrong of time and capable of perpetual renovation. (*Ibid*).

It is a matter of common discourse of the chain of sciences how they are linked together, insomuch as the Grecians, who had terms at will, have fitted it of a name of Circle Learning. (Bacon, *Of the Interpretation of Nature*, 1603).

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52 *Works*, Vol. I., p. 349

The circle mentioned by Jaques is the circle of the sciences, called by the Greeks Encyclopaedia. An adept in one science, and one only, may, in badinage, be considered a “fool,” for, as Bacon undertakes to prove, a knowledge of all sciences is necessary for the full comprehension of any one. He cites the case of Copernicus in point. Copernicus, as an astronomer, reached the conclusion that the sun is the centre of the solar system, an opinion, says Bacon, “which astronomy cannot correct because it is not repugnant to any of the appearances, yet natural philosophy doth correct.” The banished Duke, in seeking to please a stubborn will in one direction, has disregarded or lost sight of other interests, and thus, technically considered, become a fool.

**Briareus** With his hundred hands to his aid. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Broach** A spit.

He was taken into service to a base office in his kitchen; so that he turned a *broach*, that had worn a crown. (Bacon, *Henry VII.*).

**Burden** It is of use in lading of ships, and may help to shew what *burden*, in the several kinds, they will bear. (Bacon, *Remains*).

**By** According to; noting permission.

It is lawful, both by the laws of nature and nations, and *by* the law divine, which is the perfection of the other two. (Bacon, *Holy War*).

**By precedent pact** Such pact implying that it was in the right one should reign. (Bacon, *History of King Henry VII.*).

## B (Latin)

**Balneum maris** Bain marie; a mode of communicating heat to any substance by putting it into a vessel which is placed in another containing water. The latter being put on the fire; the former and its contents become gradually and moderately heated. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XLIX).

**Beati pacifi** Blessed are the peacemakers. (Bacon).

**Beatius est dare quam accipere.** It is more blessed to give than to receive. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Benevolum auditorem** Solicit my listener's goodwill. (Bacon).

**Benignitas hujus ut adolescentuli est.** He is as generous as if he were a young man. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Bezoar** Stone-like concretion found in the stomach of different animals, particularly in that of a kind of goat in parts of Persia; an antidote to almost all poisons; its name is a corruption of *baal zoar* [Lord of poisons]. (Bacon, *Vita et Mortis*).

**Bona exta** Good entrails. (Bacon).

**Bona fama propria possessio defunctorum.** Good fame is all that a dead man can possess. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II). Compare Cicero, *Philippic.* 9. 5, with the opening of the λόγος ἐπιτάφιος [epitaph speech] 1389–10.

**Bona magis earendo quam fruendo sentimus.** It is by missing a good thing that we become sensible of it. (Bacon, *Col. Good & Evil*).

**Bonæ artes** Honest arts. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Brizam** In Acosta's *History of the Indies* the trade wind is called *brise*, which corresponds to Bacon's *briza*. Acosta mentions the difference between the course followed in going to Peru and in returning from it. (Bacon, *Hist. Vent*).

## C (English)

**Cabinet** When a Cabinet answers is exactly to what Bacon calls a Counsel of State. (Bacon, *Essays: XX*).

**Cæsar and Cleopatra** There was an Egyptian soothsayer that made Antonius believe that his genius (which otherwise was brave and confident) was, in the presence of Octavius Cæsar, poor and cowardly; and therefore he advised him to absent himself as much as he could and remove far from him. This soothsayer was thought to be suborned by Cleopatra. (Bacon, *Natural History*, 1622–25).

Others, that draw nearer to probability, calling to their view the secrets of things and especially the contagion that passeth from body to body, do conceive that there should be some transmissions and operations from spirit to spirit without the mediation of the senses; whence the conceit has grown of the mastering spirit. (Bacon, *Adv.*, 1603–05).

A similar story is to be found in North's translation of Plutarch's life of Anthony, which Shakespeare<sup>53</sup> may have seen as well as Bacon; and it is true that some parts of it are very closely followed in the play. There is little doubt that the writer had read Plutarch. But Plutarch makes the soothsayer a member of the household of Anthony at Rome: "with Antonius there was a Soothsayer or Astronomer of Egypt that could cast a figure and judge of men's nativities, to tell them what should happen to them." But the play, like Bacon's story, makes him not only an Egyptian, but one of the household of Cleopatra; and in the play, he is sent by Cleopatra as one of her numerous messengers from Egypt to Rome to induce Anthony to return to Egypt; and in this he is successful; all which is in exact keeping with Bacon's statement that he was thought to be suborned by Cleopatra to make Anthony live in Egypt; but of this there is not the least hint in Plutarch. All this goes strongly to show that this story, together with the doctrine

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53 *Anthony and Cleopatra*, Act II., Sc. 3 (1623)

of a predominant or mastering spirit of one man over another, went into the play through the Baconian strainer; for it is next to incredible that both Bacon and Shakespeare should make the same variations upon the common original. (Holmes).<sup>54</sup>

**Calamitas** The destruction of the calamus or stalk, either by storms or by disease.

First derived from *calamus*, when the corn could not get out of the stalk. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Calumny** There is nothing so good that it may not be perverted by reporting it ill. (Bacon, *Promus* 1072 in the Latin).

**Cambaline** The word is properly *Khambalik*, the Tartar name for Peking. Known also as *Cambalu*, the reading of the common text of Marco Polo. (Bacon, *New Atlantis*).

**Cankers** Cancer.

The fifth counsellor, advising him virtue and a gracious government. (Bacon, *Gesta Grayorum*).

**Cannibals** The parable of Pythagoras is dark but true, *Corne edito*: eat not the heart. Certainly, if a man would give it a hard phrase, those that want friends to open themselves unto are cannibals of their own hearts. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Friendship*).

**Capable** From *capere*, to take; able to receive; qualified to hold or possess (property). First known appearance of the word in this primitive sense; a strict Latinism, “used here,” says Mr. White for *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, “in a peculiarly and unmistakably Shakespearean manner. Yet it has been proposed to read palpable. The change is one of a kind that commends itself to the approval of those who have not fully apprehended the peculiarities of Shakespeare’s diction.” But we find the same word in the same sense in contemporary prose: “They had been made fully *capable* of the clearness of the title.” (Bacon, 1621).

**Capias Utlagatum** Is a writ that lies against a person who is outlawed in any action, by which the sheriff is commanded to apprehend the body of the party outlawed, for not appearing upon the exigent, and keep him in safe custody till the day of return, and then present him to the court, there to be dealt with for his contempt; who, in Common Pleas, was in former times to be committed to the Fleet, there to remain till he had sued out the King’s pardon and appeared to the action. And by a special *capias utlagatum* (against the body, lands and goods in the same writ) the sheriff is commanded to seize all the defendant’s lands, goods and chattels, for the contempt to the King; and the plaintiff (after an inquisition taken thereupon, and returned into the Exchequer) may have the lands extended and a grant of the goods, etc., whereby to compel the defendant to appear; which, when he doth, if he reverse the outlawry, the same shall be restored to him. (Jacob).<sup>55</sup> [Also see Part III: *Capius Utlagatum*].

<sup>54</sup> Holmes Nathaniel. *Authorship of Shakespeare*, Vol. I., p. 292

<sup>55</sup> *Law Dictionary*, Vol. IV. p. 454

**Care** One of the natural and true-bred children of unfeigned affection. (Bacon, *Letter to Queen Elizabeth I*).

**Case in** A sure retreat to his forces, *in case* they would have an ill day, or unlucky chance in the field. (Bacon, *Henry VII.*).

**Cassytas** In Syria there is an herb called *cassytas*, that groweth out of tall trees, and windeth itself about the same tree where it groweth; and sometimes about thorns. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv.*).

**Cast of the eye** A gesture of aversion, or lothness to behold the object of pity. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv.*).

**Cast to** We have three that bend themselves, looking into the experiments of their fellows, and *cast* about how to draw out of them things of use and practice for man's life and knowledge. (Bacon, *New Atlantis*).

**Cat** The cat would eat fish, but she will not wet her foot. (Bacon, *Promus* 639).

**Cat in pan** To turn cat in pan, a proverbial expression implying perfidy, but of which it is not easy to trace the origin. Bacon defines it as if it meant turning the tables upon a man, or reversing the truth.

There is a cunning, which we in England call, the turning of the cut in the pan; which is, when that which a man says to another, he lays it as if another had said it to him. (*Essay: XXIII*).

**Causes** Ignorance of the cause frustrates the effect even the effects discovered are due to cause; the sole cause and root of every defect is this. As the present sciences are useless for the discovery of effects, so the present system of logic is useless for the sciences. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Bk. I).

**Cautelously** Cunningly; sily; treacherously. The word is no longer in use.

All pretorian courts, if any of the parties be laid asleep, under pretence of a retirement, and the other party doth *cautelously* get the start and advantage; yet they will act back all things in *statu quo prius*. (Bacon, *War with Spain*).

**Celsus** *Err*; remark in *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismi LXXIII., is not made by Celsus as the expression of his own opinion; it occurs in his statement of the views entertained by the empirical school of medicine, to which he is decidedly opposed. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. II).

**Ceremony** Not to use ceremonies at all, is to teach others not to use them again, and so diminisheth respect to himself, especially if they be not to be omitted to strangers and formal natures. But the dwelling upon them, and exalting them above the moon, is not only tedious, but doth diminish the faith and credit of him that speaks. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Ceremonies and Respect*).

Ceremonies and green rushes are for strangers. (Bacon, *Promus* 118).

**Chamoletting of paper** The Turks have a pretty art of *chamoletting* of paper, which is not with us in use. They take divers oiled colours, and put them severally (in drops) upon water; and stir the water



lightly; and then wet their paper (being of some thickness) with it; and the paper will be waved and veined, like chamolet or marble. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*). [Also see Part III: *Paper Making of the age*].

**Changeable** That all things are changed, and that nothing really perishes, and that the sum of matter remains exactly the same, is sufficiently certain. (Bacon, *The Nature of Things*).

Ta pánta réi, τα πάντα ρεῖ, all things flow. (Aristophanes).

How wine changes its flavour and complexion in cellars, according to the changes and seasons of the vine from whence it came. Stand a little aside, that the sun may come to me and do not to pray that all things may go as we would have them. (Bacon, *The Nature of Things*).

**Character** Cunning in the humours of persons, but not in the condition of actions. (Bacon, *Promus* 104).

It is one thing to understand persons, and another to understand matters; for many are perfect in men's humours that are not greatly capable of the real part of business. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Cunning*).

**Charge** Honourable retreats are no ways inferior to brave *charges*; as having less of fortune, more of discipline, and as much of valour. (Bacon, *War with Spain*).

**Chariots with sails** Constructed by Stevinus in 1600 and went three times as fast as a ship at sea. (Bacon, *Hist. Vent*). One of these ships was still in existence at Steveninque in 1802, and that on the occasion of the marriage of the Prince of Brunswick it was brought out. [Also see *Ships*.]

**Charity** Is excellently called “the bond of perfection” because it comprehends and fastens all virtues together. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. VII).

In charity there is no excess, neither can angel or man come in danger by it. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Goodness*).

**Checkroll** Not daring to extend this law further than to the King's servants in *checkroll*, left it should have been too harsh to the gentlemen of the kingdom. (Bacon, *Henry VII.*).

**Chewet** Certainly meant a sort of minced or forced-meat pie; but as prince Henry, when he calls Falstaff *chewet*, is reproving him for unseasonable chattering, interrupting grave business. it is more likely that he alluded to the chattering bird, called in French *chouëte*, by us chough, or jack-daw. Common birds had always a variety of names. As for the other *chewet*, Cotgrave uses it to explain the French word *goubelet*, thus, “a little round pie, resembling our *chuet*. Bacon mentions *chuets*, in his *Natural History*, and calls them minced meat.

**Children of good parents** You cannot find any man of rare felicity but either he died childless or else he was unfortunate in his children. (Bacon, *Memorial to Queen Elizabeth* (1608). This most extraordinary opinion, expressed by Bacon in 1608, that happy men are always unfortunate in their children (if they have any), was held also by the author of the *Tempest*, a play composed in

about 1613: "It is the good parent," says Shakespeare, "that begets children false to him." In the *De Aug.*, Bacon reiterates the statement, by way of an exaggerated antithesis, thus: "They that are fortunate in other things are commonly unfortunate in their children; lest men should come too near the condition of gods."

**Chirographer** *Heiro* the hand, and *graphi* to write.

He that exercises or professes the art or business of writing. Thus passeth it from this office to the *chirographer's* to be engrossed. (Bacon, *Office of Alienation*).

**Choice** Surely I think no man could ever more truly say of himself with the Psalmist than I can, "My soul hath been a stranger in her pilgrimage." So I seem to have my conversation among the ancients more than among those with whom I live, and why should I not likewise converse rather with the absent than the present, and make my friends by choice and election, rather than suffer them, as the manner is, to be settled by accident? (Bacon, *Letter to Casaubon*).

**Churlish** The Cornish were become like metal often fired and quenched, *churlish*, and that would sooner break than bow. (Bacon, *Henry VII.*).

**Churme** Confused murmuring noise. (Bacon, *Life of Henry VII.*).

**Chymist** A term used figuratively signifying poets or romanticists.

**Cincture** An inclosure.

The Court and prison being within the *cincture* of one wall. (Bacon, *Henry VII.*).

**Circumlocution** It is strange how long some men will lie in wait to speak some what they desire to say, and how far about they will fetch. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Cunning*, 1625).

**Cittern** And the lute are the same instrument. (Hawkins). <sup>56</sup>

**Civil** Not foreign; intestine.

From a *civil* war God of his mercy defend us, as that which is most desperate of all others. (Bacon, *Advice to Villiers*).

**Civil history** I am not altogether ignorant in the laws of history and of the kinds. The same hath been taught by many, but by no man better and with greater brevity than by that excellent learned gentleman Sir Francis Bacon. (Raleigh). <sup>57</sup>

**Civilly** Without gay or gaudy colours. The chambers were handsome and cheerful, and furnished *civilly*. (Bacon, *New Atlantis*).

**Claver** Clover. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv.*).

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<sup>56</sup> *History Of Music*

<sup>57</sup> Preface to the *History of the World*

**Clericals** To be analogous to Regal and Virginal, which are known musical instruments. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Coffa** The use of coffee was, when Bacon wrote, of comparatively recent introduction at Constantinople. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Coffer** To treasure up in chests.

Treasure, as a war might draw forth, so a peace succeeding might *coffer* up. (Bacon, *Henry VII*).

**Coif** Lady's cap; the serjeant's cap.

Judges of the four circuits in Wales, although they are not of the first magnitude, nor need be of the degree of the *coif*, yet are they considerable. (Bacon, *Advice to Villiers*).

**Colours of Light** Some of the stars are white. (Bacon, *Light and Luminous Matter*).

Common flames are generally saffron-coloured. (*Ibid*).

The flame of sulphur is a beautiful blue. (*Ibid*).

Ignited iron is red-dish. (*Ibid*).

All colours are equal in the dark. (*Ibid*).

**Come** One said to Aristippus, "tis a strange thing why men should rather give to the poor than to philosophers." He answered, "because they think themselves may sooner *come* to be poor than to be philosophers. (Bacon, *Apophthegms*).

**Compassion** If a man be compassionate towards the afflictions of others, it shows that his heart is like the noble tree that is wounded itself when it gives the balm. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Goodness*).

**Compliment** Where reputation (or honour) is not, it must be supplied by puntos and compliments. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Commistione** Bacon means that the union of bodies of different kinds, by giving rise to new qualities and species intermediate to those for which we have recognised names. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismi XVI).

**Conditional** Sacrifice of salvation. A matter frequently referred to in the unhappy controversy between Bossuet and Fenelon. The thirty-third of the *Articles of Issy*, which they both signed, sanctions the notion of this conditional sacrifice. Fenelon's own views on the subject are developed in his *Instruction Pastorale*, &c., sec. 10., and elsewhere. St. Chrysostom, according to a passage quoted by Fenelon, disapproved greatly of those who held that St. Paul speaks merely of temporal death. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VII).

**Conditions of beings** It remains to inquire in this alphabet into the conditions of transcendental beings, which have little concern with the body of nature, but yet in the method of inquiry which I use will give no small light to the rest. (Bacon, *Abecedarium Naturæ*). [Also see *Rule of the Alphabet*.]

**Conduit** There is in St. James' Fields a *conduit* of brick, unto which joineth a low vault; and at the end of that a round house of stone; and in the brick *conduit* there is a window; and in the round house a slit or rift of some little breadth; if you cry out in the rift, it will make a fearful roaring at the window. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*). The conduit in question stood near the spot occupied by the statue of William III., in the garden of St. James' Square. (Timbs). <sup>58</sup>

**Cone** Bacon's expressions to this are that the eye must be at a certain distance from the object in order that an effectual visual cone may be formed. He does not speak either of optical images or of rays, in the senses, which we attach to those words. (Bacon, *Telesius, De Rerum Naturâ*). <sup>59</sup>

**Confidence** The second [rule] is to keep a discreet temper and mediocrity both in liberty of speech and in secrecy; in most cases using liberty, but secrecy when the occasion requires it. (Bacon, *De Aug*).

**Conflict** The best doctors of this knowledge are the poets, where we may find painted and dissected to the life, how affections are to be stirred up and kindled; how still'd and laid asleep; how to set affection against affection, and by the help of one to master and reclaim the other. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, 1622).

**Conformity** Of the conformation of men to the business of society. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Conjunction of labours** Frailty of man. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Conscience** From *con-scire*, to know inwardly; judgment, opinion, consciousness. So used also by Fox, 1563–87.

The *conscience* of good intentions. (Bacon, *Promus*).

**Consent** The word *consent* is used in a very peculiar sense. In its ordinary meaning, it is derived from the Latin *consentire*, to agree, but Bacon expresses the idea of harmony or concord, from *concinere* (*concanere*) to sing together. Bacon often uses metaphors, suggested by the science of music, in his writings. He compares, precisely as Shakespeare does, the ideal state of society, in which all its members, of differing capacities, tastes and acquirements, should work together for the common good, to harmonious chords. In one of his speeches in the House of Commons he said: "For consent, where tongue-strings, not heart-strings, make the music, that harmony may end in discord."

**Conservation of bodies** It is strange and well to be noted, how long dead bodies have continued uncorrupt and in their former dimensions, as appeareth in the mummies of Egypt; having lasted, as is conceived (some of them), three thousand years. (Bacon, *Natural History*, 1622–25).

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<sup>58</sup> *Curiosities of London*

<sup>59</sup> VI. c. 23, 24

**Constancy** Wretched is the man who knows not what himself may become. Even vices derive a grace from constancy. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Antitheta).

**Contain** From *con-tinere*, to hold together, to keep.

I have marveled sometimes at Spain, how they clasp and *contain* so large dominions with so few natural Spaniards. (Bacon).

**Contempt** Is that which putteth an edge upon anger. Men must beware that they carry their anger with scorn rather than fear, so that they may seem to be rather above the injury than below it. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Anger*).

**Continuati** Continuously carried on. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum I).

**Contraction and Expansion** Francis Bacon's list showing the Contraction and Expansion of Matter in Respect of Space, in Tangible Bodies such as are endowed with weight; with a computation of the proportions in different bodies. The same space is occupied by a quantity of:

		Dwt.	Gr
Pure gold	Weighing	20	0
Quicksilver		19	9
Lead		12	1½
Pure silver		10	21
Tin glass		10	12
Copper	9	8	
Yellow brass		9	5
Steel		8	10
Common brass	8	9	
Iron		8	6
Tin		7	22
Loadstone		5	12
Touchstone		3	1
Marble		2	22¾
Flint		2	22½
Glass		2	20½
Crystal	2	18	
Alabaster		2	12
Muriate of soda		2	10
Common clay		2	8½
White clay		2	5½
Nitre		2	5

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Ox bone	2	5
Powder of pearls	2	2
Sulphur	2	2
Common earth	2	1½
White vitriol	1	22
Ivory	1	21½
Alum	1	21
Oil of vitriol	1	21
White sand	1	20
Chalk	1	18½
Oil of sulphur	1	18
Powder of common salt	1	10
Lignum vitæ	1	10
Mutton	1	10
Aqua fortis	1	7
Ox horn	1	6
Indian balsam	1	6
Raw calves' brains	1	5
<i>a little less</i>		
Sheep's blood	1	5
Red sandal wood	1	5
Jet	1	5
Fresh onion	1	5
Cow's milk	1	4½
Camphor	1	4
Pressed mint juice	1	4
Pressed orange juice	1	3½
Strong beer of hops	1	3½
Ebony wood	1	3½
Powder of sweet fennel seed	1	3½
Vinegar	1	3½
Cider of sour apples	1	3
Clear amber	1	3
Urine	1	3
Common water	1	3
		<i>a little less</i>
Chemical oil of cloves	1	3
		<i>a little less</i>

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Claret		1	2¾
Powder of white sugar	1	2½	
Yellow wax		1	2
China root		1	2
Raw winter pear		1	2
Distilled vinegar		1	1
Distilled rose water		1	1
Common ashes	1	0½	
Myrrh		1	0
Benzoin		1	0
Butter		1	0
Fat		1	0
Oil of sweet almonds		0	23½
Pressed oil of green mace		0	23½
Powder of sweet Marjoram		0	23
Petroleum		0	23
Powder of rose flowers	0	22	
Spirit of wine		0	22
Oak wood		0	19½
Powder of common soot from the Chimney		0	17
Fir wood		0	15

**Contraries** There are armies of contraries in the world, as of Dense and Rare, Hot and Cold, Light and Darkness, Animate and Inanimate, and many others, which oppose, deprive, and destroy one another in turn. To suppose that these all emanate from one source seems but a confused speculation. (Bacon, *De Principiis Works*).<sup>60</sup>

Passions ever turn to their contraries; and, therefore, the most furious men after their first blaze is spent, be commonly the most fearful. (Bacon, *Advice to Rutland*).

**Control** I speak, not of the reign of women (for that is supplied by counsel and subordinate magistrates masculine), but where the regiment of state, of justice, of families, is all managed by women. (Bacon, *Advertisement touching a Holy War*).

**Controversy** This disease requireth rather rest than any other cure. (Bacon, *Advertisement touching Controversies*).

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<sup>60</sup> V. 475

**Convent** To call before a judge or judicature.

They sent forth their precepts to attach men, and *convent* them before themselves at private houses. (Bacon, *Henry VII.*).

**Convulsions** A forced and abrupt style. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Conny-catching** Elizabethan slang word for a particular method of cheating at cards, but it came to be used in a general sense for all kinds of tricks by which rogues and sharpers beguiled simple people of their money.

**Core** The word is derived from *corps* French pronounced *core*, and is used by Bacon for a body or collection.

**Corn-flowers** There be certain corn-flowers which come seldom or never in other places unless they be set, but only amongst corn. (Bacon, *Natural History*, 1622–25).

**Cornaro's tracts** The first edition on the prolongation of life was published in 1558, containing three of the four tracts included in the complete editions. (Bacon, *Vitæ et Mortis*).

Lessius appended a Latin translation to his *Hygiasticon* in 1613 and an English translation was published in 1636 where the editor prefixes an extract from the *Vitæ et Mortis* that it is not amiss “to make use of the decree of that Great Chancellor of Learning as well as of the Law, the late Viscount St. Alban’s.”

**Counsel** Was not observed in Bacon’s time and was being used for advice; Counsellor for a person who gives advice; Council for a Board of Counsellors; Councillor for a member of such Board. (Bacon, *History of King Henry VII.*).

**Counsels** Princes (should beware) lest thinking too meanly of their power, they submit to timorous and effeminate counsels. (Bacon, *The Military Statesman*).

**Counsellors** The dead are the best counsellors. (Bacon, *Promus* 364 of the Latin; *Essay: Of Counsel*).

The only violent counsellors are anger and fear. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI Antitheta 44).

**Country fruits** Now, because I am in the country, I will send you some of my country fruits, which with me are good meditations. (Bacon, *Letter to Villiers*, 1616).

**Courses of proof** First, upon point of favour of law. Secondly, upon reasons and authorities of law. And lastly, upon former precedents and examples. (Bacon, *Case of Post-Nati of Scotland*).

**Covenous** Fraudulent; collusive; tricklish.

I wish some means devised for the restraint of these inordinate and covenous leafs of lands, holden in chief, for hundreds or thousands of years. (Bacon, *Office of Alienation*).



**Creaths** Creaghts, or Criaghts, the wild homeless fellows who wandered about the country with their cattle.

**Crediting one's own lie** It was generally believed that he was indeed Duke Richard. Nay, himself, with long and continual counterfeiting and with oft telling a lie, was turned by habit almost into the thing he seemed to be; and from a liar into a believer. (Bacon, *History of Henry VII.*, 1621). A sentiment uttered by Tacitus in his *Annals*. Bacon quoted the Latin sentence containing it, in the *Adv.*, 1605 but with an entire misconception of its meaning. He then rendered it thus: "The man who easily believes rumors will as easily manufacture additions to them." Later in life, however, he seems to have gained a better insight into the passage, the true signification of which, enlarged into a proverb, is, that untruthful persons credit even their own lies. It is so given both in the *History of Henry VII.*, (1621) and in the *Tempest* (1623). The qualification that a lie is to be repeated many times as a condition precedent to such belief is not in Tacitus, but is peculiar alike to Bacon and to Shakespeare:

Telling oft. (Shakespeare).

Oft telling. (Bacon).

**Credulity** A credulous man is a deceiver; as we see it in fame and rumours, that lie that will believe rumours will as easily augment rumours which Tacitus wisely notes in these words: "They invent, and at the same time believe their inventions." Such affinity there is between a propensity to deceive, and a facility to deceive, and a facility to believe. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Cretine** Floods, derived from *cresco*. (Bacon, *Maxims of the Law*).

**Crocodile tears** It is the wisdom of crocodiles that shed tears when they would devour. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Wisdom*, 1625). Taken from the *Adagia* of Erasmus, the Latin work from which Bacon introduced more than two hundred proverbs into his commonplace book, *Promus*.

**Crushed the sciences** Like a path much trodden. (Bacon, *Nov. Org*).

**Crying at birth** Men are sent headlong into this wretched theatre, where, being arrived, their first language is that of mourning. (Bacon, *Posthumous Essay: Of Death*).

**Culture of the mind** Method of culture. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Cupid** The stories told by the ancients concerning Cupid, or Love, cannot all apply to the same person; and indeed they themselves make mention of two Cupids, very widely differing from one another; one being said to be the oldest, the other the youngest of the gods. (Bacon, *Cupid and Caelum*). [Also see *Love*.]

**Current through Bosphorus** In the Mediterranean Sea, a slight ebb begins at the Atlantic, but a flow from the other end. (Bacon, *De Fluxu et Refluxu Maris*, 1616).

**Custom** Many examples may be put of the force of custom upon mind and body. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Custom*).

Custom makes the thing natural, as it were, to the user. If custom be strong to confirm any one virtue more than another, it is the virtue of fortitude. (Bacon, *Advice to Rutland*).

Since custom is the principal magistrate of a man's life, let men by all means endeavour to obtain good customs. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Custom*).

**Cypher** A circle in arithmetic, like the letter O. (Cockeram).

He that plotteth to be the only figure amongst ciphers is the decay of an whole age. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Ambition*, 1607–12).

According to a BBC article written by Chris Summers in 2006, an American gang called the Aryan Brotherhood was convicted by a jury after being charged with murder and racketeering. Whilst their stay in prison, it was claimed that they employed a 400-year-old binary code system devised by Sir Francis Bacon, with notes being smuggled out by guards, hidden in mop handles or under rocks in the recreation yards.

## C (Latin)

**Cæterum aut me amor negotii suscepti fallit, aut nulla unquam respublica nec major, nec sanctor, nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit; nec in quam tam seræ avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint; nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniæ honos fuerit:** That if affection for his subject did not deceive him, there was never any state in the world either greater or purer or richer in good examples; never any into which avarice and luxury made their way so late; never any in which poverty and frugality were of so long a time held in so great honour. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Candida succinctam latrantibus inguina monstris.** There were barking monsters all about her loins. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Caphura** Camphor. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XII).

**Cato optime sentit, sed nocet interdum reipublicæ; loquitur enim tanquam in republica Platonis, non tanquam in fæce Romuli:** Cato means excellently well; but he does hurt sometimes to the state; for he talks as if it were Plato's *Republic* that we are living in, and not the dregs of Romulus. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Cedere temporibus** Give way to the times. (Bacon).

**Claudus in via antevertit cursorem extra viam.** The cripple that keeps the way gets to the end of the journey sooner than the runner who goes aside. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Cœnæ fercula nostræ malle convivis quam placuisse cocis.** The dinner is to please the guests that eat it, not the cook that dresses it. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Cogita quamdiu eadem feceris; cibus, somnus, ludus; per hunc circulum curritur; mori velle non tantum fortus, aut miser, aut prudens, sed etiam fastidiosus potest:** If you consider, how often you do the same thing over and over; food, sleep, exercise, and then food, sleep, exercise again, and so round and round; you will think that there needs neither fortitude nor misery nor wisdom to reconcile a man to death; one might wish to die for mere weariness of being alive. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Collegia majora** Earth, are distinguished from *species*, such as a rose or a horse, although logically speaking each element may be defined by genus and differentia, as really as any *species infima*. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. II).

**Cometarum** Comets, that they were merely meteoric exhalations are the thesis maintained by Galileo in his *Saggiatore*. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XII).

**Commentaries novus** A new notebook. (Bacon).

**Commune vinculum** Shared bond.

**Comparentia** Law term equivalent to *appearance* in such phrases as *to enter an appearance*. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XI).

**Compositio** Combined. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*).

**Compositionis et divisionis** Synthesis and analysis. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*).

**Conscientiam bonam jube esse convivium.** He that is of a merry heart hath a continual feast. (Proverbs, XV; Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VII).

We must institute an inquiry concerning existence and non existence, which comes seventy third in order, and is marked by  $\alpha \alpha \alpha$ . (*Ibid*).

Possibility and impossibility are nothing else than potentiality or non potentiality of being. Let the seventy fourth inquiry be on this subject, and be marked  $\beta \beta \beta$ . (*Ibid*).

Much and little, rare and common, are the potentialities of being in quantity. Let the seventy fifth inquiry be concerning them, and be marked by  $\gamma \gamma \gamma$ . (*Ibid*).

Durable and transitory eternal and momentary, are potentialities of being in duration. Let the seventy sixth inquiry be concerning them, and be marked  $\delta \delta \delta$ . (*Ibid*).

Natural and unnatural are potentialities of being, according to the course of nature, or according to deviations from it. Let the seventy-seventh inquiry, marked  $\epsilon \epsilon \epsilon$ , be concerning them. (*Ibid*).

Natural and artificial are potentialities of being, without or by means of human assistance. Let the seventy-eighth inquiry, marked  $\zeta \zeta \zeta$ , be concerning them. (*Ibid*).

**Consensuum** *συμπάθεια*, Sympathy. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XLIX).

**Consummatum est** It is finished. (Bacon).

**Contubernales naturæ** Telesius maintained that heat and light were *contubernales naturæ* and that where one was present the other must be present too. Bacon, with a more subtle insight into nature, proposed to trace the analogy, which might exist between them in cases where the dogma of Telesius seemed unfounded. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. V).

**Corni contra croci** Good means against bad, homes to crosses. (Bacon, *Promus*, fol. 83).

**Corruptionis** In the *Physics*, Aristotle does not reckon *Generation* and *Corruption* as kinds of motion, but Bacon's enumeration is that given in the *Categories*. [Also see *Generationis*.]

**Cretenses semper mendaces, malæ bestioe, ventres pigri.** The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Cuique in sua arte credendum.** The knowledge that pertains to each art must be taken on trust from those that profess it. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Cum ex dignitate populi Romani repertum sit, res illustres annalibus, talia diurnis urbis actis mandare:** That it had been thought suitable to the dignity of the Roman people to enter in their *Annals* only matters of note and greatness; leaving such things as these to the *Journal Records* of the city. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Cum totius iniustitia nulla capitalior sit quam eorum, qui tum cum maxime fallunt id agunt ut viri boni esse videantur:** There is no more capital injustice than that of those men who strive to seem good at the time they are being particularly deceitful.

**Curiosus in aliena republica.** A meddler in other nations' matters. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Custos sigilli** Keeper of the Seal. (Bacon).

**Cymini sector** [κυμνοπρίστης]; cinamonian. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. I).

## D (English)

**Death** Revenge triumphs over death; love slights it; honour aspireth to it; grief flieth to it; delivery from ignominy chooseth it. (Bacon, *Essays: II*).

The same man that was envied while he lived, shall be loved when he is gone. (Bacon, *Essays: II*).

I shall be loved when I am gone. (Shakespeare).<sup>61</sup>

Men fear Death, as children fear to go in the dark; and as that natural fear in children is increased with tales, so is the other. (Bacon, *Essays: II*).

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61 *Corlianus*, Act IV. Sc. 6

I know many wise men fear to die; for the change is bitter, and flesh would refuse to prove it: besides, the expectation bringeth terror, and that exceeds the evil. But I do not believe that any man fears to be dead, but only the stroke of death. (Bacon, *Post. Essay: Of Death*).

So much of our life as we have discovered is already dead; and all those hours which we share, even from (birth to death) are part of our dying days, whereof this is one, and those that succeed are of the like nature, for we die daily, and I am older since I affirmed it. (Bacon, *Post. Essay: Of Death*).

**December 11** A little old man kept himself very dirty; whereupon one said he was like the 11th of December, meaning the shortest day. (*Anonymiana*, 1818).

**Deformity** Deformed persons are generally even with Nature; for as Nature hath done ill by them, so do they by Nature, being for the most part (as the Scripture saith) void of natural affection, and so they have their revenge of Nature. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Deformity*).

If deformed persons be of spirit (they will) seek to free themselves from scorn, which must be either by virtue or malice. Whosoever hath anything fixed in his person that doth induce contempt, hath also a perpetual spur in himself to rescue and deliver himself from scorn. Therefore, all deformed persons be extreme bold. (*Ibid*).

Deformed persons seek to rescue themselves from scorn by malice. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, 1622).

**Deafness** To cure deafness is difficult. (Bacon, *Promus* 1594–96).

Nothing is so hard to cure as the ear. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, 1622).

**Death-bed** Diomedes, having wounded Venus in battle, was put to death for impiety, and his followers were changed into swans, “a bird,” says Bacon, “which at the approach of its own death utters a sweet and plaintive sound.”

**Death the bail** He should be close enough [in prison], and Death should be his bail. (Bacon, *Charge against Somerset*, 1616). Here is the same legal imagery used in different ways for different purposes. Overbury was arrested and imprisoned under such conditions that death was his only bail; the author of the Sonnet 74 anticipates his own arrest by death without bail.

**Deer-stealing** I will insert a letter of Queen Elizabeth, written to him [Peregrine Bertie] with her own hand: “Reader, deal in matters of this nature as when venison is set before thee, eat the one, and read the other, never asking whence either came.” (Fuller, *Worthies*, Line. p. 102). Deer-stealing was in great vogue in Dr. Fuller’s time, and to that custom, the author here alludes. [Also see Part II: *Southampton Henry, third Earl*.] It was felony punishable in the Star Chamber, for which Bacon (practically the Public Prosecutor until he became Chancellor) prosecuted two men separately as late as 1614. Shaksper, the actor of Stratford, in 1587, forsaking the trade of butcher’s apprentice, wife, and children, flees on foot to London to escape prosecution for stealing deer and rabbits. Reaching London, a rude peasant speaking the “patois” of Warwickshire, says Phillipps, he finds employment in Burbage’s stable. *Hamlet*, an anonymous play then on the

stage, the same play that the best critics now admit is in the canon. That hence, if an information was laid, it was in Bacon's power to have dealt similarly with Shaksper's deer-stealing any time between the date of the offence in 1587 and the 1614 afores that if Bacon did not so prosecute, but rather protected him, there must have been good (Baconian) reason for it. (Thorpe).<sup>62</sup>

**Delated** From *deferre*, to waft away. A strict Latinism, used here for the first time in the language. Bacon and Shakespeare use the substantive delation in the same sense in which the adjective is here used.

And the delated spirit  
To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside  
In thrilling regions of thick-ribb'd ice. (Shakespeare)<sup>63</sup>

In delation of sounds the enclosure of them preserveth them and causeth them to be heard further. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

It is certain that the delation of light is in an instant. (*Ibid*).

**Delay** The vices of authority are four: Delays, Corruption, &c. For delays, give easy access; keep times appointed; go through with that which is in hand, and interlace not business but of necessity. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Delays*).

**Deliverer** He that delivereth knowledge desireth to deliver it in such form as may be soonest believed, and not as may be easiliest examined. (Bacon, *Of the Interpretation of Nature*).

**Delusions** Even now, if any one wish to let new light on any subject into men's minds, and that without offence or harshness, he must still go the same way [as that of the ancient poets] and call in the aid of similitudes. (Bacon, *Wisdom of the Ancients*).

**Dentize** To change the teeth. They tell a tale of the old countess of Desmond, who lived until she was seven score years old; that she did *dentize* twice or thrice, casting her old teeth, and others coming in their place. (Bacon, *Natural History*, C. VIII, Sect, 755).

**Desiring** Humbly praying. (Bacon, *Apo*).

**Despacho universal** The counter-sign and the conduct of the diplomatic correspondence and the royal commands. (Bacon).

**Despair** Here must I distinguish between discontentment and despair: for it is sufficient to weaken the discontented, but there is no way but to kill the desperate; which were as hard and difficult as impious and ungodly. And, therefore, though they may be discontented, I would not have them desperate: for among many desperate men, it is like someone will bring forth a desperate attempt. (Bacon, *Letters of Advice to the Queen*).

<sup>62</sup> W.G. Thorpe. *The Hidden Lives of Shakespeare and Bacon*, 1897

<sup>63</sup> *Measure for Measure*, Act III., Sc. 1

**Despatch** On the other side, despatch is a rich thing; for time is the measure of business, as money is of wars; and business is bought at a dear hand where there is no despatch. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Despatch*).

Long and curious speeches are as fit for dispatch as a robe or mantle with a long train is for a race. (*Ibid*).

**Detractor** The slanderer carries the devil in his tongue. (Bacon, *Promus* 164).

That which is uttered in the name of praise (or adulation) is good. That which is said as detraction is bad. (Bacon, *Promus* 1248 of the Latin).

**Devil's wine** [*Vinum daemonum*]; fills the imagination. (Bacon, *Essays: I*).

**Devise plots** In Courts and Commonwealths the best promoters of their own fortune are those who have no public duty to discharge, and make their own rising their only business. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Differences** The difference is not between you and me but between your profit and my trust. (Bacon, *Promus*, fol. 84).

**Diplomatis** [*διπλωμάτης*]; diplomat; diploma; charter. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XLIX).

**Dirge** Bacon apparently derives it from *dirigé*: a mournful ditty; a song of lamentation. (Bacon).

**Disappointment** (I am), as I told you, like a child following a bird; which, when he is nearest flieth away, and lighteth a little before, and then the child after it again, and so in *infinitum* I am weary of it. (Bacon, *Letter to Greville*).

**Discontent** For roughness, it is a needless cause of discontent. Severity breedeth fear, but roughness hate. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Delays*).

The causes and motive of sedition are taxes, alteration of laws, general oppression. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Sedition*).

**Discourse** Conversation as it ought not to be over-affected, much less should it be slighted. On the other side, a devotion to urbanity and external elegance terminates in an awkward and disagreeable affectation. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VIII).

To use too many circumstances ere one come to the matter is wearisome, to use none at all is blunt. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Discourse*).

Men ought to find the difference between saltiness and bitterness. Certainly, he that hath a satirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need to be afraid of other's memory. (*Ibid*).

**Discoursing wits** There remain certain discoursing wits; which affect (to think belief a bondage). (Bacon, *Essay: Of Truth*).

**Disgraces** Acts of unkindness. The interchange continually of favours and disgraces. (Bacon, *Essay*: 36).

**Distinction** He who makes not distinction in small things, makes error in great things. (Bacon, *Promus* 186).

**Distorting of the face** Caused by a contention, first to bear and resist, and then to expel; which maketh the parts knit first, and afterwards open. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv.*).

**Dissimulation** Is but a faint kind of policy or wisdom; for it asketh a strong wit, and a strong heart to know when to tell truth, and to do it. Therefore, it is the weaker sort of politics that are the great dissemblers. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Simulation*).

If you dissemble, sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to know, you shall be thought, another time, to know that you know not. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Discourse*).

The third degree, which is simulation and false profession, is more culpable, and less politic, except it be in great and rare matters. A general custom of simulation is a vice, rising either of a natural falseness or of a mind that hath some main faults, which, because a man must disguise, it maketh him practise simulation in other things, lest his hand should be out of ure. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Dissimulation*).

If a man would cross a business that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himself, in such a way as may foil it. (*Ibid*).

Dissimulation followeth many times upon secrecy by a necessity; so that he that will be secret must be a dissembler in some degree; for men are too cunning to suffer a man to keep an indifferent carriage between both, and to be secret without swaying the balance on either side. They will so beset a man with questions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that, without an absurd silence, he must show an inclination one way; or, if he do not, they will gather as much from his silence as by his speech. (*Ibid*).

**Diversities of the parts** They inquire of the parts of the human body in general, but not of the diversities of the parts in different bodies; of simple, but not of comparative anatomy. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Divination** By natural divination we mean that the mind has of its own essential power some pre-notion of things to come. This appears mostly (1) in sleep; (2) in ecstasies; (3) near death; (4) more rarely, in waking apprehensions; and (5) from the foreknowledge of God and the spirits. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, 1622).

**Diving bell** According to Beckmann, the first distinct mention of the diving bell is to be found in *Fainsius*, as quoted by Schott. *Fainsius* gives an account of some Greeks who exhibited a diving bell at Toledo, before Charles the Fifth and his Court in 1538. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XLIX).



**Divinity** Says: Seek ye the kingdom of heaven, and all these things shall be added unto you, for although this foundation laid by human hands is sometimes placed upon the sand yet the same foundation is ever by the divine hand fixed upon a rock. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. VIII).

**Division** Order and distribution, and singling out of parts, is the life of dispatch; so as the distribution be not too subtle: for he that doth not divide will never enter well into business; and he that divideth too much will never come out of it clearly. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Dispatch*).

**Doctrine** Concerning the intellect. The doctrine concerning the will of man, are as it were twins by birth. For purity of illumination and freedom of will began and fell together; and nowhere in the universal nature of things is there so intimate a sympathy as between truth and goodness. The more should learned men be ashamed, if in knowledge they be as the winged angels, but in their desires as crawling serpents; carrying about with them minds like a mirror indeed, but a mirror polluted and false. (Bacon, *De Aug.*).

**Doubts** That use of wit and knowledge is to be allowed, which laboureth to make doubtful things certain, and not those which labour to make certain things doubtful. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Dramatic Poesy** Which has the theatre for its world, would be of excellent use if well directed. For the stage is capable of no small influence both of discipline and of corruption. Now of corruptions in this kind we have enough; but the discipline has in our times been plainly neglected. And though in modern states play-acting is esteemed but as a toy, except when it is too satirical and biting; yet among the ancients it was used as a means of educating men's minds to virtue. Nay, it has been regarded by learned men and great philosophers as a kind of musician's bow by which men's mind say be played upon. And certainly it is most true, and one of the great secrets of nature, that the minds of men are more open to impressions and affections when many are gathered together than when they are alone. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. II).

It is a curious fact that these remarks on the character of the modern drama were probably written, and were certainly first published, in the same year which saw the first collection of Shakespeare's plays; of which, they had been filling the theatre for the last thirty years. How little notice they attracted in those days as works of literary pretension, may be inferred from the extreme difficulty, which modern editors have found in ascertaining the dates, or even the order, of their production. Though numbers of contemporary newsletters, filled with literary and fashionable intelligence, have been preserved, it is only in the Stationer's Register and the accounts kept by the Master of the Revels that we find any notices of the publication or acting of Shakespeare's plays. In the long series of letters from John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, scattered over the whole period from 1598 to 1623, we look in vain for the name of Shakespeare or of any one of his plays. And yet during that period *Hamlet*, *Twelfth Night*, *Othello*, *Measure for Measure*, the *Merchant of Venice*, *Macbeth*, *Lear*, *The Tempest*, *Winter's Tale*, *Coriolanus*, and several more, must have appeared as novelties. And indeed that very letter without which we should hardly know that Shakespeare

was personally known to anyone in the great world as a distinguished dramatic writer, <sup>64</sup> proves at the same time, if it be not a forgery, as it is now said to be, how little was known about him by people of that quality. [Also see Part III: *Ireland, William-Henry.*]

**Drugs** I now come to inquire into the second way of condensing the spirits, namely, by cold; and it is done without any malignity or unfriendly quality. The root of the operation I place in nitre, as a thing specially created for this purpose. The principal subordinates of nitre are borage, bugloss, langue de boeuf, burnet, strawberry plants, strawberries, raspberries, raw cucumbers, raw apples, vine leaves, vine buds, and violets. Next to these come balm, green citrons, green oranges, distilled rose-water, roasted pears, and pale, red, and musk roses. Opium and other strong narcotics congeal the spirits and deprive them of motion. So much for the condensation of spirits by cold. (Bacon, *History of Life and Death*, 1623).

Bacon made a special study of narcotics, and of numerous plants and fruits that are narcotic in their nature. He even speaks of the efficacy of such potions in inducing what he called “voluntary or procured trances.” He went into the subject so thoroughly, publishing the results of his researches in two different books, the fruits of a lifetime of study, that we may well refuse to find the source of any part of his knowledge of it in a Shakespearean play.

Here is the deficiency which I find, that physicians have not, partly out of their own practice, partly out of the constant probations reported in books, and partly out of the traditions of empirics, set down and delivered over certain experimental medicines for the cure of particular diseases. (Bacon, *Adv.*, 1603–05).

**Drunken men** Are taken with a plain defect or destitution in voluntary motion, they reel; they tremble; they cannot stand, nor speak strongly. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv.*).

The cause is for that the spirits of the wine oppress the spirits animal, and occupate part of the place where they are; and so make them weak to move. Besides they rob the spirits animal of their matter, whereby they are nourished; for the spirits of the wine prey upon it as well as they: and so they make the spirits less supple and apt to move. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

**Dry cupping** Acts simply by partially removing the pressure of the atmosphere, the heat applied to the vessel has no other effect than that of rarefying the air it contains. [Also see *Fracastorii*.]

**Duty** The good of communion, which respects and beholds society, we may term Duty, because the term duty is proper to a mind well framed and disposed towards others, as the term of Virtue is applied to a mind well formed and composed in itself. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VII).

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<sup>64</sup> Lord Southampton's letter is meant here, in furtherance of a petition from him and Burbage to the Lord Chancellor Ellesmer

## D (Latin)

**Dæalus** This Dædalus was persecuted with great severity and diligence and inquisition by Minos; yet he always found means of escape and places of refuge. Last of all, he taught his son Icarus how to fly; who, being a novice and ostentatious of his art, fell from the sky into the water. (Bacon, *Wisdom of the Ancients*, 1609).

**Dæmonologie** The black art of communicating with the devil, a work written by King James I., in three books consisting of dialogues between Philomathes and Epistemon, the latter of whom represents the King's opinions on witchcraft. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. II). [Also see Part II: *James VI., of Scotland and I., of England.*]

**Da fidei quæ fidei sunt.** Give unto faith that which is faith's. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**De exemplis et usu eorum.** The principle on which the English Courts have proceeded, that a decision on a point not previously decided on, is to be accepted merely as a declaration of an already existing law virtually contained in the written *corpus juris* entitled the Common Law and of giving nearly equal weight to all cases decided by a competent tribunal. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VIII).

**De partibus vitæ quisque deliberat, de summâ nemo.** Every man takes thought about the parts of his life, no man about the whole. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Designatio** To discover. (Bacon).

**De societate magistrorum** Ancients. On June 27, 1575, Bacon and his brother Anthony were admitted of Gray's Inn, "de societate magistrorum a privilege to which they were entitled as the sons of a judge: Ad hanc pensionem admissi sunt Antionius Bacon; Franciscus Bacon; Willielmus Bowes; Thomas Balgey, et Rogerus Wilbraham, et predicti Anthonius Bacon, Franciscus Bacon, et Willus Bowes admissi sunt de societate magistrorum. Et ceteri de mense clericorum."

The difference corresponded more or less to that which existed between the ordinary pensioners at a college and the sizars. Students admitted as "masters" paid a higher fee, and fared better in Hall than those admitted as "clerks." The later, moreover, waited on the "masters".<sup>65</sup> In the following term, an order was made admitting the brothers of Francis to their father's chamber: "It is farther ordered that all his [the Lord Keeper's] sons now admitted of the house *viz.*: Nicholas, Nathaniel, Edward, Anthony and Francis shall be of the ground company (they were to sit at the Ancients' Senior Barristers' table in the Hall and became eligible for the office of Reader and so for the dignity of the Bench) and not to be bound to any vacations." On May 13, 1580, an order was made that: "Mr. Francis Bacon in respect of his health is allowed to have the benefit of a special admittance with all benefits and privileges to a special admittance belonging for the fine of xls." This enabled him to send to the buttery for his commons and take his meals in his chamber instead of coming

<sup>65</sup> Gray's Inn. *Pension Book*. Vol. I. p. 137

into the Hall. On June 27, 1582, occurs the entry: "Mr. Francis Bacon, Mr. Edward Morison, Mr. Roger Wilbraham and Mr. Laurence Washington utter barristers [A student was anciently known as an inner barrister] at this petition." Less than four years later February 10, 1586, we have record of an exceptional favour: "At this pencon it is allowed that Mr. Francis Bacon may have place with the Readers at the Readers table but not to have any voice in pencon nor to win ancientie of any that is his ancient or shall read before him."

The above account of Bacon's stay at Gray's Inn may answer the notement, that there is a strange gap in the recorded life of Bacon between September 25, 1576 and the middle of 1582, nearly six years. That this important period between the ages of sixteen and twenty-two in the life of a very precocious intellect should be well-nigh a blank, as far as any record remains of it, this is passing strange.

**De vero ad populum** True and popular. (Bacon).

**De versa** Concerning truths. (Bacon).

**Decem annos consumpsi in legendo Cicerone** I have spent ten years in reading Cicero. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Defectus lunæ** A change of the moon. (Bacon).

**Demissus est per portam** He was let out by the gate. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Demissus est per sportam** He was let down in a basket. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Deus dedit, culpa abstulit** God gives, blame takes away. (Bacon).

**Devita profanas vocum novitates, et oppositiones falsi nominis scientiæ shun:** Profane novelties of terms and oppositions of science falsely so called. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Di mentira y sacaras verdad** Tell a lie and find a truth. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Dicit piger, leo est in via** The slothful man saith there is a lion in the path. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Dictamnum genetrix cretæa carpit ab Ida, puberibus caulem foliis et flore comantem purpureo: non illa feris incognita capris gramina, cum tergo volucres hæserè sagittæ:** A sprig of dittany his mother brought, gathered by Cretan Ide; a stalk it is of woolly leaf, crested with purple flower; which well the wild goat knows when in his side sticks the winged shaft. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Didici quod omnia opera quæ fecit Deus perseverent in perpetuum; non possumus eis quicquam addere nec auferre:** I know that whatsoever God doeth, it shall be for ever; nothing can be put to it, nor anything taken from it. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Difficile non aliquem, ingratum quenquam præterire** It were hard to remember all, and yet ungracious to forget any. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Dition** Government, Lordship.

**Distillationes** Distillation was known to the ancients.

**Dives inaccessos ubi Solis filia lucos** Now by the shelves of Circe's coast they run. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Divitiæ si affluent, nolite cor apponere** If riches increase set not your heart upon them. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Dolendi modus, timendi non item** Suffering has its limits, but fears are endless. (Bacon, *Essays: XV*).

**Domini similes** Like his master. (Bacon).

**Dracones** The word Draco is mostly used with reference to the moon's orbit, and denotes the two zones included between it and the ecliptic; the nodes being respectively the Caput and Cauda Draconis. The symbols, which are, still used both for the nodes of the moon's orbit and for those of other orbits, seem derived from this use of the word Draco. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. II).

**Draconibus** In old astronomy denoting the great circle which is approximately the projection on the sphere of the moon's orbit. [Also see *Dracones*].

**Dum memor ipse mei** As long as he is mindful of me. (Bacon).

## E (English)

**Early praise** He who rises early, praising his friend, shall be counted a curse to him. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, 1622).

**Echoes** Sounds do disturb and alter the one the other; sometimes the one drowning the other and making it not heard; sometimes the one jarring with the other and making a confusion; sometimes the one mingling with the other and making a harmony. Natural echoes are made upon walls, woods, rocks, hills and banks. There be many places where you shall hear a number of echoes, one after another, where there is variety of hills or woods. Where echoes come from several parts at the same distance, they must needs make, as it were, a quire of echoes. (Bacon, *Natural History*, 1622–25).

Bacon made a painstaking study of echoes, beginning it, when he was a lad, at a conduit in the garden of St. James Square in London, and continuing it during his sojourn in France, in 1576–79. He describes two or three places in the neighbourhood of Paris that were quite famous

in this respect, one of them curiously as follows: “There are certain letters that an echo will hardly express: as S for one, especially being principal in a word. I remember well that when I went to the echo at Pont-Charenton, there was an old Parisian who took it to be the work of spirits, and of good spirits. ‘For,’ said he, ‘call Satan and the echo will not deliver back the devil’s name, but will say, va t’en; which is as much in French as *apage*, or avoid him.’”

**Education** Custom is most perfect when it is begun in young years: this we call education, which is, in fact, but an early custom. So we see in languages the tongue is more pliant to all expressions and sounds, the joints are more supple to all parts of activity and motions in youth, than afterwards; for it is true that late learners cannot so well take the ply, except it be in some minds that have not suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open, and prepared to receive continual amendment; which is exceeding rare. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Custom and Education*).

**Effluvia** Cures a bad fever. In the *Annals of Philosophy* a case is mentioned in which the *effluvia* arising on the opening of a large bark-store at Guayra were sufficiently powerful to cure a bad fever. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XII).

**Emblem** Though the Emblem has some affinity with the enigma it differs notwithstanding in this, that drawing (as it were) the curtain from before the enigma, it declares the matter more plainly: for the emblem is properly a sweet and moral symbol, which consists of picture and words, by which some weighty sentence is declared. Emblems are reduced to three principal kinds: of manners, of nature, of history or fable. The chief aim of the emblem is to instruct us, by subjecting the figure to our view and the sense to our understanding: therefore they must be something covert, subtle, pleasant and significative. So that, if the pictures of it be too common, it ought to have a mystical sense; if they be something obscure, they must more clearly inform us by the words, provided they be analogical and correspondent.<sup>66</sup>

**Elementary qualities** Four in number; hot, cold, dry, moist; and it is by combining them two and two that the Peripatetic conception of the nature of each element is formed. Thus fire is hot and dry, water cold and moist. [Also see *Secondary qualities*.]

**End** Of two means, that is the better which is nearer the end. (Bacon, *Promus* 1266 of Latin).

I address one general admonition to all; that they consider what are the true ends of knowledge. (Bacon, *In. Mag. Pref*).

The end rules the method. (Bacon, *Parasceve II*).

**Englishmen** Like ships at sea, and when at home like ships in a creek. (King James I).

**Entelecheia** [εντελέχεια]; the genus to which the soul is referred. (Bacon).

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66 Tho. Blount. *The Art of Making Devises*, 1646

**Entrapelus** For a certain pleasant quality of the mind, a certain restrained levity and humour a term well known to scholars then. Gabriel Harvey called young Francis Bacon *Entrapelus*, and said that whatever chance of earthly fortune befell him in the future, he would always be a megalander, which was Harvey's pet name for true literary greatness. This is not printed, but in a manuscript note in Harvey's writing in one of his books *Mr. Quintilian*. He also mentions this Entrapelus again in connection with poetry and oratory, and praises him for the latter very highly. Possibly Harvey took it from the facetious *Contes d'Entrapel*, full of Gallic humour.<sup>67</sup> Entrapelus was the pseudonym of Noel du Faille, who wrote *Baliverneries* i.e., jest-books with facetious anecdotes intermingled and as Bacon, even in serious and mature age, could never pass a jest, and was always ready with an anecdote, and could unload a budget full faster than his scribes could write them down. Harvey recognised young Bacon as a true megalander whatever should befall him.<sup>68</sup>

**Envy** Is the vilest affection, and the most depraved; for which cause it is the proper attribute of the devil, who is called "The envious man, that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night;" as it always cometh to pass that envy worketh subtilly, and in the dark, and to the prejudice of good things, such as is the wheat. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Envy*).

Men of noble birth are noted to be envious towards new men when they rise; for the distance is altered; and it is like a deceit of the eye, that when others come on, they think themselves go back. (*Ibid*).

They that desire to excel in too many matters, out of levity and vain-glory, are ever envious it being impossible but many, in some one of these things, should surpass them; Adrian, the Emperor, mortally envied poets and painters, and artificers in works wherein he had a vein to excel. (*Ibid*).

**Epidemic disease** The word *epidemic* is mentioned by Sir Thomas Meautys as one of the verbal corrections made by the King in the original manuscript of Bacon's *History of King Henry VII*.

**Epitaph** The earliest epitaphs in English churches are usually a simple statement of name and rank, with the phrase *hic jacet* [here lies]. The earliest surviving epitaphs are those of the ancient Egyptians written on the sarcophagi and coffins, usually in elegiac verse, though many of the later epitaphs are in prose.

**Epitomes** Bacon often condemns the use of them. The development of a liking for abridgments is certainly a remarkable feature in the decline of Roman literature. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. II).

**Equality** By the law of Nature, all men in the world are naturalised one towards another; they were all made of one lump of earth, of one breath of God, they all had the same common parents. (Bacon, *Case of Post nati*).

67 Begley Walter, Rev. *Bacon's Nova Resuscitatio or The Unveiling of his Concealed Works and Travels*. London: Gay & Bird, Vol I. 1905

68 *Ibid.*, Vol II. 1905

**Ether** Precise directions for making ether were given by Valerius Cordus in 1544, yet it is said to have remained unnoticed until it was rediscovered in the eighteenth century. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XXXV).

**Euthanasia** [εὐθανασία]; And so when life's sweet fable ends his soul and body part like friends; no quarrels, murmurs, no delay. A kiss, a sigh, and then away. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. IV; Crashaw's *Cornaro*).

**Evil** We see in needle-works and embroideries, it is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad and solemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work on a lightsome ground: judge, therefore, of the pleasure of the heart by the pleasure of the eye. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Adversity*).

Evil approacheth to good sometimes for concealment, sometimes for protection, and good to evil for conversion and reformation. So hypocrisy draweth near to religion for covert, and, hiding itself, vice lurks in the neighbourhood of virtue. (Bacon, *Col. Good & Evil*, VII).

**Evitate** From *evitare*, to avoid. Used previously by Parke in 1588. Bacon seems to have been the first to use the substantive, *evitation*.

**Example** In the discharge of thy place (or office) set before thee the best examples, for imitation is a globe of precepts; and after a time set before thee thine own example; and examine thyself strictly whether thou didst best at first. Neglect not also the examples of those that have carried themselves ill to direct thyself what to avoid. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Great Place*).

**Excellent liquor of knowledge.** (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Excess** Too much, too little is an evil. (Bacon, *Promus* 1279 of the Latin).

Too much of one thing is good for nothing. (Bacon, *Promus* 487).

So good that he is good for nothing. (Bacon, *Promus* 1147 of the Italian).

**Exhibition** From *exhibitio*, sustenance, as in the Latin phrase *exhibitio et tegumentum* [food and raiment]. She received only a pension or *exhibition* out of his coppers. (Bacon, *History of Henry VII.*).

**Expense** Riches are for spending, and spending for honour and good actions; therefore extraordinary expense must be limited by the worth of the occasion, for ordinary undoing may be as well for a man's country as for the kingdom of heaven; but ordinary expense ought to be limited by a man's estate, and governed with such regard as it be within his compass. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Expense*).

**Experiment solitary touching the nature of gold** Gold hath these nature; greatness of weight, closeness of parts, fixation, plainness or softness, immunity from rust, colour or tincture of yellow. Therefore the sure way (though most about) to make gold, is to know the causes of the



several natures before rehearsed, and the axioms concerning the same. For if a man can make a metal that hath all these properties, let men dispute whether it be gold or no. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Experiments** The rejection which I continually use of experiments (though it appeareth not) is infinite; but yet if an experiment be probably in the work, and of great use, I receive it, but deliver it as doubtful. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Experiments in** Consort touching separations of bodies by weight taken from Porta.<sup>69</sup> (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Expression of sorrow** No receipt openeth the heart but a true friend, to whom you may impart griefs; No man, that imparteth his griefs to his friend, but he grieveth the less; Those that want friends to open themselves unto are cannibals of their own hearts. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Friendship*).

**Extent of knowledge** Shakespeare so devoted himself to the study of every trade, profession, pursuit and accomplishment that he became master of them all, which his plays clearly show him to have been. (Furness).

I have taken all knowledge to be my province. (Bacon).

**Extern** An abbreviation of external, outward. It was exemplified in the new edition of Johnson, from Bacon, Bishop Taylor, and Howell.

**Extraordinary winds and sudden gusts** Some writers give opinions and reasons touching extraordinary winds, as hurricanes or storms, whirlwinds, typhoons, and siroccos; but they give no description of the thing itself, which certainly is to be sought from journals and scattered history. (Bacon, *History of Winds*). [Also see *Names of Winds*.]

**Extremes** That thing of which the contrary is bad, is good; that of which the contrary is good, is bad. This does not hold of those things whose excellence or force consists in degree and measure (e.g., the contrary of rashness is cowardice a bad thing; yet cowardice is not good). (Bacon, *Promus* 1441, 1442).

## E (Latin)

**E telâ crassiore** Of a stouter web. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Eadem magistratuum vocabula** The name of the magistracies are not changed. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Ecce tibi lucrefecit and not ecce mihi lucrefecit** I have profited for you, not for me; I have gained for thee, not I have gained for myself. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

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<sup>69</sup> *Natural Magic*, XVIII, Vols. 1–3

**Edicant** Bacon gives no means of the word being understood in its technical signification of a dictator, but to the privilege of consuls, prætors, ædiles, and other magistrates. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Ego si quid** In fortunes meis excitatum sit incendium, id non aqua sed ruina restinguam: If my fortunes be set on fire I will put it out not with water but with demolition. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Ego sum flos campi et lilium convallium** I am the flower of the field and the lily of the valley. (Bacon).

**Ego sum flos horti, et lilium montium** I am the flower of the garden and the lily of the mountains. (Bacon).

**Elenchus** Answer. (Bacon, *De Aug.*).

**Embolum** [ἐμβολο]; piston, ram. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XLVIII).

**Eo ipso præfulgebant quod non visebantur** They had the pre-eminence over all in being left out. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Eritis sicut dii scientes bonum et malum** Ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Eruditus luxus** Educated luxury. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Est aliquid luce patente minus** It matters less, being less publicly suffered. (Bacon, *Apologie*, 1603).

**Est ex analogia** [αναλογία]; Analogy, depending, the phrase is to be rendered giving to *analogia* wider signification than that which it ordinarily has, except to reference to form. The word analogy was misconceived by S. Thomas, by Duns Scotus, and by the schoolmen in general. (Zabarella). <sup>70</sup> [Also see Part II: *Scotus Duns.*]

**Et hoc volo, ac etiam aliquid addiscere** I would do it and also learn something from it; something which may be of use hereafter. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Et oratione fida** In truthful speech. (Bacon).

**Et patrum invalidi referent jejunia nati** The poor keeping of the parents will appear in the poor constitution of the offspring. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Et quoniam variant morbid, variabimus artes; mille mali species, mille salutis erunt:** Varying their arts according to the variety of diseases; for a thousand forms of sickness a thousand methods of cure. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

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<sup>70</sup> Zabarella. *De prim. rerum materiâ*, Vol. I. p. 4

**Excises** The excise, or accise from *acciiisse* was originally in the Low Countries a municipal tax; it seems to have arisen from the privilege granted by Charles V., in 1536 to certain towns, or imposing duties on wine, beer, and woollen and silken stuffs. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VIII).

**Ex minimo vestigio artifex agnoscit artificem** An artist recognizes an artist by the slightest trace. (Bacon).

**Ex vacuo bis millies** Two thousand times as much of vacuity. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XLVIII).

Bacon thought spirit of wine a hundred times dense than its own vapour and gold twenty-one times denser than spirit of wine. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum II).

Bacon believed that the air is at least a hundred-fold rare than water; and from a table of equivalents made by him; it appears that the specific density of gold is to that of water as 1000 to 56. He estimated the density of gold at 1900 fold that of air. (Bacon, *Historia Densi et Rari*).

**Execrabilis ista turba, quæ non novit legem** The wretched crowd that has not known the law. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Experientiâ edoctus** More judicious by experience and observation. (Bacon).

**Experimenta fructifera** Experiments of use. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv.*).

**Experimenta lucifera** Experiments of light, or of discovery. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv.*).

## F (English)

**Falling bodies** The theory of the acceleration of falling bodies, long before the publication of the *De Aug.*, which includes the fact that all bodies fall from rest with equal velocities, the resistance of the air being set aside, had been made known by Galileo. The experiments which he made about 1590 to show the absurdity of the received opinion that the velocity of falling increases as the mass of the falling body led to his leaving Pisa, where he had made them, and where he had in consequence been involved in disputes with the adherents of the Peripatetic philosophy. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. V).

**Fame** In that style or form of words which is well appropriated to the dead (“of happy memory,” “of pious memory”), we seem to acknowledge that which Cicero says (having borrowed it from Demosthenes), that “good fame is the only possession a dead man has.” I cannot but note that, in our times, it lies in most part waste and neglected. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. II).

Fame goeth upon the ground, yet hideth her head in the clouds. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Fame*).

The poets make Fame a monster. They describe her in part finely and elegantly, and in part gravely and sententiously; they say, Look how many feathers she hath; so many eyes she hath underneath; so many tongues; so many voices; she pricks up so many ears. (*Ibid*).

**Familiarity** It is good a little to be familiar. But he that is too much in anything, so that he giveth another occasion of satiety, maketh himself cheap. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Ceremonies*).

**Fancy** A Word in Bacon's time formerly used for *love*. [Also see *Love*].

**Fascination** Is the power and act of imagination, intensive upon other bodies than the body of the imaginant. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Fast** Tenacious, retentive.

Roses, damask and red, are *fast* flowers of their smells, so that you may walk, by a whole row of them, and find nothing of their sweetness, yea, though it be in a morning's dew. (Bacon, *Essay: XLVI*).

**Fear of loss** I will not use because I will not desire. I will not desire because I will not fear to want. (Bacon, *Essex Device*, c.1592).

**Felicity** Not but I think a painter may make a better face than ever was; but he must do it by a kind of felicity, as a musician that maketh an excellent air in music. (Bacon, *Essays: XLIII*).

Keats seems to have felt that this is true also with regard to his own art: "When I behold upon the night's starred face huge cloudy symbols of a high romance, and think that I may never live to trace their shadows, *with the magic hand of chance*." <sup>71</sup>

**Figures** In the first ages all things abounded with fables, parables, similes, comparisons, and allusions. (Bacon, Preface: *Wisdom of the Ancients*).

**Final Causes** Bacon speaks of classifying physics and metaphysics; the one being the science of the material and efficient cause, and the other containing two parts, namely the doctrine of forms and the doctrine of final causes.

**Fire** Prometheus was led by speculation to the discovery of fire, or that when he first struck the flint he expected the spark; but rather that he lighted on it by accident, and stole it from Jupiter. (Bacon, *De Aug*).

**Fireside talk** They ought all to be despised, and ought to serve but for winter's talk by the fireside. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Prophecies*, 1625).

**First god** Bacon wrote a chapter on Love as a god, declaring him to have been the appetite or desire of matter, or the natural motion of the atom. Accordingly, Love had no progenitor. "Absolutely without cause," says Bacon.

**First hurt** The Prince of Orange was shot through both cheeks at Antwerp in 1582. Bacon calls this his first hurt, as two years afterwards he was killed by Baltazar Gerard. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

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71 Keats John. *Life, Letters, of John Keats*. Vol. II. p. 293

**Fixed star** [*Sidera infixa cælo*] was originally connected with the notion of the stars being fastened to the vault of heaven. The substitution, as Humboldt has remarked, of *fixa* for *infixa* or *affixa*, indicated that transition to our notion of fixed stars, which related only to their relative immobility. (Bacon, *Descriptio Globi Intellectualis*; Humboldt).<sup>72</sup>

There is a curious passage in Acosta's *History of the Indies* on this subject. He conceives that both the Milky Way and what are commonly called the Coal Bags belong to the substance of the heaven itself, and prove by their motion that the heavens turn as well as the stars.

**Flattery** Some praises proceed merely of flattery; and if he be an ordinary flatterer, he will certainly have common attributes, which may serve every man. If he be a cunning flatterer, he will follow the arch-flatterer, which is a man's self, and wherein a man thinketh best of himself, therein the flatterer will uphold him most. But if he be an impudent flatterer, look wherein a man is conscious to himself that he is most defective, and is most out of countenance in himself, that will the flatterer entitle him to, perforce disregarding his own conscience. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Praise*).

**Flower-de-lices** (Bacon, *Essays*: XLVI). Now, my fair'st friend, I would I had some flowers o' the Spring, that might become your time of day...Daffodils, that come before the swallow dares, and take the winds of March with beauty: Violets (dim but sweeter than the lids of Juno's eyes, or Cytherea's breath): pale Prime-roses, that die unmarried, ere they can behold bright Phoebus in his strength...bold Oxlips, and the Crown Imperial. Lilies of all kinds; the Flower-De Luce being one. (Shakespeare).<sup>73</sup> [Also see *Gardens*.]

**Flowers** I do hold it, in the royal ordering of gardens, there ought to be gardens for all the months in the year, in which severally things of beauty may be then in season. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Gardens*, 1625). [Also see *Gardens*.]

**Fluctuant** As the Ark of Noah. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Fool** There is in human nature generally more of the fool than of the wise; and, therefore, those faculties by which the foolish part of men's minds is taken are most potent. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Boldness*).

Cato Major would say, that wise men learn more by fools, than fools by wise men. (Bacon, *Apo.* 167, 226).

**Fool's Bolt** Now for the Athenian question; you discourse well, *Quid igitur agendum est?* I will shoot my fool's bolt, since you will have it so. (Bacon, *Letter to Essex*, 1598).

Orl: You are the better at proverbs, by how much a fool's bolt is soon shot. (Shakespeare).<sup>74</sup>

**For better** It is to make a beginning of that which may lead to something, than to engage in a perpetual struggle and pursuit in courses, which have no exit. (Bacon, *In. Mag*).

<sup>72</sup> *Cosmos*, Vol. III., chapter on *Fixed Stars*

<sup>73</sup> *Winter's Tale*

<sup>74</sup> *Henry V.*, Act III. Sc. 7, 1599

**For he** Used to disable his knowledge, to the end to enhance his knowledge, pretended not to know what it was plain he knew that he might be thought to know likewise what he knew not. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**For not employment** For not being employed upon the purchase of native goods; that being the condition upon which the importation was allowed. (Bacon, *History of King Henry VII.*).

**For that which** Primarily exists must no less exist than that which thence derives its existence. (Bacon, *De principiis Atque Originibus*). Matter must in itself exist actually and not potentially.

**Fore-end** Former, or prior part. One end out of two. It has been found in Bacon and Shakespeare.

**Forget** The matter goeth so slowly forward that I have almost forgot it myself so as I marvel not if my friends forget. (Bacon, *Promus*, fol. 84).

**Forgiveness** You shall read that we are commanded to forgive our enemies; but you never read that we are commanded to forgive our friends. (Bacon, *Cosmus, Duke of Florence; Essays: IV*).

**Form of pleadings** First, to explain or induce. Then, to confute, or answer objections. And lastly, to prove, or confirm. (Bacon, *Case of Post-Nati of Scotland*).

**Fortune** Is like the market; where many times, if you can stay a little, the price will fall. (Bacon, *Essays: XXI*).

**Fortune-telling tricks** My Lord of Somerset, you used him as fortune-tellers do poor people in the country, hold them in a tale while they steal their purse. (Bacon, *Charge against Somerset*, 1616). Bacon gives one kind of trick that was practised under the colour or profession of fortune-telling.

**Foul smells** If such foul smells be made by art and by the hand, they consist chiefly of man's flesh or sweat putrified; for they are not those stinks which the nostrils straight abhor and expel that are most pernicious; but such airs as have some similitude with man's body. (Bacon).

These empoisonments of air are the more dangerous in meetings of people, because the much breath of people doth further the infection. Therefore, when any such thing is feared, it were good those public places were perfumed before the assemblies. (Bacon).

**Four gallons** Of beer, of 8s. Strength, eight-shilling strength means that the barrel, *i.e.* thirty-six gallons, cost eight shillings. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Frame** But to come to the present case; the great frame of justice (my Lords) in this present action, hath a Vault and it hath a Stage; a Vault wherein these works of darkness were contained; and a Stage, with steps, by which they were brought to light. (Bacon, *Charge against the Countess of Somerset*).

And for mercy and grace (without which there is no standing before justice) we see the King now hath reigned twelve years in his white robe, without any aspersion of the crimson dye of

blood. There sits my Lord Hobart that served Attorney seven years. I served with him. We were so happy as there passed not through our hands any one arraignment for treason; and but one for any capital offence; which was that of the Lord Sanquhar: the noblest piece of justice (one of them) that ever came forth in any King's times. (Bacon, *Charge against St. John*).

**Frankalmoigne** The case where the King grants lands of the Templar to hold as the Templars did. (Lowe). <sup>75</sup>

**Freedom** Thought is free. (Bacon, *Promus* 653).

Thought is free. (Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*). <sup>76</sup>

Certainly there be that delight in giddiness, and count it a bondage to fix a belief; affecting free-will in thinking as well as in acting. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Truth*).

**Freemasons** An order with secret rites, grotesque ceremonies and fantastic costumes, which, originating in the reign of Charles II., among working artisans of London, has been joined successively by the dead of past centuries in unbroken retrogression until now it embraces all the generations of man on the hither side of Adam and is drumming up distinguished recruits among the pre-Creational inhabitants of Chaos and Formless Void. The order was founded at different times by Charlemagne, Julius Caesar, Cyrus, Solomon, Zoroaster, Confucious, Thothmes, and Buddha. Its emblems and symbols have been found in the Catacombs of Paris and Rome, on the stones of the Parthenon and the Chinese Great Wall, among the temples of Karnak and Palmyra and in the Egyptian Pyramids-always by a Freemason. (Ambrose). <sup>77</sup>

**Free winds** There is no point of the heaven when a wind may not blow. Nay, if the heavens were divided into as many parts as there are degrees in the horizon, winds will be found at some times or places blowing from each of them. (Bacon, *History of Winds*). [Also see *Names of Winds*.]

**Friend** It was a sparing speech of the ancients to say, that "a friend is another himself;" for that a friend is far more than himself. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Friendship*).

**Friendship** Maketh daylight in the understanding out of darkness, and confusion of thoughts. Whosoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wits and understanding do clarify and break up in the communicating and discoursing with another; he tosseth his thoughts more easily; he marshalleth them more orderly; he seeth how they look when they are turned into words, finally, he waxeth wiser than himself; and that more by an hour's discourse than by a day's meditation. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Friendship*).

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<sup>75</sup> *Case of Tentures*

<sup>76</sup> *Twelfth Night* Act. I. Sc. 3, 69; and *Tempest*, Act III. Sc. 2 (Song)

<sup>77</sup> Bierce Ambrose. *The Devil's Dictionary*, 1881

No receipt openeth the heart but a true friend, to whom you may impart griefs, joys, fears, hopes, suspicions, counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the heart to oppress it, in a kind of civil shrift or confession. (*Ibid*).

Men have their time, and die many times in desire of some things which they principally take to heart, the bestowing of a child, the finishing of a work, or the like. If a man have a true friend, he may rest almost secure that the care of those things will continue after him; so that a man has, as it were, two lives to his desires. (*Ibid*).

The apprehension of this threatened judgment of God knitteth every man's heart to his true and approved friend, which is the cause why now I write to you. (Bacon, *Letter to Mr. Michael Hicks*).<sup>78</sup>

**Friendships** How many things are there which a man cannot, with any face or comeliness, say or do himself? A man scarce allege his own merits with modesty, much less extol them. A man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate or beg, and a number of the like: but all these things are graceful in a friend's mouth which are blushing in a man's own. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Friendship*).

True, it is most painful not to meet the kindness and affection you feel you have deserved and have a right to expect from others; but it is a mistake to complain of it, for it is of no use; you cannot extort friendship with a cocked pistol. (Sidney).<sup>79</sup>

**Frosted silver** It appears that when silver is in a state of fusion a very large quantity of oxygen is condensed on and within its surface, the whole of which escapes at the moment of solidification; an explanation due to Guy Lussac. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XXIII).

It is then to be understood that absolute equality produceth transparence, inequality in simple order or proportion produceth whiteness, inequality in compound or respective order or proportion produceth other colours, and absolute or orderless inequality produceth blackness. (Bacon, *Val. Term.*, Ch. XI).

**Frowning** Is a gathering or serring of the spirits, to resist in some measure. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Funeral oration** *Err*; A Panegyric spoken in Trajan's presence. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

## F (Latin)

**Faber quisque fortunae suae** Every man is the architect of his own fortune. (Bacon).

**Fallax** Fallacy. (Bacon).

**Febris ephemera** A diary ague. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Felicitis memoriae, piæ memoriae, bonæ memoriae** Of happy, of pious, of good memory. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

<sup>78</sup> Mr. Michael Hicks: Sir Robert Cecil's secretary

<sup>79</sup> Smith Sidney. *Memoirs*



**Felix doctrinæ prædo** A fortunate robber, who made prize of learning. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas, quique metus omnes et inexorabile fatum subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari:** Happy the man who doth the causes know of all that is: serene he stands, above all fears; above the inexorable fate, and that insatiate gulph that roars below. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Felix terrarum prædo non utile mundo, editus exemplum** A fortunate robber, who made prize of nations. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

Great thief of nations, to the world sent forth a dangerous precedent. (Cf. *Lucan*, X. 21).

**Ferinas** (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XXIII). Feralis in *Lexicon Mathematicum* of Vitalis, 1668, appears to give a tolerably complete vocabulary of astrological words.

**Ficus Ruminalis** Also known as *Rumina* was the sacred fig-tree in the *Comitium* which represented that under which Romulus and Remus were suckled by the wolf. (Bacon, *Vitæ et Mortis*).

**Fidei Defensor** Defender of the Faith. (Bacon).

**Fidelia vulnera amantis, sed dolosa oscula malignantis** Faithful are the wounds of a friend, but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Filius parisiorum et gemma mensis Martii, si ex illis evadat unus, erit instar decem aliorum** A March blossom, and a Paris child, if one of them survive, it is worth ten others. (Bacon, *De Aug.*).

So that generally the blossom of May is superior to the blossom of March; but yet individually the best blossom of March is preferred to the best of May. (*Ibid*).

**Fingunt simul creduntque** As fast as they believe one tale they make another. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Floribus calendulæ** Marigold flower. (Bacon, *Vitæ et Mortis*). Montaigne has recorded his obligations to certain ladies who when he was suffering from stone or gravel supplied him with marigold broth.

**Forma corporis** The Scottish maintained the existence of a *forma corporis*, namely which gives the body corporeity distinct from the informing principle or soul of man; a subtlety introduced to evade the difficulties which the gradual development of the body from its first rudiments to perfection, its gradual progress to corporeity, appears to present when contrasted with the way in which the rational soul is infused. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. IV).

**Formæ enim commenta animi humani sunt, nisi libeat leges illas actûs formas appellare:** We have noted and corrected as an error of the human mind the opinion that forms give existence. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum III). Bacon referring to the maxim *forma dat esse*.

**Formavit hominem de limo terræ, et spiravit in faciem ejus spiraculum vitæ:** He formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Fracastorii** In the life of Fracastorius, that when dying of apoplexy, and speechless, he made signs of the application of cucurbita, or cupping vessel, to his head, remembering the remarkable cure which he had effected in the case of a nun at Verona. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XXXV). [Also see *Dry cupping*.]

**Frigida distinctio actus et potentia** Water is air in potentiâ, and vice versa. (Bacon, *Phys. Ausc.* IV. c.5).

The possibility of their reciprocal transmutation Bacon does not appear to have doubted of. (Bacon, Preface to *Historia Densi et Rari*).

## G (English)

**Gardens** I do hold it, in the royal ordering of gardens, there ought to be gardens for all the months in the year; in which severally things of beauty may be then in season. (Bacon, *Essays: XLVI*).

Reverend Sirs, for you there's Rosemary and Rue; these keep seeming and savour all the winter long. Grace and Remembrance be to you both, and welcome to our shearing. *Pol.* Shepherdess, (a fair one are you) well you fit our ages with flowers of winter. (Shakespeare).<sup>80</sup> [Also see *Flower-de-lices*.]

**Garment** Linen or garment next the flesh be, in winter, dry and oft changed; and in summer seldom changed, and smeared over with oil. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**General winds** The phenomena with respect to the general winds are few in number; and no wonder, for these winds principally occur in the tropics, regions considered fatal by the ancients. (Bacon, *History of Winds*). [Also see *Names of Winds*.]

**Germinating seeds** That seeds when germinating, as they lie heaped in large masses, evolve a considerable degree of heat, is a fact long known from the malting of grain; but the cause of it was incorrectly sought for in a process of fermentation. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XI).

**Gesticulation** It is necessary to use a steadfast countenance, not wavering with action, as in moving the head or hand too much. It is sufficient with leisure to use a modest action. (Bacon, *Civil Conversation* (date unknown)).

**Gifford** Author of the very praiseworthy tract entitled, *A Dialogue of Witches*, published in 1603, in which he laboured to disprove the many idle tales about them then currently believed. He was one of the very few in those days who held it legal to ride on a broomstick, or sail in a sieve.

**Gilliflowers** (Bacon, *Essays: XLVI*).

Sir, the year growing ancient, not yet summer's death, nor on the birth of trembling winter, the fairest flowers o' the season are our Carnations and streaked Gilly-vors (which some call Nature's bastards)...here's flowers for you: Hot Lavender, Mints, Savory, Marjoram, The Mary-gold, that goes to bed with the Sun, and with him rises, weeping: there are flower of middle summer, and I think they are given to men of middle age. (Shakespeare).<sup>81</sup> [Also see *Gardens*.]

**Ginny-pepper** Red pepper. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Giving** Is a matter requiring cleverness, skill, or discrimination, *res est ingeniosa dare*. (Bacon, *Promus* 373 of the Latin; Ovid. *Am.* I. 8, 62).

**Glorious** Vain, boastful. *Ltn*; *Gloriosus*. This primitive sense of the word has become obsolete; Dr. Johnson cites Bacon for it.

**God's goodness** The example of God teacheth the lesson truly: "He sendeth His rain, and maketh His sun to shine upon the just and the unjust. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Goodness*).

**God's men** Man is a god to man. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Bk. I. 129).

It is not ill said of Plato that he is a god to men, who knows well how to define and divide. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Bk. II. 26).

It is owing to justice that man is a god to man, and not a wolf. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Antitheta).

All Kings though they be gods on earth, are gods of earth; frail as other men. (Bacon, *King's Messages*, 1610).

Kings are styled gods upon earth, not absolute, but *Dixi duestis*. (Bacon, *Letter to Buckingham*, 1616).

**God's secrets** The glory of God is to conceal a thing, and the glory of a man is to find out a thing. (Bacon, *Promus* 234; *Adv.*, Bk. II.; *De Aug.*, Bk I).

The depth of the wisdom and knowledge of God how incomprehensible are his judgments, and His ways past finding out; the inditer of the Holy Scriptures did know four things which no man attains to know; which are the Mysteries of the Kingdom of Glory; the Perfection of the Laws of Nature; the Secrets of the Hearts of Men; and the future successes of all ages. From the beginning are known unto the Lord, the works of the Lord. (Spedding).<sup>82</sup>

**God's Spies** Comes from Epictetus, who says that philosophers are the spies and messengers of God, and the "mystery of things" is *rerum causas*, the quest of philosophy. (Harman).<sup>83</sup> The same

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>82</sup> *Works*, Vol. III. p. 485

<sup>83</sup> Harman George, Edward. *Edmund Spencer and the Impersonations of Francis Bacon*, 1914

thought occurs in the draft for a pardon after Bacon's fall, written, no doubt, as Spedding says, by himself. (Spedding).<sup>84</sup>

**Goff** A game played with a ball.

**Gold** Chilon would say that gold is tried with the touchstone, and men with gold. (Bacon, *Apo.*).

**Good or bad** We may do much ill or we do much worse. (Bacon, *Promus*, fol. 84).

**Goodfellow Robin** Sir Fulke Greville would say merrily of himself, that he was like Robin Goodfellow, for when maids spilt the milk-can, or kept any racket, they would lay it upon Robin. (Bacon, *Apo.*, 1624).

**Goodness** I take goodness in this sense the affecting the weal of men, which is what the Grecians call *philanthropia* and the word *humanity* (as it is used) is a little too light to express it. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Goodness*).

Goodness of all virtues and dignities of the mind is the greatest, being the character of the Deity; and without it, man is a busy, mischievous, wretched thing, no better than a kind of vermin. Goodness answers to the theological virtue of charity, and admits no excess but error, neither can angel or man come in danger by it. (*Ibid*).

**Goose's liver** We find that amongst the Romans, a goose's liver was a great delicacy; insomuch as they had artificial means to make it fair and great. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*). According to Pliny<sup>85</sup> the goose was fed on figs.

**Grace** In beauty, that of favour is more than that of colour; and that of decent and gracious motion more than that of favour. If it be true that the principal part of beauty is in decent motion, certainly it is no marvel though persons in years seem many times more amiable; *Pulchrorum autumnus pulcher*, for no youth can be comely but by pardon (or by making allowance), and considering the youth as to make up the comeliness. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Beauty*).

In old men the Loves are turned into the Graces. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Antitheta).

**Gravity** When we find any defect in ourselves, we endeavour to borrow the figure and pretext of the neighbouring virtue for a shelter; thus, the pretext of dullness is gravity. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VIII).

Bacon seems to have caught a glimpse of ore of the laws of gravity, namely, that attraction is in proportion to mass, for he asserted that while six men might be required to move a certain stone at the surface of the earth, two could easily move the same stone at the bottom of a mine; the difference in weight being due, of course, to the counteraction of a part of the earth's mass, where the stone is beneath the surface. Indeed, he finally rejected the common opinion that

<sup>84</sup> Spedding. *Life*, Vol. VII. p. 307

<sup>85</sup> Vol. X. p. 27

bodies are always drawn toward the centre of the earth (a mathematical point, as he called it), because, he said, bodies can be attracted only by bodies, and not by place. Had he known the other law, discovered by Newton, that attraction is in inverse ratio to the square of the distance, he would have seen his mistake in regard to the stone.

**Greater and less** So we see when two lights do meet, the greater doth darken and drown the less. And when a smaller river runs into a greater, it loseth both the name and stream. (Bacon, *Discourse on Union of the Kingdoms*, 1603).

**Greatness** Men in great place are thrice servants: servants of the Sovereign or State, servants of fame, and servants of business; so as they have no freedom, neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Great Place*).

Retire men cannot when they would, neither will they when it were reason; but are impatient of privateness, even in age and sickness, which require the shadow. (*Ibid*).

**Grief and pain** Cause sighing, sobbing, groaning, screaming and roaring, tears, distorting of the face, grinding of the teeth, sweating. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Grinding of the teeth** Caused likewise by a gathering an serring of the spirits together to resist; which maketh the teeth also to set hard one against another. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Guarapo** Sugar-wine well known in Spanish America. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

## G (Latin)

**Garyophylli** Flower much cultivated in Holland in the sixteenth century <sup>86</sup> where it is described more like the tulip. The flowers meant are pinks and carnations. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XXIII).

**Generationis** In the *Physics*, Aristotle does not reckon *Generation* and *Corruption* as kinds of motion, but Bacon's enumeration is that given in the *Categories*. [Also see *Corruptionis*.]

**Gloriam Dei esse, celare rem; gloriam Regis, investigarerem.** (Proverbs. XXV.; Bacon, *Nov. Org*).

**Gratis** Without taking any money; in Dr. Rawley's summary biography of Bacon he tells us that Bacon "was a good master to his servants, and rewarded their long attendance with good places freely," an unusual thing in Bacon's time, when the sale of offices was a principal source of all great men's incomes. [Also see Chapter entitled *The Life of the Right Honourable Francis Bacon*.]

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<sup>86</sup> Lemmius. *De Miraculis*, 1581, p.107

## H (English)

**Half-pace dais** The part raised by a low step above the rest of the floor. (Bacon, *New Atlantis*).

**Harmony of the spheres** It was Plato's opinion that all knowledge is but remembrance, and that the mind of man by nature knoweth all things, and hath but her own native and original motions (which by the strangeness and darkness of this tabernacle of the body are sequestered) again revived. (Bacon, *Adv.*, 1603–05).

The pipe of seven reeds [borne by Pan] plainly denotes the harmony and consent of things, caused by the motion of the seven planets. If there be any lesser planets which are not visible, or any greater change in the heavens (as in some superlunary comets), it seems they are as pipes either entirely mute or vocal only for a season; inasmuch as their influences either do not approach so low as ourselves, or do not long interrupt the harmony of the seven pipes of Pan. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, 1622). Bacon deliberately used here the word *motion* to describe what it is that the body excludes; but editors of his works, including Spedding, have ignorantly substituted for it the word *notion*.

The light of nature consisteth in the motions [that is, intuitions] of the mind and the reports of the senses. (Bacon, *Adv.*).

**Harrish** Harsh. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv.*).

**Haste** I knew a wise man [Amyas Paulet] that had it for a bye-word, when he saw men hasten to a conclusion, "Stay a little, that we make an end the sooner." (Bacon, *Essay: Of Despatch*).

**He had not his knowledge from books** A comment made by Dr. Rawley in his summary biography of Bacon; the Latin version has *i.e.* not from books *only*: *ex libris tamen solis scientiam suam deprompsisse haudquaquam concedere licet*. This quote has been constantly misinterpreted by modern biographers. [Also see Chapter entitled *The Life of the Right Honourable Francis Bacon*.]

**He had rather have his will than his wish.** (Bacon, *Promus*).

**He lighteth well** Of one that concludes his speech well. (Bacon, *Col. Good & Evil*).

**He that is ignorant receives not the words of knowledge; unless thou first tell him that which is in his own heart.** (Bacon, *In. Mag*).

**He that is not against us is for us.** (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. IX).

**He that is not with me is against me.** (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. IX).

**He that never climbs never falls.** (Bacon, *Col. Good & Evil*).

**He that runneth by may read it.** (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II.; *Habak*, Vol. II). Mr. Ellis has remarked in his note on the corresponding passage in the *De Aug.*, that this expression, is in fact a misquotation

of the text and a misrepresentation of the meaning of the prophet. "Write the vision and make it plain upon the tables that he may run that readeth it." (Spedding).<sup>87</sup>

**He that undertaketh the story of a time, especially of any length, cannot but meet with many blanks and spaces which he must be forced to fill up out of his own wit and conjecture.** (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**He that would keep a secret, must keep it secret, that he hath the secret to keep.** (Bacon, *De Aug.*).

**He who writes from the heart, will write to the heart.** (D'Israeli).<sup>88</sup>

**Health** Medicine. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

(It was) an abuse of philosophy which grew general in the time of Epictetus, in converting it to an occupation or profession introducing such an health of mind as was that health of body of which Aristotle speaks of Herodicns, who did nothing all his life long but intend his health: whereas if men refer themselves to duties of society, as that body is best which is ablest to endure all alterations and extremities, so likewise that health of mind is most proper which can go through the greatest temptations and perturbations. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Heart** The heart of man is a continent of that concave and capacity, wherein the contents of the world (that is, all forms of creatures, and whatsoever is not God) may be placed and received. (Bacon, *Filum Labyrinthi*).

I do not like the confused and promiscuous manner in which philosophers have handled the functions of the soul; as if the human soul differed from the spirit of brutes, in degree only, rather than in kind, as the sun differs from the stars, or gold from metals. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. IV).

**Heaven and earth shall pass, but my words shall not pass, to seek temporary things amongst eternal: and as to seek divinity in philosophy is to seek the living amongst the dead, so to seek philosophy in divinity is to seek the dead amongst the living.** (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Herb** No mortal man, with sweat of brow, or toils of minds, but only God, who can do all, that *herb* doth find. (Ascham).<sup>89</sup> [Also see Part III: *Schoolmaster*.]

**Heroes** Great-hearted heroes, born in happier years. (Bacon, *Promus* 649 taken from *Æn.* VI. 649).

Heroes' sons are banes or plagues, being usually degenerate. (Bacon *Promus* 518 of the Latin from Erasmus's *Adagia*, 204).

<sup>87</sup> Spedding. *Works*

<sup>88</sup> *Miscellanies of Literature*, 1840

<sup>89</sup> Ascham Roger. *The Schoolmaster*, 1570

**Heterogeneity** Bacon rejected the essential heterogeneity of the three species of heat taken from Telesius, *De Rerum Nat.* VI. p. 20. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XXXV).

Telesius remarks as Bacon does, that eggs may be hatched, and insects apparently dead restored to live by means of artificial heat. [Also see *Artificial heat*.]

**Hiccup** The orthography of this word is very unsettled; some writing as here; others, Hiccough, Hick, Hichoy and Hicket. The last is French, *Hoquet*, and base Latin, *Homietta* and is used by Jones on Buxton, p. 4. Hiccough is so given because it seems to have something of the nature of a cough. (*Anonymiana*, 1818).

**Hieronem** *Err*; is a mistake for Leo, tyrant of Phliuns. The story of the interview between him and Phythagoras is told by Cicero, *Tusc. Quest.* V. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VII). [Also see *Fracastorii*.]

**Hippocrates Sleeve** Hippocras is clarified by mixing with milk, and stirring it about, and then passing it through a woollen bag they call Hippocrates Sleeve. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv.*). [Also see: *Hippocras*]

**His** Was sometimes used in Bacon's time by mistake for 's, the sign of the possessive case, particularly after a proper name, and with especial frequency when the name ends in s. "Pallas her glass." (Bacon, *Adv.*, L. 278).

**History** Is referred to the Memory; properly concerned with individuals; the impressions whereof are the first and most ancient guests of the human mind, and are as the primary material of knowledge. With these individuals and this material the human mind perpetually exercises itself, and sometimes sports. For as all knowledge is the exercise and work of the mind, so poesy may be regarded as its sport. (Bacon, *Intellectual Globe*). [Also see *Poesy*.]

**Hoddy-peke** A ludicrous term of reproach, generally equivalent to fool; perhaps originally synonymous with *hodmandod*, or snail. It is remarkable that Bacon enumerates *hodmandod*, or *dodman*, among fish that cast their shells; what he means is doubtful.

**Holpen** Help. (Spedding).

**Honesty** Ingenuous honesty and yet with opposition and strength. (Bacon, *Promus*, fol. 83).

**Honey-dew** Observe how the mind doth gather this excellent dew of knowledge, like unto that which the poet speaketh of, aerial honey, distilling and contriving it out of particulars natural and artificial, as the flowers of the field and garden. (Bacon, *Adv.*, 1603–5).

It was the opinion of Aristotle that honey comes from dew, and that bees gather from flowers nothing but wax. Bacon notices this theory in his *Natural History*, saying of it: "I have heard from one that was industrious in husbandry, that the labour of the bee is about the wax; and that he hath known, in the beginning of May, honey-combs empty of honey, and within a fortnight, when the sweet dews fall, filled like a cellar." Then he states his own opinion, agreeing with



Shakespeare: “for honey, the bee maketh or gathereth it.” The old superstition lingers with both authors, however, in the term “honey-dew.”

**Honey in carrion** It may be, you shall do posterity good, if out of the carcass of dead and rotten greatness (as out of Samson’s lion), there be honey gathered for the use of future times. (Bacon, *Petition to the House of Lords*, 1621).

**Honour** The winning of honour is but the revealing of a man’s virtue and worth without disadvantage; for some in their actions do woo and affect honour and reputation, which sort of men are commonly much talked of and little admired; and some contrariwise darken their virtue in the show of it, so as they be undervalued in opinion. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Honour*).

Honours are the suffrages not of tyrants but of divine providence. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Antitheta).

**Hope** As Aristotle says, “That young men may be happy, but only by hope,” so we, instructed by the Christian faith, must content ourselves with that felicity which rests in hope. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VII).

Hope is a road that was found and named by someone where everyone else followed suit. (Lochithea).

Of all the sentiments of the human heart, one of the most highly valued is hope. It has almost always been regarded as a blessing. Shelley says that “Hope and Youth are the children of one mother, Love;” Whittier, that it is “God’s special gift to all;” Keats, that it is of “celestial sweetness;” and Sam Johnson, that “where there is no hope, there can be no endeavour.” What more terrible inscription could have been placed over the door of the infernal regions than that which Dante reports: “All hope abandon, ye who enter here.” Singularly enough, however, Francis Bacon, during the greater part of his life and to within a short time of his death, condemned the sentiment of hope. He sought for himself and for mankind absolute veracity, or freedom from every kind of delusion. He said: “In hope there seems to be no use. For what avails the anticipation of good? If the good turn out less than you hoped for, good though it be, yet because it is not so good, it seems to you more like a loss than a gain, by reason of the over-hope. If the event be equal to the hope, then the flower of it, having been by that hope already gathered, you find it stale and almost distasteful. If the good be beyond the hope, then no doubt there is a sense of gain; but had it not been better to gain the whole by hoping not at all than the difference by hoping too little? And such is the effect of hope in prosperity. But in adversity it enervates the true strength of the mind. For matter of hope cannot always be forthcoming; and if it fail, though but for a moment, the whole strength and support of the mind goes with it. Moreover the mind suffers in dignity, when we endure evil only by self-deception and looking another way, and not by fortitude and judgment. And therefore it was an idle fiction of the poets to make Hope the antidote of human diseases, because it mitigates the pain of them; whereas it

is in fact an inflammation and exasperation of them rather, multiplying and making them break out afresh. (*Meditationes Sacra*, 1597).

**Huke** or **Huik**. A kind of mantle or cloak worn in Spain and the Low Countries. *Fr*; Huque; *Ltn*; huca. As we were thus in conference, there came one that seemed to be a messenger in a rich huke. (Bacon, *New Atlantis*).

**Human actions and arts** The supposed resemblance between the arts and actions of man and the operations of nature. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Human eye** The mind of a wise man is compared to a glass wherein images of all kinds in nature and custom are represented. (Bacon, *Adv.*, 1603–05). For the second edition of the *Adv.*, printed in 1623, Bacon rewrote the sentence: “The comparison of the mind of a wise man to a glass is the more proper, because in a glass he can see his own image, which the eye itself without a glass cannot do.” The original passage is in Plato’s *First Alcibiades*: “You may take the analogy of the eye; the eye sees not itself, but from some other thing, as, for instance, from a glass; it can also see itself by reflection in another eye.”

**Humanity** (The Excellencies of man) seem to me to deserve a place amongst the desiderata. Pindar, in praising Hiero, says that he culled the tops of all virtues; and I think it would contribute much to magnanimity and the honour of humanity if a collection were made of the tops or summits of human nature, especially from true history, showing what is the ultimate and highest point which nature has of itself attained, in the several gifts of body and mind. (Bacon *De Aug.*, Bk. IV).

For the Miseries of Humanity the lamentation of them has been copiously set forth by many it is an argument at once sweet and wholesome. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. IV).

**Hydraulic music** One of the lost arts by Pancirollo. The sounds that produce tones, are ever from such bodies as are in their parts and pores equal; as well as the sounds themselves are equal; and such are the percussions of metal, as in bells; of glass, as in the filliping of a drinking glass; of air, as in men’s voices whilst they sing, in pipes, whistles, organs, stringed instruments, &c.; and of water, as in the nightingale-pipes of regals or organs, and other hydraulics; which the ancients had, and Nero did so much esteem, but are now lost. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Hypocrites** And Impostors, in the Church and towards the people, set themselves on fire, and are carried as it were, out of themselves, and becoming as men inspired with holy furies, they set Heaven and Earth together. But if a man should look into their times of solitude, and separate meditations, and conversations with God, he would find them not only cold, and without life, but full of malice and leaven; sober towards God; beside themselves to the people. (Bacon, *Sacred Meditations*).

The ostentation of hypocrites is ever confined to the first table of the Law, which prescribes our duty to God, because works of this class have a greater pomp of sanctity, and because they

interfere less with their desires. The way to convict a hypocrite, therefore, is to send him from the works of sacrifice to the works of Mercy. (*Ibid*).

Grant though a Sinner that a Saint I seem. (Bacon, *Promus* 452 of the Latin from Hor. 1; Ep. XVI. 61).

## H (Latin)

**Habet argentum venarum suarum principia: et auro locus est in quo conflatur, ferrum de terra tollitur, et lapis solutus calore in æs vertitur:** Surely there is a vein for the silver, and a place for gold where they fine it. Iron is taken out of the earth, and brass is molten out of the stone. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Helluo librorum** A bookworm. (Bacon).

**Heri vidi fragilem frangi, hodie vidi mortalem mori** Yesterday I saw a brittle thing broken, today a mortal dead. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Hic ab arte sua non recessit** He was constant to his own art. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Hic labor hoc opus est** Hard work is the result. (Bacon).

**Hippocras** Made by boiling together red wine and spice; its name is derived from its being strained in the manner described in the text. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*). [Also see *Hippocrates Sleeve*.]

**Hoc quemadmodum fieri posit, nonnulla mihi in mentem veniunt, et multa reperiri possunt; de iis rebus rogo vos ut cogitationem suscipiatis:** How this may be done, some things occur to me and more may be thought of. I would have you take these matters into consideration. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II)

**Horoscoporum et domorum** The heavens are in astrology divided into twelve compartments or houses, by means of six great circles which pass through the north and south points of the horizon, and divide the ecliptic into twelve equal portions. (Bacon).

One of these circles coincides with the horizon, and the point of the ecliptic through which it passes at the moment of the nativity of the person whose destiny is to be ascertained, or of the commencement of the event whose fortunes are to be predicted, is called the horoscope. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. III).

**Hypocrisiæ** Hypocrisia; hypocrisy. (Bacon, *Med. Sac*). The silent hypocrite destroys.

**I (English)**

**I had rather know than be known** (Bacon, *Densi et Rari & Promus*).

**I have taken all knowledge to be my province** (Bacon, *Letter to Lord Burghley*, 1592).

**I hold every man a debtor to his profession** From the which as men of course do seek to receive countenance and profit, so ought they of duty to endeavour themselves, by way of amends, to be a help and ornament thereunto. (Bacon, *Maxims of the Law*).

**I love a confessing modesty, hate an accusing one** (Bacon, *De Aug*).

**I was the justest judge that was in England these fifty years; but it was the justest censure in Parliament that was these two hundred years.** In a notebook destined only for his own private use, Bacon's secretary, Dr. William Rawley, begins a number of sayings and anecdotes, having reference to his master, in a cipher, which is anything but very complicated; it was resorted to, lest any servant, into whose hands the book might happen to fall, should be able to read the contents. Mysterious as the cipher may appear at the first glance, all Rawley did was to write down an English sentence in Greek consonants, applying the numerals 1 to 6 instead of the vowels, thus: 1=a, 2=e, 3=i, 4=0, 5=u, 6=y. Solved with this key, the words in one of Rawley's cipher reads: "I. Apophthegms. My Lo.: I was the justest judge that was in England these 50 years: but it was the justest censure in Parliament that was these 200 years." [Also see Part III: *Rawley's Notebook*].

**Idola**, [εἰδόλα]; Doctrine in *Nov. Org.*, an attempt to classify according to their origin the false and ill-defined notions by which the mind is commonly beset.

Bacon enumerates four kinds: the idols of the tribe, of the cave, of the market place, and of the theatre. The above classification is borrowed from Roger Bacon in his *Opus Majus* printed in the eighteenth century; he speaks of four hindrances whereby men are kept back from the attainment of true knowledge. A copy of the *Opus Majus* may not have been procurable in Bacon's time and it's possible Bacon knew of him at that time chiefly by his reputation for mechanical inventions.

Idols of the tribe are those which belong, as Aristotle might have said, to the human mind as it is human, the erroneous tendencies common more or less to all mankind. [Also see *Idols of the Tribe*.]

The idols of the cave arise from each man's mental constitution: the metaphor being suggested by a passage in the opening of the seventh book of Plato's *Republic*. [Also see *Idols of the Cave*.]

Both classes of extraneous idols mentioned in the *Partis secundæ Delineatio* are included in the *idola theatri*, and the *idola fori* correspond to nothing in the earlier classification.

Idols of the market place are called so because they are caused by the daily intercourse of common life. [Also see *Idols of the Market place*.]

That if any have had or shall have the power and resolution to fortify and enclose his mind against all anticipations, yet if he have not been or shall not be cautioned by the full understanding of the nature of the mind and spirit of man, and therein of the seats, pores, and passages both of knowledge and error, he hath not been, nor shall not be, possibly able to guide or keep on his course aright. (Bacon, *Val. Term.*, C.17). No part of Bacon's works is more valuable than his exact and sagacious exposition of the general, or rather natural, sources of error. He calls these prejudices by the expressive name of idols, the false objects of false worship, vain, delusive, and dangerous. The student who desires to follow up Bacon's profound comments on these various *idola* will be helped by consulting Playfair's *Preliminary Dissertation*. (*Encyclopædia Britannica*).

**Idolon** The word is used by Bacon in antithesis to idea. He does not mean by it an idol or false object of worship. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*)<sup>90</sup>

**Idols of the Cave** False appearances imposed upon us by every man's own individual nature and custom. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Idols of the Market place** False appearances that are imposed upon us by words. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Idols of the Tribe** False appearances that are imposed upon us by the general nature of the mind. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**If a man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleep.** (Bacon, *Essays: Of Delays*).

**If a tree has to my knowledge borne apples for twenty years, I suppose I may suspect some mistake when I am told that it has borne crabs on the twenty-first.** (Spedding).

**If it befall to me as befalleth to the fools, why should I labour to be more wise?** (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**If you will be heavenly you must have influence.** (*Gesta Grayorum*).

**Ignorance** For the allegation that learning would undermine the reverence due to laws and government, it is a mere calumny, without shadow of truth. Learning makes the mind pliable to government, whereas ignorance renders it churlish and mutinous, and it is always found that the most barbarous, rude, and ignorant times have been most tumultuous, changeable, and seditious. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

There is no decaying Marchant, or inward beggar, hath so many tricks to uphold the credit of their wealth, as these empty persons have to maintain the credit of their sufficiency. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Seeming Wise*, Early Edition).

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<sup>90</sup> Vol. I, p. 68

**Illumination** So in like manner there cannot but be a fraternity in learning and illumination, relating to that paternity which is attributed to God, who is called the father of illuminations or lights. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

He had made his course t'illumine that part of heaven. (Shakespeare). <sup>91</sup>

Compare *relume* [re-light] in *Othello* Act V. Sc. 2.13. Modern scholars believe the word *illumination* was coined by Shakespeare.

**Imagination** In all persuasions that are wrought by eloquence, and other impressions of like nature, which do paint and disguise the true appearance of things, the chief recommendation unto Reason is from the Imagination. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

When an envious or amorous aspect doth infect the spirits of another, there is joined both affection and imagination. (Bacon, *Nat. Hist.* 909).

Poesy is a part of learning in measure of words, for the most part restrained, but in all other points extremely licensed, and doth truly refer to the Imagination, which, not being tied to the laws of matter, may at pleasure join that which Nature hath severed, and sever that which Nature hath joined, and so make unlawful matches and divorces of things. Poets and Painters have always been allowed to take what liberties they would. (Bacon, *Adv.* Bk. II). [Also see: *Poesy*]

**Imago** Species. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XXII).

**Imitation** As for imitation, it is certain that there is in men and other creatures a predisposition to imitate. We see how ready apes and monkeys are to imitate all motions of man: and in the catching of dotrells, we see how the foolish bird playeth the ape in gestures, and no man in effect doth accompany others, but he learneth, ere he is aware, some gesture, or choice, or fashion of the other. (Bacon, *Nat. Hist.* 327).

In the discharge of thy place, set before thee the best examples; for imitation is a globe of precepts. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Great Place*).

**Imitations of winds** If men could enjoy to bring themselves not to fix their thoughts too intently on the consideration of the subject before them, rejecting everything else as irrelevant, and not to refine with endless and mostly unprofitable speculations thereon, they would never be so dull as they are wont to be, but by a free passage and transference of their thoughts they would find many things at a distance which near at hand are concealed. (Bacon, *History of Winds*). [Also see *Names of Winds*.]

**Improvement** When man's understanding is emancipated and come, as it were, of age, there cannot but follow an improvement in his estate, and an enlargement of his dominion over nature. For man by the fall fell at the same time from his state of innocence and from his dominion over creation. Both of these losses, however, can even in this life be in some part repaired; the former by religion and faith, the latter by arts and sciences. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*).

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91 *Hamlet* Act I. Sc. 1. 58 mid 1601

**Imposition of names in Paradise** In illustration of natural knowledge, is common in the writings of the schoolmen. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. I).

**Impulsive motion** [*motus plagæ*]; In accordance with this Bacon censures Democritus for departing from a principle in giving his atoms the downward motion of gravity which belong to ordinary bodies. (Bacon, *De principiis Atque Originibus*).

**In more grief than I can well express, and much more than I can well dissemble.** (Bacon, *Letter to the Earl of Essex*, 1592–93).

**Incense** To stir up to anger. (Cockeram).

After this, during the while since my Lord was committed to my Lord Keeper's, I came divers times to the Queen, as I had used to do, about causes of her revenue and law business, as is well known: by reason of which accesses, according to the ordinary charities of Court, it was given out, that I was one of them that *incensed* the Queen against my Lord of Essex. (Bacon, *Apologie*, 1603).

**Inconstancy** If inconstancy of mind be added to the inconstancy of fortune, in what darkness do we live? (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Antitheta).

**Induction** Err; M. de St. Hilaire in his translation of the treatise *De animâ* of Aristotle states that Bacon claimed to be the first discoverer of induction. (Bacon, *Nov. Org*).

**Industry** The things obtained by your own industry are generally achieved by labour and exertion. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI).

**Ingratitude** The crime of Ingratitude is not restrained by punishments, but given over to the Furies. The bonds of benefits are stricter than the bonds of duties; wherefore he that is ungrateful is unjust, and every way bad. This is the condition of humanity: no man is born in so public a fortune but he must obey the private calls both of gratitude and revenge. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Antitheta).

**Injections** Berengario of Carpi, died at Ferrara in 1550, is said to have been the first person who made use of injections in order to render the vessels visible. He employed water, probably coloured, for this purpose. Swammerdam was the first to inject with wax. In one branch of anatomy, namely the doctrine of the development of the osseous parts, the use of madder in the food of the living animal has led to more results. It stains the portions of bone developed during its use of a bright red. Duhamel was the first to use this means of studying the growth of bone. Flourens had also employed it. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. IV).

**Innocence** The being conscious that a man is clear, and free from fault, affords great consolation in calamity. The calamities of worthy persons are lightened and tempered by the consciousness of innocence and merit. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Sophisms).

**Innovation** As the births of all living creatures at first are illshapen, so are all Innovations, which are the births of time. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Innovation*).

**Inquination** [μόλυνσις]; molinsis; infection; only one kind of inconcoction or elixation. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Inscriptions** It is a curiosity to have inscriptions or engravings in fruit or trees. This is easily performed by writing with a needle or bodkin or knife or the like, when the fruit or trees are young; for, as they grow, so the letters will grow more large and graphical. (Bacon, *Natural History*) which was taken from Virgil: "I prefer to endure hardships in a forest, in the haunts of wild beasts, and carve my loves on young trees, then, as the trees grow, ye, my loves, will grow." <sup>92</sup>

**Instance** In Bacon's time this corresponds more closely to the meaning of *observation* than to any other which is used in modern scientific language.

**Intermediate axioms** Limitations; particular cases. (Bacon, *Nov. Org*).

**Invent** Bacon uses the word *invent* simply as equivalent to *invenir*. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Invention of sciences** Having digested it into two parts, whereof the one I term *Experientia literata*, and the other *Interpretatio naturæ*; the former being but a degree or rudiment of the latter. (Bacon, *Adv*).

**Is not the delight of the quavering upon a stop in music the same with the playing of light upon the water?** (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Issued** But to your Majesty, whom God hath already blessed with so much royal issue, worthy to continue and represent you forever, and whose youthful and fruitful bed doth yet promise many the like renovations, it is proper and agreeable to be conversant not only in the transitory parts of good government, but in those acts also which are in their nature permanent and perpetual. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

But if the eldest son leave any issue, though he die in the life of his father, then neither the second son nor the issue of the eldest shall inherit the father's lands, but the father there shall be accounted to die without heirs, and the land shall be escheat. (Bacon, *The Use of the Law*).

**It is hard to remember all, ungrateful to pass by any.** (Bacon, *De Aug.*; Cicero, *Post Red. C.* 12).

**It is necessary sometimes to correct the knowledge we receive.** (D'Israeli). <sup>93</sup>

**It is part of the gift if you deny genteelly what is asked of you.** (Bacon, *Remains*).

<sup>92</sup> Bucolica (Ecl. X, 54)

<sup>93</sup> *Miscellanies of Literature*, 1840



**It is strange how men, like owls, see sharply in the darkness of their own notions, but in the daylight of experience wink and are blinded.** (Bacon, *History of Life and Death*).

**It should be pregnant with politic precepts, but the writer should not play the midwife.** (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

## I (Latin)

**Ignus est ollis vigor, et coelestis origo** The living fire that glows those seeds within remembers its celestial origin. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Ijsdem e'literis efficitur tragædia et comedia** Tragedies and comedies are made of one alphabet. (Bacon, *Promus*: 516; Erasmus's *Adagia*, 725).

**Ille crucem pretium sceleris tulit, hic diadema** The same crime is rewarded in one man with a gibbet and in another with a crown. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Imo extra caulas** Nay, outside the sheepfold. (Bacon).

**Importunè, opportunè** Out of season, in season. (Bacon, *Apologie*, 1603).

**In declinatione morbid** To alleviate the disease. (Bacon).

**Inescationes et lenocinia** Baits and panderings. (Bacon, *History of King Henry VII*).

**Infelix, utcunque ferent ea facta minores** Unhappy man! Whatever judgment posterity shall pass upon that deed. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**In fine dierum** At the end of the day. (Bacon).

**In genere oeconomico** On domestic grounds. (Bacon).

**In genere politico** On political grounds. (Bacon).

**In hoc signo evince** In this sign conquer. (Bacon, *Touching an Holy war*).

**In nocte consilium** At night take counsel. (Bacon).

**In sudore vultus comedes panem tuum** In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**In umbra** Secluded. (Bacon).

**Inæqualia** Unequal; there is no colour for the assertion that to the wise man all things are unequal; but the Stoics, teaching that, except the distinction between right and wrong, everything is to the wise man a matter of indifference, went on to maintain that he could suffer no wrong from man,

because no change of outward circumstance could in any degree affect his inward and essential happiness. There is a treatise by Seneca, of the title *In Sapientem non cadere Injuriam*, in which this doctrine is taught. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. VI).

**Incensivos** Exciting. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XLIX).

**Increpa eos durè** Rebuke them sharply. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Infortunate** This word was used sometimes for unfortunate. It occurs twice in Shakespeare; and Johnson has given an example from Bacon's works.

**Instantia crucis** A series of observations was made by Dr. Whewell and Mr. Airy to determine the effect on the time of vibration of a pendulum, produced by carrying it to the bottom of a mine; but, from the effect of local attractions, the results were scarcely as satisfactory as might have been expected. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XXXVI).

**Insulas Cursolares** Or Kurzolari islands are the ancient Echinades; the naval engagement generally called the Battle of Lepanto, took place off these islands in 1571; the Turkish fleet was defeated with great loss; and on this occasion that Cervantes lost his hand. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. VIII).

**Intelligentia** Angelic influence. (Bacon).

**Interpretatio** Interpretation. It is true that interpretation is the very natural and direct intention, action and progression to the understanding, delivered from impediments; and that all anticipation is but a deflexion or declination by accident. (Bacon, *Val. Term.*)<sup>94</sup>

For he that shall attentively observe how the mind doth gather this excellent dew of knowledge, like unto that which the poet speaketh of, distilling and contriving it out of particulars natural and artificial, as the flowers of the field and garden, shall find that the mind of herself by nature doth manage and act an induction much better than they describe it. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Inventione præocupatas** Anticipated, so far as relates to originality of invention; one of Bacon's antitheses between *inventione* and *modis tractandi*. (Bacon).

**Invidia** Discontentment; envy. (Bacon, *Essays: IX*).

**Iipse repertorem medicinæ talis et artis fulmine phæbigenam stygias detrusit ad undas:** Apollo's son from whom that art did grow Jove struck with thunder to the shades below. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Isti ipsi præceptores virtutis et magistri videntur fines officiorum paulo longius quam natura vellet protulisse, ut cum ad ultimum animo contendissemus, ibi tamen, ubi oportet, consisteremus:** That they had set the points of duty somewhat higher than nature would well

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94 Ch. 22

bear; meaning belike to allow for shortcomings, and that our endeavours aiming beyond the mark and falling short, should light at the right place. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Iter pigrorum quasi sepes spinarum** The way of the slothful is as an hedge of thorns. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

## J (English)

**Jade** To weary. Apparently a new word in Bacon's time.

For it is a dull thing to tire, and, as we now say, to *jade* anything too far. (Bacon, *Essay: XXXII*).

**Janus of imagination** Has two different faces; for the face towards reason has the print of truth, and the face towards action has the print of goodness; which nevertheless are faces. (Bacon, *De Aug.*)

Another point of view is that Janus being of the Roman gods not identified with Greek gods and being the most important (the doorkeeper or janitor) was worshipped each morning, at the opening of a New Year, and before any important undertaking such as the harvest or a marriage or a war. His head in a medallion is double-faced, for the anniversary looks both backward and forward, and crowned with laurel to suggest the good wishes that go with a New Year's gift.

**Jest** A jest is the orator's altar.<sup>95</sup> He that throws into everything a dash of modest pleasantry keeps his mind the more at liberty. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Antitheta, 35).

Consider jests when the laugh is over. (*Ibid*).

What prevents me from speaking truth with a laughing face? (Bacon, *Promus* of the Latin, taken from Hor. Sat. I. 24).

It is good to mingle jest with earnest. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Discourse*).

Humour in conversation preserves freedom. It is highly politic to pass smoothly from jest to earnest and vice versa. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Anthitheta).

A jest is many times the vehicle of a truth which could not otherwise have been brought in. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI).

**Jew's ear** A kind of fungus which grows on trees, that swells exceedingly on being put into water, which sponge and wool do not. (Bacon, *History of Dense and Rare*).

**Joy** Causeth a cheerfulness and vigour in the eyes, singing, leaping, dancing, and sometimes tears. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv.*)

Sensual impressions of joys are bad; ruminations of joys in the memory, or apprehensions of them in hope or imagination, are good. (Bacon, *Hist. Life & Death*, 81).

**Judgment** In all inductions, whether in good or vicious, the same action of the mind which inventeth, judgeth; all one as in the sense; but the invention of means is one thing, and the

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<sup>95</sup> Compare *Twelfth Night*, Act. v. Sc. 1, 110-115 of altars on which speeches were faithfully offered

judgment of the consequence is another: the one exciting only, the other examining. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II.; *De Aug.*, Bk. V).

**Julian darkness** When the sun on three several occasions, without eclipse or interposition of clouds, the air being clear and serene, appeared for many days with an altered visage; yet not affected in the same manner each time, but once faint, and twice of a reddish brown. For such phenomena happened in the year 790 of seventeen days, and in the times of Justian for half a year, and after the death of Julius Cæsar for several days. (Bacon, *Intellectual Globe*).

There remains that noble testimony of Virgil: *then did the sun in pity dim his light, and drew a dusk veil o'er his visage bright, and shook the impious times with dread of endless night.* (George I: 469).

**Justice** It is owing to Justice that man is a god to man and not a wolf. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI).

Justice, though it cannot extirpate vices, yet prevents them from doing hurt. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Antitheta, 22).

If to be just be not to do that to another which you would have another do to you, then is mercy justice. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Antitheta, 20).

**Juvenes non esse idoneos Moralis Philosophiæ auditores** *Err*; A mistaken quotation from Aristotle's *Eth. Ad Nicom.*, I. 3., who speaks not of moral but of political philosophy; the same error of the text occurs in Bacon's *Adv* and in Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, Act II. Sc. 2: "Not much unlike young men, whom Aristotle thought unfit to hear moral philosophy." (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VII). There could have been a misinterpretation toward Socrates' sayings: "What goodness ensueth of the knowledge of moral philosophy", when these two quotations were put to print.

## J (Latin)

**Jam proxime sequente** Which is the next piece in this volume. (Bacon).

**Jam tum tenditque fovetque** He begins to attend and nurse his project while it is yet in the cradle. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Justificata est sapientia a filiis suis** Wisdom is justified of her children. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

## K (English)

**Karabe** The fruit of Karobe. (Bacon, *Medical Remains*).

**Kings of bees** The King in a hive of bees. (Bacon, *Apo*, 1624).

The bees of a hive are very obsequious to their King. They attend him in crowds, often raising him on their shoulders and exposing their own bodies in his defense. (Virgil, *Georgies*, IV).

**Knap** Of a hill. The top or head of it; the same as knop, or knob. Cnap, in Welch; Johnson quotes Bacon for it.

**Knowledge** Is like a water that will never arise again higher than the level from which it fell. (Bacon, *Of the Interpretation of Nature & In. Mag*).

Knowledge is the food of the mind. (Bacon, *De Aug*).

Of men may be derived and obtained in six ways; by their countenances and expressions, their words, their actions, their dispositions, their ends, and lastly, by the reports of others. (Bacon, *De Aug*).

Be not wrapped up in the past, there is an actual present lying all about you; look up and behold it in its grandeur. Turn away from the broken cisterns of traditional science, and quaff the pure waters that flow sparkling and fresh forever from the unfathomable fountain of the creation. Go to nature and listen to her many voices, consider her ways and learn her doings; so shall you bend her to your will. For knowledge is power. (Bacon, *Great Instauration*).

The knowledge of man is as the waters, some descending from above, and some springing from beneath; the one informed by the light of nature, the other inspired by Divine revelation. The light of nature consisteth in the notions of the mind and the reports of the senses for as for knowledge which man receiveth by teaching, it is cumulative, and not original; as in a water which, besides his own spring-head, is fed with other springs and streams. So then, according to these two differing illuminations, or originals, knowledge is first of all divided into Divinity and Philosophy. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

Plato had an imagination that all knowledge was but remembrance. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Vicissitude*).

It was Plato's opinion that all knowledge is but remembrance. (Bacon, *Adv.*, 1603–05).

Salomon saith, "There is no new thing upon the earth." So that as Plato had an imagination, that all knowledge is but remembrance, so Salomon giveth his sentence, that all novelty is but oblivion. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Vicissitude of Things*, 1625).

**Knowledge is power** (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, II: 4).

**Kosmos** [κόσμος]; Universe. (Bacon).

**Καθ'αυτό** [Kathafto]; essentially. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

## L (English)

**Labial** *Ltn.*, Labialis. Uttered by the lips.

The Hebrews have afligned which letters are *labial*, which dental, and which guttural. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

**Language** Every living language is continually changing; and the orthography gradually follows changed of pronunciation. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI).

**Lantern** Amongst the excellent acts of that King, one hath the pre-eminence, the erection and institution of a society, which we call Solomon's house noblest foundation that ever was, and the *lanthorn* of this kingdom. (Bacon, *New Atlantis*).

**Lassitude** Weariness, fatigue.

Lassitude is remedied by bathing, or anointing with oil and warm water; for all lassitude is a kind of contusion and compression of the parts; and bathing and anointing give a relaxation or emulation. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

**Late** Good day to me, and good morrow to you. (Bacon, *Promus* 1195).

**Lath** A small long piece of wood that used to support the houses.

Penny-royal and orpin they use in the country to trim their houses; binding it with a lath or stick, and setting it against a wall. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

**Laughing** Causeth a dilatation of the mouth and lips; a continued expulsion of the breath, with the loud noise, which maketh the interjection of laughing; shaking of the breast and sides; running of the eyes with water, it be violent and continued. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Laurelled** From *laurel*. Crowned or decorated with laurel; laureate. Future ages with delight shall see, how Plato's, Bacon's, Newton's, looks agree; or in fair feries laurell'd bards be shown, a Virgil there, and here an Addison. (Pope).

**Law** There is no jewel in the world comparable to learning; no learning so excellent both for Prince and subject as knowledge of laws; and no knowledge of any laws (I speak of human) so necessary for all estates and for all causes concerning goods, lands, or life, as the common laws of England. (Coke). [Also see Part II: *Coke Edward. Sir.*]

One was wont to say that laws were like cobwebs, where the small flies were caught, and the great break through. (Bacon, *Apo.*; *De Aug.*, Bk. VIII).

The meaner sort think that laws are but cobwebs. (Bacon, *Essay: Of a Digest of Laws.*)

**Lawyer** Judged by the virtue of his pleasing, and not by the issue of the cause. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

There are (saith Euripides) three virtues worthy our meditation: to honour God, our parents who begat us, and the common laws of Greece; the like do I say to thee next to thy duty and piety to God, and his anointed, thy gracious Sovereign, and thy honour to thy parents, yield due reverence and obedience to the common laws of England: for of all laws (I speak of human) these are most equal and most certain, of greatest antiquity, and lest delay, and most beneficial and easy to be observed.

**Lay** To beat down corn or grass. Another ill accident is *laying* of corn with great rains in harvest. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

Schismatics, outlaws, or criminal persons, are not fit to *lay* the foundation of a new colony. (*Ibid*).

To put into any state of quiet: They bragged, that they doubted not but to abuse, and *lay* asleep, the Queen and Council of England. (Bacon, *History of King Henry VII.*).

**Lead** To fit with lead in any manner.

There is a traverse placed in a loft, at the right hand of the chair, with a privy door, and a carved window of glass *leaded* with gold and blue, where the mother sitteth. (Bacon).

**Learning** The works or acts of merit towards learning are conversant about three objects; the places of learning, the books of learning, and the persons of the learned. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Leaves** The plural of leaf.

Parts fit for the nourishment of man in plants are, seeds, roots, and fruits; for *leaves* they give no nourishment at all. Bacon, *Natural History*).

**Lees** Dregs; sediment: it has seldom a singular.

The memory of King Richard was so strong, that it lay like *lees* at the bottom of men's hearts; and if the vessel was but stirred, it would come up. (Bacon, *History of King Henry VII.*).

**Lend not thine ear to all words that are spoken, lest thou hear thy servant curse thee.** (Eccles. VII. 21).

It is scarcely credible what confusion is created in life by a useless curiosity about the things which concern us; that is, when we set to work to inquire into those secrets which when discovered produce uneasiness of mind, but are of no use to forward our designs. (Bacon, *De Aug*).

**Leprosity** From *leprous*. Squamous disease.

If the crudities, impurities, and *leprocities* of metals were cured, they would become gold. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

**Let not a man force a habit upon himself with a perpetual continuance, but with some intermission.** For both the pause reinforceth the new onset: and, if a man that is not perfect be ever in practice, he shall as well practise his errors as his abilities, and induce one habit of both. (Bacon, *Essays: Of Nature in Men*).

**Let not the sun go down upon your anger** (Bacon, *Essays: IVII*). [Also see *Anger*].

**Letters** Let the traveller, upon his removes from one place to another, procure recommendations to some person of quality residing in the place whither he removeth. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Travel*).

**Letter trick** Some procure themselves to be surprised at such times as it is like[ly] the party they work upon will suddenly come upon them; and to be found with a letter in their hand, to the end they may be apposed [questioned] of those things which of themselves they are desirous to utter. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Cunning*, 1625).

**Libation** The act of pouring wine on the ground in honour of some deity.

In digging new earth pour in some wine, that the vapour of the earth and wine may comfort the spirits, provided it be not taken for a heathen sacrifice, or *libation* to the earth. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

**Liberal** It has *of* before the thing, and *to* before the person.

There is no art better than the *liberal of* praise and commendation to others, in that wherein a man's self hath any perfection. (Bacon, *Essays*).

**Libra Astronomica** Published in 1618, with the pseudonym of Lotario Sarsi; incorporated in the new edition of Galileo's *Works*.<sup>96</sup> (Bacon, *De principiis Atque Originibus*).

**Lie there my Art** Lord Treasurer Burghley used to say, when laying aside his official robe at the close of his day's work, "lie there, Lord Treasurer." (Bacon, *Apo*).

**Lies** Men should love lies, where neither they make for pleasure, as with poets, nor for advantage, as with the merchant; but for the lie's sake. (Bacon, *Essays: Of Truth*).

**Life** The like (friendship) was between Septimius Severas, and Plautianus, who did also write in a letter to the Senate, by these words: "I love the man so well, as I wish he may overlive me." (Bacon, *Essay: Of Friendship*).

All that is past is as a dream; and he that hopes, or depends upon time coming, dreams waking. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Death*).

Though the world be but as a wilderness to a Christian travelling through it to the Promised Land, yet it would be an instance of the divine favour, that our clothing that is, our bodies should be a little worn whilst we sojourn here. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. IV).

I hold myself to that which I called the stage or theatre (of justice in the world), whereunto it may fitly be compared: for that things were first contained within the invisible judgments of God, as within a curtain, and after came forth, and were acted most worthily by the King and his Ministers. They were grown to such inwardness as they made a play of all the world besides themselves. (Bacon, *Charge against the Countess of Somerset*).

Men must know that in this Theatre of mens' life it is reserved only for God and Angels to be lookers on. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).



**Life in animals**

- The elephant, on undoubted authority, exceeds the ordinary run of human life. The story that its period of gestation in the womb is ten years is fabulous. (Bacon, *History of Life and Death* & Pliny, VIII. 10).
- Lions have been considered long-lived because many of them are found toothless; but this is a fallacious sign, since it might proceed from their strong breaths. (Bacon, *History of Life and Death* & Aristotle, *Hist*, An. IX. 44).
- The bear is a great sleeper; a dull and indolent beast, but not remarkable for long life. (Bacon, *History of Life and Death*).
- The fox seems to have many things suitable for a long life; he is very well clothed, feeds on flesh, and lives in holes; but yet he is not noted for longevity. (*Ibid.*).
- The camel is long-lived; a lean, sinewy creature, which commonly reaches fifty and sometimes one hundred years. (Bacon, *History of Life and Death*; Aristotle, *Hist*, An. IX. 44).
- The horse lives only to a moderate age, scarce ever reaching forty, and ordinarily only twenty years. (Bacon, *History of Life and Death*).
- Stags are famed for long life, but upon no certain ground. (Bacon, *History of Life and Death*; Aristotle, *Hist*, An. VI. 29).
- The dog is short-lived, its age never reaching beyond twenty, and not often to fourteen. (Bacon, *History of Life and Death*).
- The ox also for its size and strength is short-lived, about sixteen years; the male being somewhat more long-lived than the female. (*Ibid.*).
- Sheep seldom live to ten years, though they are a creature of moderate size, and excellently clothed. (Bacon, *History of Life and Death*; Pliny, VIII. 50).
- The goat lives to about the same age as the sheep, and does not much differ from it in other respects. (Bacon, *History of Life and Death*).
- Swine sometimes live for fifteen or even for twenty years. (*Ibid.*).
- Cats live between six and ten years; an active animal, and of an acrid spirit, whose seed burns the female; whence an opinion has prevailed, “that the cat conceives with pain and brings forth with ease.” (Bacon, *History of Life and Death*; Ælian).
- Hares and rabbits scarcely reach to seven years. (Bacon, *History of Life and Death*).
- The swan is known for certain to be very long-lived, and not unfrequently exceeds one hundred years. (*Ibid.*).
- The goose also in one of the long livers. (*Ibid.*).
- Storks ought to be very long-lived, if the old story is true, that they never went to Thebes, because that city was so often captured. (Bacon, *History of Life and Death*; Cf. Pliny, X. 34).
- The parrot has certainly been known to live sixty years in England. (Bacon, *History of Life and Death*).

- The peacock lives twenty years. (Bacon, *History of Life and Death*; Cf. Aristotle, *Hist. An.* VI. 9).
- The sparrow is observed to be very short-lived. (Bacon, *History of Life and Death*; Aristotle, *Hist.* IX. 7; Pliny, X. 52).
- The age of fish is more uncertain than that of land animals, because from living under water they are less observed. (Bacon, *History of Life and Death*).
- Dolphins are reported to live about thirty years. (*Ibid.*).

**Life is short and art long** Is an old proverb and complaint.

It appears therefore to follow naturally that I who am earnestly labouring for the perfection of arts should take though also, by the grace and favour of the Author of Life and Truth, about the means of prolonging the life of man. (Bacon, *History of Life and Death*). [Also see *Prolongation of Life*.]

**Light** Illumination of mind; instruction; knowledge.

May be taken from the experiment of the horse-tooth ring, how that those things which assuage the strife of the spirits, do help diseases contrary to the intention desired. (Bacon, *Natural History*). [Also see *Illumination*].

They have brought to *light* not a few profitable experiments. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

A King that would not feel his crown too heavy must wear it every day; but if he think it too *light*, he knoweth not of what metal it is made. (Bacon, *Essays*).

Some are for masts of ships, as fir and pine, because of their length, straightness, and *lightness*. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

**Ligneous** Made of wood; wooden. It should be with shoots of vines, and roots of red roses; for it may be they, being of a more *ligneous* nature, will incorporate with the tree itself. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

**Limits of winds** It is said that the priests who offered the yearly sacrifices on the altars at the tops of Mont Athos and Olympus used to find the letter which they had traced in the ashes of the victims the preceding year no way disarranged or obliterated; and this, although the altars did not stand in a temple, but in the open air. (Bacon, *History of Winds*). [Also see *Names of Winds*.]

**Liquefaction** The act of melting; the state of being melted.

Heat dissolveth and melteth bodies that keep in their spirits, as in divers *liquefactions*; and so doth time in honey, which by age waxeth more liquid. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

**Litter** A carriage capable of containing a bed hung between two horses.

He was carried in a rich chariot *litter-wise*, with two horses at each end. (Bacon, *New Atlantis*).

**Little** The poor remnant of human seed which remained in their mountains, peopled their country again slowly, by *little* and *little*. (Bacon, *New Atlantis*).

**Little things** Excellent wits will make use of every little thing. (Bacon, *Letter to Sir Fulke Greville*, 1596).

**Lobster** Those that cast their shell, are the *lobster*, the crab, and craw fish. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

**Local origins of winds** The knowledge of the local origins of the winds is a difficult inquiry; for whence the wind cometh and whither it goeth is regarded even in scripture as a mystery. (Bacon, *History of Winds*). [Also see *Names of Winds*.]

**Location of the soul** The opinion of Plato, who placed the understanding in the brain, deserveth not to be despised, but much less to be allowed. (Bacon, *Adv.*, 1603–05).

Every man, says Bacon, has two souls: one, in common with the brute creation; the other, especially inspired by God. The former, which he calls the sensible soul, he locates (to use his own language) “chiefly in the head;” the latter, or rational one, in no particular part of the body.

### Logical connections <sup>97</sup>

1. The Inns of Court had recourse to the London theatres for assistance in their masques and pageants.
2. Bacon was Master of the Revels at Gray’s Inn from 1594 up to 1613, and recognized by the other Inns as chief authority in such matters.
3. Bacon produced the *Comedy of Errors* at Gray’s Inn in 1594 its first performance; the performers being the Lord Chamberlain’s Company, in which Shaksper was Manager and Actor and Absolute Factotum.
4. In 1602 the same Company performed *Twelfth Night* in the Middle Temple Hall, Shaksper managing and acting.
5. In 1613 the same Company performed the *Masque of Flowers* at Gray’s Inn, at a high cost, at Bacon’s sole expense, he expressing the appreciation in which they were held at Gray’s Inn. Hence for nineteen years Bacon was in touch with Shaksper and the Company of which he was Manager and Factotum, consulting him constantly, and paying him large sums of money for men and materials.
6. Lady Anne Bacon her influence over her son, and the restraint thereby placed on him, so long as she lived, to keep secret his connection with the stage, most of all as to authorship.
7. Inherent improbability that so versatile an author would have read any play or masque through without his fingers itching to alter it.
8. Bacon in *Henry VII.*, and Shakespeare, quoted largely and verbatim from Holinshed.
9. Could Gray’s Inn Library, or Bacon’s own, have produced the book for them both?
10. On Shaksper’s death Bacon is consulted as to the form of a monument. He writes certain lines, which remain with Shaksper’s family or literary executors. They are not published in the First Folio of 1623, Bacon having been disgraced two years previously and his praise no recommendation, but are given to the world after his death had softened down animosities.

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97 W.G. Thorpe. *Middle Temple Table Talk*, 1895

**Loofed** To direct the intellectual eye.

In regard of our deliverance past, and our danger present and to come, let us look up to God, and every man reform his own ways. (Bacon, *New Atlantis*).

**Lookers on** Finding that it is many times seen that a man that standeth off, and somewhat removed from a plot of ground, doth better survey and discover it than those that are upon it, I thought it not impossible that I, as a looker-on, might cast mine eyes upon some things which the actors themselves did not, or would not see. (Bacon, *Of the Pacification of the Church*).

In dealing with cunning persons, it is good to say little to them, and that which they least look for. (Bacon, *Essays*).

**Longevity of animals** Flourens had proposed a new theory than that of Bacon's; that at least in the class of Mammalia the natural term of life is five times that of growth; and in the junction of the bones with their epiphyses, a phenomenon marks precisely the termination of the period of growth. (Bacon, *Vita et Mortis*). [Also see *Life in animals*.]

**Loosen** To make less coherent.

After a year's rooting, then shaking doth the tree good, by *loosening* the earth. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

The cause of the casting of skin and shell should seem to be the *looseness* of the skin or shell, that sticketh not close to the flesh. (*Ibid*).

**Love** It is impossible to love and to be wise. (Bacon, *Essays: X*).

There was never proud man thought so absurdly well of himself as the lover doth of the person loved. (*Ibid*).

Nuptial love maketh mankind; friendly love perfecteth it; but wanton love corrupteth and embaseth it. (*Ibid*). [Also see *Cupid*.]

Lovers are charged to aspire too high. It is as the poor dove, which, when her eyes are sealed, still mounteth up into the air. They are charged with descending too low; it is as the poor mole, which, seeing not the clearness of the air, diveth into the darkness of the earth. (Bacon, *Masque* 1594).

Neither doth this weakness (of folly in love) appear to others only, and not to the party loved, but to the loved most of all, except the love be reciprocal, for it is a true rule, that love is ever rewarded, either with the reciprocal, or with an inward and secret contempt; by how much the more men ought to beware of this passion which loseth not only other things, but itself. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Love*).

Bacon's letters, written on every sort of occasion, have been preserved to us by the hundred, we had almost said by the thousand, but they give us not a hint of any abnormality in the state of his affections or in his regard for the finer sex. (Reed).

Love me little, love me long. (Bacon, *Promus*).

They do best who, if they cannot but admit love, yet make it keep quarter, and sever it wholly from their serious affairs. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Love*).

There be none of the affections which have been noted to fascinate or bewitch, but Love and Envy; and they come easily into the eye. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Envy*, 1625).

Love must creep where it cannot go (Bacon, *Hist. Gr. Brit*; Bacon's *Letter to James I.*, 1610).

Love will creep in service where it cannot go. (Shakespeare, 1623).<sup>98</sup>

**Lovers absent** Some trial should be made whether pact or agreement do anything; as if two friends should agree that on such a day in every week, being in far different places, they should pray one for another, or should put on a ring or tablet, one for another's sake. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Lowermost** Plants have their feminal parts uppermost, living creatures have them *lowermost*. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

**Lully's art** The idea is the propositions, which in the aggregate make up the sum of human knowledge and consists of combinations of a certain number of conceptions. If then we had a complete list of these conceptions so arranged as that all their admissible combinations could be obtained by mechanical process, such a list would be virtually equivalent to a complete encyclopaedia. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI).

This art was revealed to him buy an angel, after he had taken the resolution of giving up the world and of devoting himself of studies for which his previous way of life had unfitted him. (Spedding).<sup>99</sup>

**Lunary** Being under the dominion of the moon.

They have denominated some herbs solar and some *lunar*, and such like toys put into great words. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

**Lurch** To absorb.

Which *lurcheth* all provisions and maketh everything dear. (Bacon, *Essay: XLV*).

**Lured** Properly to bring the falcon back by showing him the lure, an imitation of a bird, sometimes baited with a piece of flesh, or by whistling. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Lust** Causeth a flagrancy in the eyes, and priapism. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

Where there is so great a prevention of the ordinary time, it is the *lustiness* of the child; but when it is less, it is some indisposition of the mother. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

**Lute** To close with lute, or chemists' clay.

Take a vessel of iron, and let it have a cover of iron well *luted*, after the manner of the chemists. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

**Luxuriant** Exuberant; superfluously plenteous.

A fluent and *luxuriant* speech becomes youth well, but not age. (Bacon, *Essays*).

98 *Two Gentlemen of Verona*; Act IV. Sc. 2. 19

99 *Works*, Vol. II. p. 438

## L (Latin)

**Labial** *Ltn.*, *Labialis*. Uttered by the lips.

The Hebrews have afligned which letters are labial, which dental, and which guttural. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

**Labor omnia vincit improbus, et duris urgens in rebus egestas** Stern labour masters all, and want in poverty importunate. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II; Virgil, *George*. I: 145).

**Laborant invidiâ** Labour under the envy of others. (Bacon).

**Limus ut hic durescit, et hæc ut cera liquescit, uno eodemque igni** As the same fire which makes the soft clay hard makes hard wax soft. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II.; *De Aug.*, Bk. III.; Virgil, *Ecl.* VIII. 80).

**Lincostis** It is reported by one of the ancients, that there is an herb growing in the water called *lincostis*, which is full of prickles: this herb putteth forth another small herb out of the leaf; which is imputed to some moisture that is gathered between the prickles, which putrefied by the sun germinateth. But I remember also I have seen for a great rarity, one rose grow out of another, like honeysuckles, that they call top and top gallants. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv.*).

Cardan's *De Subtil.* VIII., p. 259, refers to Aristotle, in whose works however no plant of that name is mentioned.

**Lingua aures ferit, gestus vero oculos alloquitur** For as the tongue speaketh to the ears, so doeth the gesture speak to the eyes of the auditor. (King James, *Basilicon Doron*, Bk. III).

**Locus lubricus** A slippery place. (Bacon, *Apologie*, 1603).

**Lumen madidum** A light charged with moisture. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Lumen siccum** A dry light. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Lumen siccum optima anima** The dry light is the best soul. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Luminosum** Luminance, a word to have been coined by Shakespeare. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XII). [Also see *Luminance*].

## M (English)

**Maceration** Rhubarb infused into a draught of white wine and beer, mingled together for the space of half an hour, once in six or seven days. (Bacon, *Medical Remains*).

**Macrocephali** [μακροκεφαλή]; long shaped head. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv.*).

**Magisterially** Arrogantly; with an air of authority. A downright advice may be mistaken, as if it were spoken *magisterially*. (Bacon, *Advice to Villiers*).

**Main** The continent. In 1589 we turned challengers, and invaded the *main* of Spain. (Bacon, *War with Spain*).

**Majoration** Encrease; enlargement.

There be five ways of *majoration* of sounds: enclosure simple; enclosure with dilatation; communication; reflection concurrent; and approach to the sensory. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

**Make for** To advantage; to favour.

Compare with indifferency these disparities of times, and we shall plainly perceive, that they *make for* the advantage of England at this present time. (Bacon, *War with Spain*).

**Make not two sorrows of one** (Bacon, *Col. Good & Evil*).

**Maketh the mind of man to swell** (Bacon, *Of the Interpretation of Nature*).

**Male-cotoon**, or **melicotton**. A sort of late peach. *Ltn*; Malum cotoniatus, a cotton apple, from the rough coat. Bacon mentions it as “coming in September.”

**Malignity** There is in some men, even in nature, a disposition towards goodness; as, on the other side, there is a natural malignity; for there be that in their nature do not affect the good of others. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Goodness*).

The lighter sort of malignity turneth but to a crossness, or frowardness, or aptness to oppose, or difficileness, or the like; but the deeper sort to envy and mere mischief. (*Ibid*).

**Malmsey** Greek wine. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Man** Seems to be the thing in which the whole world centres with respect to final causes; so that if he were away, all other things would stray and fluctuate, without end or intention, or become perfectly disjointed and out of frame, for all things are subservient to man, and he receives benefit and use from them all. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Prometheus*).

Saith God: “Let us make man in our own image, and let him have dominion.” Deface the image, and yon divest the right. But what is this image, and how is it defaced? Sound interpreters expound this image of God of Natural Reason, which, if it be totally or mostly defaced, the right of government doth cease. (Bacon, *Touching an Holy War*).

**Man’s understanding** History to his memory, poesy to his imagination, and philosophy to his reason. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Mantle** The herald and children are cloathed with *mantle* of satin; but the herald’s *mantle* is streamed with gold. (Bacon).

**Manured** Cultivated; the word not yet having lost its meaning. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II; *History of King Henry VII.*).

Alleys green out walk at noon, with branches overgrown, that mock our scant manuring, and require more hands than ours to lop their wanton growth. (Milton). <sup>100</sup>

**March** These troops came to the army harassed with a long and wearisome *march*, and cast away their arms and garments, and fought in their shirts. (Bacon, *War with Spain*).

**Mare** From *Mara*, the name of a spirit imagined by the nations of the north to torment sleepers.

A kind of torpor or stagnation, which seems to press the stomach with a weight; the night hag. Hence, nightmare. Mushrooms cause the incubus, or the *mare* in the stomach. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

**Marigold** Some of the ancients, and likewise divers of the modern writers that have laboured in natural magic, have noted a sympathy between the sun, moon, and some principal stars, and certain herbs and plants. It is manifest that there are some flowers that have respect to the sun; for marigolds do open or spread their leaves abroad when the sun shineth serene and fair; and again (in some part) close them or gather them inward either towards night, or when the sky is overcast. (Bacon, *Natural History*, 1622–25).

**Mark** Men *mark* when they hit, and never mark when they miss, as they do also of dreams. (Bacon, *Essays*).

**Martlemas** A corruption of Martin-mas; that is, the feast of St. Martin, which falls on November 11. Martlemas was the customary time for hanging up provisions to dry, which had been salted for winter provision; as our ancestors lived chiefly upon salted meat in the spring, the winter-fed cattle not being fit for use.

**Marvels** Do not inflate plain things into *marvels*, but reduce *marvels* to plain things. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Master** In the ship is judged by the directing his course aright, and not by the fortune of the voyage. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Materiality of heat** When two heats differ much in degree, one destroys the other. (Bacon, *De Principiis atque Originibus* (date unknown)).

Flame doth not mingle with flame, but remaineth contiguous. (Bacon, *Adv.*, 1603–05).

**Mathematical physics** *Err*; Bacon was not aware that the poles are not fixed *collocati* anywhere; in other words, that he was not acquainted with the precession of the equinoxes. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XLVIII).



**Mathematics** Napier's *Logarithms* were published in 1614, and reprinted on the continent in 1620; in which year Gunter's *Canon of Triangles* was also published. In 1618 Robert Napier's account of his father's method and Briggs's first table of Logarithms were both published, in the year succeeding that of the publication of the *De Aug.*, his larger tables, and probably those of Wingate, made their appearance. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. III).

Pure or mixed; pure mathematics are those sciences belonging which handle quantity determinate, merely severed from any axioms of natural philosophy; and these are two, geometry and arithmetic; the one handling quantity continued, and the other dissevered. Mixed hath from subject some axioms or arts of natural philosophy, and considereth quantity determined, as it is auxiliary and incident unto them. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Mature** To ripen; to advance to ripeness.

Prick an apple with a pin full of holes, not deep, and smear it a little with lack, [spray] to see if the virtual heat of the wine will not *mature* it. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

**Mattacina** A kind of moresco or mattachino dance. (Bacon, *History of King Henry VII.*).

**May** It is not easy at once to determine whether *may* meant "can" or "is destined," "must," "ought." Hence we are prepared for the transition which is illustrated thus by Bacon: <sup>101</sup> "For what he may do is of two kinds, what he may do as just and what he may do as possible."

**May perhaps accuse me of larceny, having stolen from your affairs so much time as was required for this work.** (Bacon, *Epis. Dedic. In. Mag.*).

**May-game** An incident of spring in England as well as at Rome; in harvest time. (Camden). <sup>102</sup>

**Mean and small things** Discover great better than great can discover the small, while he gazed upwards to the stars fell into the water; for if he had looked down he might have seen the stars in the water, but looking aloft he could not see the water in the stars. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Mechanical physiologist** Commonly known as a name given to Bacon in his times.

**Mechanical problems** Of Aristotle are referred to by Bacon in his works.

Of Hero, an Alexandrian physicist, who flourished about 100 B.C., and it is also noticed that Fludd makes frequent mention of it. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. III).

**Mechoacham** The root of an American plant; it takes its name from the district of Mexico from which it is brought. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv.*).

**Meddle** With the power of it upon the spirits of men we will only *meddle*. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

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<sup>101</sup> Quoted from Todd's *Johnson*

<sup>102</sup> *Annals*

**Mediator** One that intervenes between two parties.

You had found by experience the trouble of all men's confluence, and for all matters to yourself, as a *mediator* between them and their sovereign. (Bacon, *Advice to Villiers*).

**Medicines for the mind** The particular remedies which learning doth minister to all the diseases of the mind. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

"Good lord, Madam," said I, "how wisely and aptly can you speak and discern of physic ministered to the body, and consider not that there is the like occasion of physic ministered to the mind." Bacon, *Apology concerning the Earl of Essex*, 1603).

We know diseases of stoppings and suffocations are the most dangerous in the body; and it is not much otherwise in the mind. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Friendship*, 1625).

**Megrim** From Hemycrany, migraine, megrim; disorder of the head.

In every *megrim* or vertigo there is an obtenebration joined with a semblance of turning round. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

**Melocotones** Pomegranate; [κυδώνι] kidoni. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv.*).

**Memory** The memory of the just is blessed, but the name of the wicked shall rot. When the envy which carped at the reputation of the good in their lifetime is quenched, their name forthwith shoots up and flourishes, and their praises daily increase; but for the wicked, their reputation soon turns to contempt and their fleeting glory changes into infamy, and, as it were, a foul and noxious odour. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VIII).

**Men talk of a million; how few have ever counted one.** (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Mercurial** Formed under the influence of mercury; active; sprightly. This youth was such a *mercurial*, as could make his own part, if at any time he chanced to be out. (Bacon, *History of King Henry VII*).

**Mercury** *Err*; according to Bacon, the density of mercury is to that of gold as thirty-nine is to forty, nearly; the real ration being as little more than a seven to ten. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XXIV; Preface: *Historia Densi et Rari*).

It is well known that the expansive force of the vapour of mercury at high temperatures is enormous. (Spedding).

**Mercy and justice** Forasmuch as mercy and justice be the true supporters of our royal throne, and that our subjects, where their case deserveth to be relieved in course of equity, should not be abandoned and exposed to perish under the rigor and extremity of the law, therefore, *etc.* (Bacon, *Decree on the Præmunire Question, drawn probably by Bacon*, 1616). The quotation is taken from a royal decree made in 1616, when Francis Bacon was Attorney General, to settle a long and bitter controversy between the two systems of Law and Equity. This controversy,

arising from the impossibility in those early days of providing by statute for all the exigencies of civil life that came before the Courts, had been going on, as we learn from an official report made to King James, with ever-increasing severity, since the beginning of the reign of Henry VII., in 1485. It reached a crisis in 1616 that was simply intolerable, the judges at common law judging the judges in equity for interference with their judgments. Francis Bacon stood for justice and equity; Sir Edward Coke, for the statutes just as they were, without much regard to extenuating circumstances.

**Mere** Unmixed with anything else; hence, by inference, intact; complete. In accordance with its original meaning, “not merely” in Bacon, is used for “not entirely.”

**Method** This part of knowledge, of method, seemeth to me so weakly inquired as shall report it deficient. Method is to be placed in logic as a part of judgment; for judgment precedeth delivery, as it followeth invention. Knowledge that is delivered as a thread to be spun on ought to be delivered and intimated, if it were possible in the same method in which it was invented. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II., VI).

**Mild** Sir Thomas Meautys in a letter to Bacon of January 7, 1621–22, mentions as one of the verbal corrections made in the MS., by the King, “mild instead of debonnaire.” (Bacon, *History of King Henry VII.*).

**Militar** Military; is the form of the word which Bacon always employed. He sometimes spells it *militare*, sometimes *militar*, but never *militarie*. (Bacon, *History of King Henry VII.*; *Essays: LIV*).

Bacon used the form *military* in his earlier works, and *militar* in his later. (Bacon, *Tr. Gr. King. Brit*).

**Milk the cow that standeth still;** why follow you her that flieth away? (*Gesta Grayorum*).

**Minatory** Threatening.

The King made a statute monitory and *minatory*, towards justices of peace, that they should duly execute their office, inviting complaints against them. (Bacon, *History of King Henry VII.*).

**Mind** Of all living and breathing substances, the perfectest man is the most susceptible of help, improvement, impression, and alteration; and not only in his body, but in his mind and spirit. And there again, not only in his appetite and affection, but in his power of wit and reason. (Bacon, *Of the Intellectual Powers*).

Certainly the ablest men were like horses well managed, for they could tell passing well when to stop or turn. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Simulation; Adv. Bk. II*).

**Minish** To lessen; to impair.

Another law was to bring in the silver of the realm to the mint, in making all ellpt, [?] *minished* or impaired coins of silver, not to be current in payments. (Bacon, *History of King Henry VII.*).

**Ministerial** Attendant; acting on command; acting under superior authority.

For the *ministerial* officers in court, there must be an eye unto them. (Bacon, *Advice to Villiers*).

**Ministrationes** Ministration. (Bacon).

**Misanthrope** [half-man] Such men in other men's calamities are like flies that are still buzzing upon anything that is raw: Misanthropi that make it their practice to bring men to the bough, and yet never had a tree for the purpose in their gardens as Timon had. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Goodness*).

**Mix** To form of different substances or kinds.

I have chosen an argument, *mixt* of religious and civil considerations; and likewise *mixt* between contemplative and active. (Bacon, *Holy War*).

**Misseltoe** Tradition has it that the mistletoe was condemned to become a parasite in consequence of having furnished the wood of the True Cross, is one of the most remarkable of the superstitions of which it is the subject. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Moistness** From moist; dampness; wetness in a small degree.

Pleasure both kinds take in the *moistness* and density of the air. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

**Momentary** Lasting for a moment. It seems to have been in very common use. Johnson quotes Hooker, Bacon, and Crashaw, for this word.

**Money** For today's equivalent of Elizabethan currency, multiply by one hundred.

I will hereafter write to your Lordship what I think of that supply; to the end that you may, as you have begun, to your great honour, despise money where it crosseth reason of state or virtue. (Bacon, *Letter to Villiers*, November 29, 1616).

Money or wealth, the muck of the world. (Shakespeare). <sup>103</sup>

Money is like muck; not good except it be spread. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Seditions*).

That mass of wealth that was in the owner little better than a stack or heap of muck may be spread over your Majesty's Kingdom to useful purposes. (Bacon, *Letter from Button's Estate*, 1611).

**Morality** Moral philosophy. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II; Aristotle, *Ethica*).

What goodness ensueth of the knowledge of moral philosophy. (Socrates).

**Moss** The Scripture saith that Salomon wrote a Natural History, from the cedar of Libanus, to the moss growing upon the wall; of so the best translations have it. And it is true that moss is but the rudiment of a plant; and (as it were) the mould of earth or bark. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

It is reported that sweet moss, besides that upon the apple trees, groweth likewise sometimes upon poplars; and yet (generally) the poplar is a smooth tree of bark, and hath little moss. The

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103 *Coriolanus*, Act. II. Sc. 2

moss of the larix-tree burneth also sweet, and sparkleth in the burning. *Quære* of the mosses of odorate trees; as cedar, cypress, lignum aloës, &c. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

Salomon the King, as out of a branch of his wisdom extraordinarily petitioned and granted from God, is said to have written a natural history of all that is green from the cedar to the moss, (which is but a rudiment between putrefaction and an herb,) and also of all that liveth and moveth. (Bacon, *Of the Interpretation of Nature*).

Salomon was a man so seen in the universality of nature that he wrote an herbal of all that was green upon the earth. (*Gesta Grayorum*).

**Mother** Of pearl has probably a similar origin; hysteria; arisen from a mistranslation of the Italian or Spanish *madre*, which represents the Latin *matria*, as well as *mater*. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Motion of heavy and light** Distinguished by the ancients under the name of natural motion; for they saw no external efficient, and no apparent resistance. (Bacon, *History of Heavy and Light*).

**Motion of Liberty** Motion upon pressure, and the reciprocal thereof, which is motion upon tensure; when any body, being forced to a preternatural extent or dimension, delivereth and restoreth itself to the natural: as when a blown bladder (pressed) riseth again; or when leather or cloth tentured spring back. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

It is also demonstrated in sounds; as when one chimeth upon a bell, it soundeth; but as soon as he layeth his hand upon it, the sound ceaseth. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Motions of winds** Men talk as if the wind were a body of itself, which of its own force drove and impelled the air before it. (Bacon, *History of Winds*). [Also see *Names of Winds*.]

**Mought** Might. (Spedding).

**Mould** Another special affinity is between plants and *mould*, or putrefaction; for all putrefaction, if it dissolve not in arefaction, will, in the end, issue into plants. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

**Mountainous** Inhabiting mountains.

In destructions by deluge and earthquake, the remnant which hap to be reserved are ignorant and *mountainous* people, that can give no account of the time past. (Bacon, *Essays*).

**Mouth** Set a candle lighted in the bottom of a bason of water, and turn the *mouth* of a glass over the candle, and it will make the water rise. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

**Moveable** As the Ark in the wilderness. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Mowes** Mouths.

Of whome both mockes, and apishe mowes, he gain'd. (Whitney).<sup>104</sup>

Then laugheth she, and maketh him the mowe, and other whiles with bitter mockes and mowes. (Chaucer). <sup>105</sup>

Sometime like apes, that mow and chatter at me. (Shakespeare). <sup>106</sup>

**Much bending breaks the bow; much unbending the mind.** (Bacon, *Remains*).

**Multitude** People; crowds. (Bacon, *Apo*).

The saying of Phocion (is true) that if the multitude assent and applaud, men ought immediately to examine themselves as to what blunder or fault they may have committed. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.* Bk. I).

The poets feign that the rest of the gods would have bound Jupiter: which he hearing of, sent for Briareus with his hundred hands to come to his aid an emblem, no doubt, to show how safe it is for monarchs to make sure of the goodwill of the common people. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Sedition*).

**Mummery** This open day-light doth not shew the masques and *mummeries*, and triumphs of the world, half so stately as candle-light. (Bacon, *Natural History*).

**Mung corn** A discontinued practice of sowing wheat and rye together. The produce was in Scotland, which though obviously only a corruption of mend or mingled corn, has been supposed to denote that the practice was a remnant of monastic husbandry. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Mushrooms** Have two strange properties; the one, that they yield so delicious a meat; the other, that they come up so hastily, as in a night; and yet they are unsown. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

We find that they cause the accident, which we call *incubus* or the mare, in the stomach. And therefore the surfeit of them may suffocate and empoison. (*Ibid*).

Mushrooms are reported to grow as well upon the bodies of trees, as upon their roots, or upon the earth; and especially upon the oak. The cause is, for that strong trees are, towards such excrescences, in the nature of earth; and therefore put forth moss, mushrooms, and the like. (*Ibid*).

**Mutation** The vicissitude or *mutations* in the superior globe are not fit matter for this present argument. (Bacon, *Essays*).

**My hope is that if my extreme love to learning carry me too far, I may obtain the excuse of affection; for that it is not granted to man to love and to be wise.** (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Mysteries are due to secrecy.** (Bacon, *De Aug*).

**Mythology** Its essence seems to consist in a half-conscious blending of an idea with something that was accepted as a fact. The mythus degenerates into allegory when the idea and the fact are conceived of an antithetical. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. II).

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<sup>105</sup> P.36, I, VI. 7, 49

<sup>106</sup> *Tempest*, Act. II. Sc. 2. 9

Accidental invention of gunpowder by Schwartz and also that the Jesuit's bark was discovered by the lions who cured their fevers by drinking the water into which it had fallen are all stories more or less mythical. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. V).

## M (Latin)

**Machinaria** The art of making machines, not mechanics in the common sense of the word. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. III).

**Magis quam imbibitio** Absorption; how greatly absorbed. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XLVII).

**Magnalia naturæ** Wondrous works; a favourite phrase with Paracelsus. This paper follows the *New Atlantis* in the original edition.

**Magni œstimamus mori tardius** We think it a great matter to be a little longer in dying. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

Madam, stay a while, that we may make an end the sooner. (Paulet). [Also see Part II: *Paulet Amyas, Sir.*]

**Magnis exemplis; nec meae fortunæ, sed tuæ** I may use great examples, not of my fortune but of yours. (Bacon).

**Magnum Concilium** Were of two kinds; a *magnum consilium* out of Parliament, and a *magnum consilium* in Parliament. The former of these was commonly upon some emergent occasion, that either in respect of the suddenness could not expect the summoning of Parliament, or in respect of its nature needed it not, or was intended but as preparative to it. But the form of these Great Councils was varied. In the first part of the *Institutes* Coke mentioned the *Magnum Concilium* as meaning sometimes the Upper House of Parliament; and sometimes, when Parliament was not sitting, the *Peers of the realm, Lords of Parliament, who are called Magnum Concilium Regis*. (Coke; <sup>107</sup> Bacon, *History of King Henry VII*).

**Majora quam pro fortuna** More than accidents. (Bacon).

**Malvatico** Malmsey. (Bacon, *Vitæ et Mortis*).

**Manus instrumentum instrumentorum, anima forma formarum** Noted by Aristotle; that the hand is the instrument of instruments, and the soul the form of forms. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. V).

**Martha, Martha, attendis ad plurima, unum sufficit** Martha, Martha, thou art busied about many things: one thing sufficeth. (Bacon, *Apologia*, 1603).

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<sup>107</sup> *Institutes* II. 10. 164

**Media tutius iter** The middle route is safer. (Bacon, *Letter to King James*, 1616). [Also see *Mediocria firma*].

**Medice, cura teipsum** Physician, cure thyself.

**Mediocria firma** Coming from Seneca's *Oedipus*, veiled the Bacon family motto meaning all moderate things endure. It can be read today over the door of an ancient building connected with Bacon's residence in Gorhambury Park. [Also see *Media tutius iter*]. Of what language the motto ought to be was of varied opinion in Bacon's time. The Spanish tongue above all for love matters; the Tuscan for pleasant and conceited motto; the German for heroic and grave ones; the Greek for fictions, and lastly the Latin for all sorts, especially for the serious and majestic motto.<sup>108</sup>

**Melior est finis orationis quam principium** Better is the end of a speech than the beginning thereof. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Memoria justi cum laudibus, at impiorum nomen putrescet** The memory of the just is blessed; but the name of the wicked shall rot. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Mendacia famae** Lying gossip. (Bacon).

**Menstruorum** The substances out of which any species of mineral is generated, or the *causa materialis* of its existence. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XLIV).

**Metaphysica** No saying of Bacon's has been more often quoted and misunderstood in regards to metaphysica. Carrying out his division of the *Doctrina de Naturâ*, which depends upon Aristotle's quadripartite classification of causes, he remarks that the Physica corresponds Mechanica, and the Metaphysica Magia. Metaphysica contains two parts, the doctrine of forms and the doctrine of final causes. Bacon remarks that Magia corresponds to Metaphysica, inasmuch as the latter contains the doctrine of forms that of final causes admitting form its nature of no practical applications. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. III).

**Mente, Vide Bori** By the Mind I shall be seen. (Peacham).<sup>109</sup> [Also see Part II: *Peacham Henry*; Part III: *Minerva Britanna* 1612.]

**Methodus ad filios** A method which, having in view the continual progression of knowledge, hands over its unfinished work to another generation, to be taken up and carried forward. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI.; Preface: *Nov. Org.*).

**Minora quam pro studio et voluntate** Less than by design. (Bacon).

**Misericordia ejus super omnia opera ejus** His mercy is over all his works. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

<sup>108</sup> Tho. Blount. *The Art of Making Devises*, 1646

<sup>109</sup> *Minerva Britanna* 1612



**Mistio** Mixed. (Bacon).

**Modicae fidei quare dubitasti** You of little faith, why do you doubt me? (Bacon).

**Molendino** A mill house; a press. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XLV).

**Mollis responsio frangit iram** A soft answer defeateth wrath. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Monitis sum minor ipse meis** That he fell short of his own precepts. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Monodica, sui juris** Singular, and like nothing but themselves. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Monumenta Private** Private persons. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Motus plagæ** So named by Democritus. The swift ascent of the air, while it is under the water, that is a motion of percussion from the water; which itself descending driveth up the air; and no motion of levity in the air. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv.*).

**Mucrones verborum** Speeches with a point or edge. (Bacon, *Apo.*).

**Multi pertransibunt et augebitur scientia** Many shall go to and fro and knowledge will increase. (Bacon).

**Muscosi fontes** The mossy springs. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II.; *De Aug.*; Bk. III.; Virgil, *Eclog.* VII. 45).

## N (English)

**Names of the days** Of the origin is given by Dio Cassius, XXXVII. c. 21. He also gives another which is free from an objection which has been alleged against the first; namely that the names are older than the division of the day into twenty-four hours. It is that the successive days were assigned to the respective planets, which are fourth in order from each other, from some notion of analogy in the divine harmony to a musical progression by fourths. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. III).

**Names of Winds** Let the general division of the winds be as follows: Cardinal winds, which blow from the cardinal points of heaven; Semi cardinal, which blow half way between those points; and Median, which blow intermediate between these again. And of these Median winds let those be called the Greater Medians, which blow half way between the Cardinal and Semi-cardinal, and the rest the Lesser Medians. (Bacon, *History of Winds*).

There are also other ancient names for winds, as Apeliotes the East wind, Argestes the West-North-West, Olympias and Scyron the North-West, Helles-pontius the East-North-East, and Iapyx the West-North-West, but I do not dwell upon them. (Bacon, *History of Winds*). [Also see *Accidental generations of winds; Attendant Winds; Extraordinary Winds and Sudden Gusts*]

**Natural magic** Has the same kind of effect on men as some soporific drugs, which not only lull to sleep, but also during sleep instil gentle and pleasing dreams. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, 1622).

As for that natural magic whereof now there is mention in books, containing certain credulous and superstitious conceits and observations of Sympathies and Antipathies, and hidden proprieties, and some frivolous experiments, strange rather by disguisement than in themselves, it is as far differing in truth of nature from such a knowledge as we require, as the story of King Arthur of Britain, or Hugh of Bordeaux, differs from Cæsar's *Commentaries*. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Nature** The instinct of the universe. Nature is only conquered by obeying her. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

When a carver makes an image he shapes only that part whereupon he worketh; as, if he be upon the face, that part which shall be the body is but a rude stone still, till such times as he comes to it; but contrariwise, when Nature makes a flower or a living creature, she formeth rudiments to all the parts at one time. So in obtaining virtue by habits or (by application) to good ends. (Bacon, *Adv.* Bk. II).

Things of a contrary nature are placed apart, for everything delights to repel that which is disagreeable. (Bacon, *De Aug.* Bk. VI. Soph).

As to the body of man, we find many and strange experiences how nature is overwrought by custom, even in actions that seem of most difficulty, and least possible. (Bacon, *Discourse Touching Helps for the Intellectual Powers*).

**Nature of man** Is excellently explained by Francis Bacon as follows:

Nature is often hidden; sometimes overcome; seldom extinguished. Force maketh nature more violent in the return; doctrine and discourse maketh nature less importune; but custom only doth alter and subdue nature. He that seeketh victory over his nature, let him not set himself too great nor too small tasks; for the first will make him dejected by often failings; and the second will make him a small proceeder, though by often prevailings. And at the first let him practise with helps, as swimmers do with bladders or rushes; but after a time let him practise with disadvantages, as dancers do with thick shoes. For it breeds great perfection, if the practice be harder than the use. Where nature is mighty, and therefore the victory hard, the degrees had need be, first to stay and arrest nature in time; like to him that would say over the four and twenty letters when he was angry; then to go less in quantity; as if one should, in forbearing wine, come from drinking healths to a draught at a meal; and lastly, to discontinue altogether. But if a man have the fortitude and resolution to enfranchise himself at once, that is the best: *Optimus ille animi vindex lædentia pectus Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel*. [Wouldst thou be free? The chains that gall thy breast With one strong effort burst, and be at rest.] Neither is the ancient rule amiss, to bend nature as a wand to a contrary extreme, whereby to set it right; understanding it, where the contrary extreme is no vice. Let not a man force a habit upon himself with perpetual continuance, but with some intermission. For both the pause reinforceth the new onset; and if a man that is not perfect be ever in practice, he shall as well practise his errors his abilities, and

induce one habit of both; and there is no means to help this but by seasonable intermissions. But let not a man trust his victory over his nature too far; for nature will lay buried a great time, and yet revive upon the occasion or temptation. Like as it was with Æsop's damsel, turned from a cat to a woman, who sat very demurely at the board's end, till a mouse ran before her. Therefore let a man either avoid the occasion altogether; or put himself often to it, that he may be little moved with it. A man's nature is best perceived in privateness, for there is no affectation; in passion, for that putteth a man out of his precepts; and in a new case or experiment, for there custom leaveth him. They are happy men whose natures sort with their vocations; otherwise they may say, *multum incola fuit anima mea*, [my soul hath been a stranger and a sojourner;] when they converse in those things they do not affect. In studies, whatsoever a man commandeth upon himself, let him set hours for it; but whatsoever is agreeable to his nature, let him take no care for any set times; for his thoughts will fly to it of themselves; so as the spaces of other business or studies will suffice. A man's nature runs either to herbs or weeds; therefore let him seasonably water the one, and destroy the other. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Nature In Men*).

**Nature of woman** Fortune has somewhat of the nature of a woman, who, if she be too much wooed, is commonly the farther off. (Bacon, *Adv.*, 1603–05).

**Near band** Closely; without acting or waiting at a distance.

The entring *near band* into the manner of performance of that which is under deliberation, hath overturned the opinion of the possibility or impossibility. (Bacon, *Holy War*).

**Necessity** Evils inform or shape the mind or correct passion by the application of necessity, or by causing a man to come to himself. (Bacon, *Promus* 1449).

Necessity makes the old woman trot. (Bacon, *Promus* 1595).

Necessity, and the casting of the die (by forming a resolution) is a spur to the courage: as one says, "Being a match for them in the rest, your necessity makes you superior." (Bacon, *De Aug.* Bk. VI. Soph).

**Never bred nor fed** A comment found in a commonplace book of Dr. Rawley's in the Lambeth Museum: "He said he had breeding swans and feeding swans; but for malice, he neither bred it nor fed it." [Also see Chapter entitled *The Life of the Right Honourable Francis Bacon*.]

**New** Things old to us were new to men of old. (Bacon, *Promus* 1268).

**New star** Galileo in 1604 showed from the absence of parallax, that the new star could not be, as the vulgar hypothesis represented, a mere meteor engendered in our atmosphere and nearer the earth than the moon, but must be situated among the most remote heavenly bodies. (Bacon, *Descriptio Globi Intellectualis* & L.U.K).<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> *Life of Galileo*, p.16

A new star was observed in Cassiopeia by Cornelius Gemma and Tycho Brahe in 1572; it disappeared in 1574. The star in Ophiuchus was observed by Kepler in 1604, and disappeared about the end of 1605.

**No labour** After the creation was finished, it is said that man was placed in the garden to work therein; which work could only be work of contemplation; that is, the end of his work was but for exercise and delight, and not for necessity. For there being then no reluctance of the creature, nor sweat of the brow, man's employment was consequently matter of pleasure, not labour. (Bacon, *Adv*).

**No more to conquer** No more worlds. (Bacon, *Apo*).

**No wise speech, though easy and valuable.** (Bacon, *Col. Good & Evil*).

**Nobility** They whose virtue is in the stock cannot be bad even if they would. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Antitheta).

**Northumberland Manuscript** 1867 there was discovered in the library of Northumberland House, in London, a remarkable manuscript containing copies of several papers written by Francis Bacon. It was found in a box of old papers which had long remained undisturbed. There is a title page, which embraces a table of contents of the volume, and this contains not only the names of writing unquestionably Bacon's, but also the names of plays which are supposed to have been written by Shakespeare. But only part of the manuscript volume remains, and the portions lost embrace the following pieces enumerated on the title-leaf:

Orations at Graie's Inns revels  
 ...Queen's Mat<sup>s</sup>...  
 By Mr. Frauncis Bacon  
 Essaies by the same author.  
 Richard the Second.  
 Richard the Third.  
 Asmund and Cornelia.  
 Isle of Dogs frmnt.  
 By Thomas Nashe, inferior places.

How comes it that the Shakespeare plays, *Richard II.*, and *Richard III.*, should be mixed up in a volume of Bacon's manuscripts with his own letters and essays and a mask written by him in 1592? Parker Woodward in *Tudor Problems*, 1912, says: "They were printed between August, 1597, and March 25, 1597-98, anonymously. Francis Bacon, many years later replying to Oliver St. John, indicated that someone else was responsible for bringing the play of *Richard II.*, on the stage and into print in Queen Elizabeth's time. We know from Raleigh's letter to Robert Cecil of July 6, 1597, that Essex had very much upon his mind the notion of deposing the Queen and establishing a Regency.

It is fair to assume that he brought pressure upon Francis to have the play printed. Whether or not it had been staged before, there is certainly some reasonable ground for surmising that it was one of the two plays performed before Essex's personal friends and Catholic adherents assembled in force at Essex House on February 14, 1597–98. Cecil and Raleigh were away in France at that date, and Essex was in full charge of the Government." [See Part III., on this subject.]

**Nothing has so many names as love; for it is a thing either so foolish that it does not know itself, or so foul that it hides itself with paint.** (Bacon, *De Aug.*)

**Nothing is impossible to a willing heart.** (Bacon, *Col. Good & Evil*).

**Nothing is to be feared except fear itself.** (Bacon, *De Aug.*)

**Nova Zembla** Barents' expedition in search of a Northeast passage and passed the winter of 1596–97 at Nova Zembla. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XII). [Also see Part II: *Barents William*.]

**Novelty** Things novel are better than things customary. (Bacon, *Promus* 1269 of the Latin).

There is scarcely any one but takes more delight in what he hopes for than in what he has. Novelty is very pleasing to a man and is easily sought after. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VIII).

**Novitious** Of modern origin.

**Number of middle terms** To be more or fewer. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

## N (Latin)

**Nam qui erranti comiter monstrat viam** To put the wanderer in the right way. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Naturæ minister** Servant of nature; that the physician is *a servant of nature* is quoted more than once from Hippocrates. (Bacon).

**Naturæ notas** Fixed in the nature of things. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XLV).

**Naturam abstrahere** To resolve nature into abstractions. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismi, LI).

**Naturam naturantem** God considered as the *causa immanens* of the universe, and therefore, according to the latter at least, not hypostatically distinct from it. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum I).

**Naturam secare** To dissect nature into her constituent parts. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismi, LI).

**Ne glorieris de crastino, nescis partum diei** Boast not thyself of tomorrow, thou knowest not what the day may bring forth. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Nec sum animi dubius, verbis ea vincere magnum quam sit, et angustis his addere rubus honorem:** How hard the task alas full well I know with charm of words to grace a theme so low. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Necesse est ut eam, non ut vivam** It is needful that I go, not that I live. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Nemine dissentiente** With none dissenting. (Bacon).

**Neque semper arcum tendit Apollo** And Apollo does not keep his bow always bent. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Nescio quid** I know not what. In a letter to Anthony, the brother of Francis Bacon, under date of May 24, 1592 Lady Anne Bacon (the mother) expresses her solicitude, as follows: "I verily think your brother's weak stomach to digest hath been much caused and confirmed by untimely going to bed, and then musing *nescio quid* when he should sleep."

**Nii sacri es** You are no divinity. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Nil aliud quàm bene ausus vana contemnere** It was but taking courage to despise vain apprehensions. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Nil novi super terram** There is no new thing under the sun. (Ecclesiastes. I. 9.; Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. I; *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Nil tam metuens, quàm ne dubitare aliqua de re videretur** Who feared nothing so much as the seeming to be in doubt about anything. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Nisi quid potius** Failing some better chance. (Bacon).

**Nocet illis eloquentia, quibus non rerum cupiditatem facit, sed sui:** Eloquence does mischief when it draws men's attention away from the matter to fix it on itself. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Non ad vetera instituta revocans quæ jampridem corruptis moribus ludibrio sunt:** Not to attempt to bring things back to the original institution, now that by reason of the corruption of manners the ancient simplicity and purity had fallen into contempt. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Non arctabuntur gressus tui, et currens non habebis offendiculum:** Thy steps shall not be straightened; thou shalt run and not stumble. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Non canimus surdis, respondent omnia sylvæ** All as we sing the listening woods reply. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Non credo** I don't believe it. (Bacon).

**Non in aqua tantum, sed in aqua et sanguine** Not merely in water, but in water and blood. (Bacon).

**Non ita disputandi causa, sed ita vivendi** Not that he might talk like a philosopher, but that he might live like one. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Non prius laudes contempsimus, quam laudanda facere desivimus** Men hardly despise praise till they have ceased to deserve it. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Non recipit stultus verba prudentiæ, nisi ea dixeris quæ versantur in corde ejus:** The fool will not listen to the words of the wise, unless you first tell him what is in his own heart. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II.; Proverbs, XVIII., 2).

A fool hath no delight in understanding but that his heart may discover itself. (Bacon, *Promus*).

**Non Rex sum, sed Cæsar** I am not King, but Cæsar. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Non sufficiebat respirationi** It was insufficient for the cooling of the blood, which according to Aristotle was the end of respiration. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XII).

**Non uti ut non appetas, non appetere ut non metuas, sunt animi pusilli et diffidentis:** To abstain from the use of a thing that you may not feel a want of it; to shun the want that you may not fear the loss of it; are the precautions of pusillanimity and cowardice. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

I cannot choose but weep to have that which I fear to lose. (Shakespeare, *Sonnet* 64).

**Nosque ubi primus equis oriens afflavit anhelis, illic sera rubens accendit lumina vesper:** And while on us the fresh east breathes form far, for them the red west lights her evening star. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Nova continente spiraverit** Bacon refers to what Peter Martyr Anghiera has related, that Columbus observing the west winds which blow at certain times of the year on the coast of Portugal, came to the conclusion that there must be land to generate them. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*).

**Nubecula est, cito transibit** It is merely a dark spot which will speedily pass. (Bacon, *Apologie*, 1603).

**Nudam sine veste Dianam** Diana naked, without her clothes. (Bacon).

**Nulli negabimus, nulli differemus justitiam** We will neither deny nor postpone justice for any. (Bacon).

**Nunquid conjungere valebis micantes stellas Pleiadas, aut gyrum Arcturi poteris dissipare?** Canst thou bring together the glittering stars of the Pleiades, or scatter the array of Arcturus? (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**O (English)**

**Oaths** Men are deceived with oaths, as boys with dice. (Bacon, *Promus* 528 of the Latin taken from Erasmus's *Adagia* 699).

Children are deceived with comfits, men with oaths. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VIII).

**Obedience** Merit is worthier than fame; and looking back hither, would remember this text, that obedience is better than sacrifice. (Bacon, *Advice to Essex*).

The end of morality is to procure the affections to obey Reason. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Obnoxious** When one man stands in such a relation to another that he is not free to act as he otherwise would. (Bacon, *History of King Henry VII.*).

**Observation** Wise men use studies, for they teach not their own use; but that is a wisdom without [external to] them, and above them, won by observation. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Studies*).

For knowledge (of men's dispositions) both history, poesy, and daily experience are as goodly fields where these observations grow. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Obsolete laws** In the *De Augmentis*, Bacon devotes several aphorisms to the consideration of obsolete laws. He regards such laws as a source of danger in the influence which they naturally exert on the public mind regarding all law. To repeal them from time to time was the one great practical reform which he constantly urged upon the government, and it is the identical reform which the author of *Measure for Measure* sought to illustrate and enforce in that play. Bacon advised the frequent appointment of commissions to do this work; the Duke in the play actually appoints one. Judge Holmes calls attention to the fact that both authors make the possession of "power and place" a necessary condition to the accomplishment of this end. "Good thoughts are little better than good dreams, except they be put in act; and that cannot be without power and place," says Bacon.

**Occasion** Turneth a bald noddle, after she hath presented her locks in front, and no hold taken. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Delays; Letter to Essex*, March 1599).

Opportunity offers the handle of the bottle first, and afterwards the belly. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Antitheta 41).

**Old** We see that Plautus makes it a wonder to see an old man beneficent: "His beneficence is that of a young man." (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VII).

I am now somewhat ancient; one and thirty years is a great deal of sand in the hour-glass. (Bacon, *Letter to Lord Burghley*, 1592).

Her Majesty being begun in my first years, I would be sorry she should estrange in my last years, for so I account them, reckoning by health, not by age. (Bacon, *Letter to Robert Cecil*, 1599).

A young author's first work almost always bespeaks his recent pursuits. (Coleridge).



**One's own** Is beautiful. (Bacon, *Promus* 981 taken from Erasmus's *Adagia*).

If everyone has a right to his own, surely humanity has a right to pardon. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI.; *Promus* 71).

**Opiates** Simple *opiates* are (1) the plant and seed of the poppy, (2) henbane, (3) mandragora. (Bacon, *Natural History*, 1622–25).

**Opinion** When men enter first into search and inquiry, they light upon different conceits, and so all opinions and doubts are beaten over, and then men reject the worst and hold themselves to the best (some being carried on), the rest extinct. But truth is contrary. Time is like a river that carrieth down things that are light and blown up, and sinketh and drowneth that which is sad and weighty. (Bacon, *Interpretation of Nature*).

To those that seek truth and not magistrality, it cannot but seem a matter of great profit to see before them the several opinions touching the foundations of nature, &c. It is good to see the several glosses and opinions whereof it may be everyone in some one point hath seen clearer than his fellows. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

This progress of science is apt to be overwhelmed by the gales of popular opinion. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Bk. I).

**Opportunity** Makes a thief. (Bacon, *Advice to Essex*).

It is a loss to business to be too fall of respects, or to be curious in observing times and opportunities. A wise man will make more opportunities than he finds. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Ceremonies*).

**Orange-tawny** A dull orange colour. This colour seems to have been appropriated by custom to the dress of some inferior persons; as clerks. Sometimes simply called *tawny*. It is attributed also to Jews: They say that usurers should have orange-tawny bonnets, because they do judaïze. (Bacon, *Essay: 41*).

**Orations, Letters, and Apophthegms** Certainly the Speeches of wise men on business and matters of grave and deep importance conduce greatly as well to the knowledge of the things themselves as to eloquence. But for instruction in civil prudence, still greater help is derived from Letters written by great men on weighty subjects. For of all the words of man nothing is more solid and excellent than letters of this kind; for they are more natural than orations, and more advised than conferences on the sudden. And when there is a continued series of them in order of time (as we find in the letters of Ambassadors, Governors of provinces, and other Ministers of State, to Kings, Senates, and other superior officers; or, again, in the letters of rulers to their agents), they are of all others the most valuable materials for history. Neither are Apophthegms themselves only for pleasure and ornament, but also for use and action. For they are (as was said) “words which are as goads,” words with an edge or point that cut and penetrate the knots of business and affairs. Now occasions are continually returning, and what served once will serve again; whether produced as man's own or cited as an old saying. Nor can there be any question

of the utility in civil matters of that which Cæsar himself thought worthy of his labour; whose book of *Apophthegms* I wish were extant; for all the collections which we have of this kind appear to me to have been compiled without much judgment. And so much concerning history; which is that part of learning which answers to one of the cells, domiciles, or offices of the mind of man, which is that of the memory. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Orb of virtue** Gilbert was of opinion that the earth is a great magnet, which attracts all bodies near its surface, although phenomena of polarity are only developed in a few cases. To every magnet he ascribed an orb of virtue beyond which it exerts no influence whatever, and also a smaller orb of coition such that the magnet cannot produce motion in any portion of matter which lies beyond it. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. II).

**Origin of language** Bacon was probably the first to propose a question to the origin of language. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI).

During the Middle Ages and until comparatively recent times, Latin was the language most widely used in the West for scholarly and literary purposes. Until the latter part of the twentieth century its use was required in the liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church. [Also see *Latin*.] The varying sounds of the kettle suggested a curious fancy to the Finns. According to them the confusion of tongues was caused by a kettle, which came down from heaven, and from the varying noises of which each family learnt a different language. (Grimm, *Origin of Language*).

**Orpheus** All beasts and birds assembled, and forgetting their several appetites, some of prey, some of game, some of quarrel, stood all sociably together, listening unto the airs and accords of [Orpheus'] harp. (Bacon, *Adv.*, 1603–05).

So great was the power of his music that it moved the woods and the very stones to shift themselves and take their stations about him. (Bacon, *Wisdom of the Ancients*, 1609).

At last, certain Thracian women, under the stimulation of Bacchus, came where he was, while Orpheus himself was torn to pieces by them in their fury. (*Ibid*).

**Orpin** Great houseleek or tree houseleek. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Our steps must** Be guided by a clue, and the whole way from the very first perception of the senses must be laid out upon a sure plan. (Bacon, *In. Mag*).

**Outward** He that is only real, had need have exceeding great parts of virtue; as the stone had need to be rich that is set without foil. It doth add much to a man's reputation to have good forms. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Ceremonies and Respects*).

**Overlive** To outlive. (Bacon, *Essay: XXVII*).

**O (Latin)**

**O urbem venalem, et cito perituram, si emptorem invenerit** A city in which all things are for sale and which will fall to the first purchaser. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Occidat matrem, modo imperet** Let him kill his mother so he be emperor. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Oculus aquilae non penetrarit** Not to be penetrated even by the eye of an eagle. (Essex, *Letter to Anthony Bacon*).

**Omnes coelicolas, omnes supera alta tenentes** All dwellers in the heaven and upper sky. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Omnia mutantur, nil interit** All things change, but nothing is lost. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Omnia per omnia** all by all; all same; of conveying any words you please under cover of any other words you please, provided only that they contain not less than five times as many letters. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

The all in all cipher. (Gallup).

**Omnigenumque deum monstra, et latrator Anubis contra Neptunum et Venerem, contraque Minervam:** All kinds and shapes of gods, a monstrous host, the dog Anubis foremost, stood arrayed against Neptune, Venus, Pallas. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Opera basilica** Works for a King. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Opera eorum sequuntur eos** Their works follow them. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Oportet discentem credere** A man who is learning must be content to believe what he is told. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Oportet edoctum judicare** When he has learned it he must exercise his judgment and see whether it be worthy of belief. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Optimum elige, suave et facile illud faciet consuetudo** Choose the best; custom will make it pleasant and easy. (Bacon, *Essays: VII*).

**Optimus Maximus** Best and Greatest. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Opus quod operatur Deus ab initio usque ad finem** The work which God worketh from the beginning to the end. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II.; De Aug., Bk. I.; Proverbs, XX. 27).

**Origanum majorana** This species was introduced to England from Portugal in 1573, and is biennial; the common sweet basil, which was almost the only kind of ocymum known in England in Bacon's time, is an annual. (Bacon, *Vitæ et Mortis*).

**Orpheus in sylvis, inter delphinas Arion** To be in the woods an Orpheus, among the dolphins an Arion. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Otia colligunt mentem** Leisure restores the mind. (Bacon).

## P (English)

**Pain** [the rack] makes even the innocent man a liar. (Bacon, *Remains*). [Also see Part III: *Torture; Use of Torture*].

**Painless death** A man who was hanged and afterwards resuscitated, on being asked what he had suffered said that he felt no pain. (Bacon, *History of Life and Death*, 1623).

The death that is most without pain hath been noted to be upon taking a potion of hemlock. The poison of the asp, that Cleopatra used, hath some affinity with it. (*Ibid*).

**Painting** But false decorations, fucusses, and pigments deserve the imperfections that constantly attend them, being neither exquisite enough to deceive, nor commodious to apply, nor wholesome to use; and it is much that this depraved custom of painting the face should so long escape the penal laws both of Church and State, which have been severe against luxury in apparel, and effeminate trimming of the hair. We read of Jezebel that she painted her face, but not so of Esther and Judith. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. IV.; *Adv.*, Bk. II).

Better a painted face than a curled and painted behaviour. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Antitheta Work IV. 394).

O, that I could but paint his mind! (Inscription over Bacon's Portrait (1578)).

O, could he but have drawn his wit! (First Shakespeare Folio (1623)). These are respectively Ben Jonson's lament over the Shakespeare portrait engraved as a frontispiece of the First Folio, and that of Hilliard, the portrait-painter, over his likeness of Francis Bacon at the age of seventeen. We have little doubt that one of these lamentations is a mere echo in jest of the other, and that both portraits (the former behind a mask) are intended to represent the same person.

**Palace of the mind** The knowledge of man is as the waters, some descending from above, and some springing from beneath; the one informed by the light of nature, the other inspired by divine revelation. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Paleness** Caused by the burning of the spirits about the heart; which, to refresh themselves, call in more spirits from the outward parts. And if the paleness be alone, without sending forth the colour again, it is commonly joined with some fear; but in many there is no paleness at all, but contrariwise redness about the cheeks and gills; which is by the sending forth of the spirits in an appetite to revenge. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Pannage** Swine food; acorns. (Bacon, *Impeachment of Waste*).

**Parables** Poesy parabolical tendeth to illustrate that which is taught or delivered, and to retire and obscure it, when the secrets and mysteries of religion, policy, or philosophy, are involved in fables or parables. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II.; Preface: *Wisdom of the Ancients*).

**Parents** Let parents choose betimes the vocations and courses that they mean their children to take, for they are most flexible, and let them not too much apply themselves to the disposition of their children, as thinking they may take best to that which they have most mind to. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Parents and Children*).

A man may see the noblest works and foundations have proceeded from childless men, which have sought to express the energies of their minds where those of their bodies have failed. (*Ibid*).

**Partially** From *pars*, part; disposed to partisanship.

Your Lordship should affect their company whom you find to be worthiest, and not *partially* think them most worthy whom you affect. (Bacon).

**Passions** I like not these negative virtues, for they show innocence, not merit, I like those virtues which induce excellence of action, not dullness of passion. Exquisite and restless senses need narcotics, so do passions. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Antitheta).

**Past** That which is past is gone, and irrevocable, and wise men have enough to do with things present and to come; therefore they do but trifle with themselves that labour in past matters. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Revenge*).

**Patience** The Scripture exhorts us to possess our souls in patience. Whoever is out of patience, is out of possession of his own soul. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Anger*).

Patience hath two parts, hardness against wants and extremities and endurance of pain or torment. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Peace** In a slothful peace both courage will effeminate and manners corrupt. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VIII).

**Pepper** By some of the ancients is noted to be of the second sort; which being in small quantity, moveth wind in the stomach or guts, and so expelleth by stool; but being in greater quantity, dissipateth the wind; and itself getteth to the mesentery veins, and so to the liver; where by heating and opening, it sendeth down urine more plentifully. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**People** To court the people is to be courted by the people. Men that are themselves great, find no single person to respect, but only the people. He that pleases the rabble is apt to raise the rabble. Nothing that is moderate is liked by the common people. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Antitheta).

The voice of the people has something divine; else, how could so many agree in one thing? (*Ibid*).

**Percase** Perchance.

Though *percase* it will be more stung by glory and fame. (Bacon).

**Perfect** The form in which the word was commonly written in Bacon's time was *parfite*. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Perfection** That which is better in perfection is better altogether. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Soph).

**Periodical winds** As in the inquiry touching the General winds men have been afflicted with blindness, so in that of the Periodical Winds, they have suffered dizziness and confusion. Of the former they say nothing, of the latter they talk vaguely and incoherently. But this is the more pardonable, because the thing is variable. For Periodical Winds change with the place, and the same do not blow in Egypt, Greece, and Italy. (Bacon, *History of Winds*). [Also see *Names of Winds*.]

**Person Lives, excelleth it in profit and use.** (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Personal vanity** Neither had the fame of Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus, borne her age so well, if it had not been joined with some vanity in themselves; like unto varnish, that makes ceilings not only shine but last. In some persons [this] is not only comely, but gracious. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Vain Glory*, 1612).

**Persuasion** If the affections themselves were brought to order, and pliant and obedient to reason, there would be no great use of persuasions and insinuations, but naked and simple propositions would be enough. But the affections do raise such mutinies and seditions that reason would become captive if eloquence of persuasions did win the imagination from the affections' part. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI).

Persuasions may be by colours or popular glosses, and circumstances of such force as to sway an ordinary judgment; or even a wise man that does not fully and considerately attend to the subject. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. VI).

**Philosopher** Not merely to contemplate the works of the Creator, but also to employ the knowledge thus obtained for the relief of man's estate. [Also see Part IV: *New Atlantis*.]

**Philosopher's rational** Those whose system is sophistical, the name implying that they trust too much to reason and despise observation, to spiders whose webs are spun out of their own bodies, and the empirics to the ant which simply lays up its store and uses it. [Also see *Schoolmen*.]

**Philosophy** I include all arts and sciences, and in a word whatever has been from the occurrence of individual objects collected and digested by the mind into general notions. (Bacon, *Intellectual Globe*).

Most men no doubt will think that I am digging up the remains of old questions long since laid up and buried, and in a manner raising their ghosts, and mixing fresh questions with them. But since the philosophy of which we are hitherto in possession concerning the heavens

has no soundness; and since it is my constant determination to refer everything to a new trial by legitimate induction; and since if any questions are passed over, there will be so much less pains and diligence bestowed on the history, because it will perhaps seem superfluous to inquire of things concerning which no question has been raised; I hold it necessary to take in hand all questions which the nature of things anywhere presents. (*Ibid*).

Divine philosophy is a science derivable from God by the light of Nature and the contemplation of His creatures; so that, with regard to its object, it is truly Divine, but, with regard to its acquirement, natural. God never wrought a miracle to convert an atheist, because the light of Nature is sufficient to demonstrate a Deity. The distemper (of being all philosophy to be derived from the Holy Scriptures) principally reigned in the school of Paracelsus. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

It is more than a philosopher can morally digest. I esteem it like the pulling out of an aching tooth, which, I remember, when I was a child and had little philosophy, I was glad when it was done. (Bacon, *Letter to Essex*, October 1595).

**Physic Medicine.** (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Physician** Hath no particular acts demonstrative of his ability, but is judged most by the event; which is ever but as it is taken: for who can tell, if a patient die or recover? (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Physiognomia** [*φυσιογνωμία*]; characteristics; the physiognomical method of Aristotle consists chiefly in tracing the resemblances which exist between different kinds of animals and different individuals of the human species; a method followed by later writers, particularly G.B. Porta, and Lebrun, whose illustration of his theory are well known, though the Essay which they accompanied seems to have been lost. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. IV).

**Pine-apple** Bacon means the cone of a pine; the name was transferred to the fruit of the *Grk*: *ανανά* [anana]; in consequence of the resemblance the latter bears to a fir-cone. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Pioneer in the name of Truth.** (Bacon, *Col. Good & Evil*).

**Pity causeth sometimes tears; and a flexion or cast of the eye aside.** (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*). [Also see *Cast of the eye*.]

**Place** It is most true which was anciently spoken: "A place sheweth the man, and it sheweth some to the better and some to the worse." It is an assured sign of a worthy and generous spirit, whom honour amends, for honour is, or should be, the place of virtue; and virtue in authority is settled and calm. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Great Place*).

**Plancher** A plank, or board; *Fr*; plancher. Also a floor, which is the sense of the original: oak, cedar, and chesnut, are the best builders: some are for *planchers*, as deal; some for tables, &c. (Bacon).

**Play the part of the lion in violence and the fox in guile, as of the man in virtue and justice.** (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

He came in like a fox, would reign like a lion, and die like a dog. (Macchiavelli). <sup>111</sup>

**Pleasing** The task of pleasing is at all times easier than that of Instructing: at least it does not stand in need of painful research and preparation, and may be effected in general by a little vivacity of manner, and a dexterous morigeration [compliance, or obsequiousness] as Francis Bacon calls it, to the humours and frailties of men. Your responsibility too is thereby much lessened. <sup>112</sup> (Unknown Author).

**Pleasure** Elevated luxury. We have likewise determined that the mind ought not to be reduced to stupid, but to retain pleasure; confined rather in the subject of it, than in the strength and vigour of it. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

For in a mind properly disposed, the act and exercise of virtue ought to be accompanied with a sense of pleasure; there are some who have both health, beauty, and strength of mind; and so perform their duties well; but, from a kind of Stoical severity and insensibility, take no pleasure in them. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

The good of fruition, or, as it is more commonly termed, pleasure, is placed either in the sincerity or in the vigour of it. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VII).

There is a difference between fruition and acquisition. (Bacon, *Promus* 1,327 of the Latin).

**Plump** A cluster, or collection of separate things; a group, or mass.

It has been supposed to be corrupted from *clump*, or *that from this*. But clump is applied to trees only, and is evidently German; whereas, in the examples given of this from Sandys, Bacon, Hayward, and Dryden, it is applied equally to a group of trees, a collection of islands, a small body of troops, and a flock of wild-fowl.

**Poesy** Is a part of learning in measure of words for the most part restrained, but in all other points extremely licensed, and doth truly refer to the imagination. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II). [Also see *History*.]

In philosophy the mind is bound to things; in poesy it is released from that bond, and wanders forth, and feigns what it pleases. That this is so anyone may see, who seeks ever so simply and without subtlety into the origins of intellectual impressions. (Bacon, *Intellectual Globe*). [Also see *Philosophy*.]

Poesy filleth the imagination, and yet it is but with the shadow of a lie. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Truth*).

**Poison** Mineral wheat strong poison and they be not corrected. (Bacon, *Promus*, fol. 84).

<sup>111</sup> *The Prince*, Ch. 18

<sup>112</sup> Advice to a Young Reviewer, 1807



**Popularity** Wise men are commonly pleased with the same things; but to meet the various inclinations of fools is the part of wisdom. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Antitheta).

To court the people is to be courted by the people. (*Ibid*).

**Porches of Death** Of the things which happen to men both a little before and a little after the point of death. (Bacon, *History of Life and Death*).

**Posnet** A small pot, or skillet. Whether it will endure the ordinary fire, which belongeth to chaffing-dishes, *posnets*, and such other silver vessels. (Bacon).

**Posthumous works** I account the use that a man should seek of the publishing of his own writings before his death to be but an untimely anticipation of that which is proper to follow a man, and not to go along with him. (Bacon, *Letter to the Bishop of Winchester*, 1622).

**Possibilities** Great abilities would be more common (but for) men's diffidence in prejudging them as impossibilities; for it holdeth in these things, which the Poet saith, *Possunt quia posse videntur*, for no man shall know how much may be done: except he believe much may be done. (Bacon, *Discourse of the Intellectual Powers*; *Promus* 1234, 1235).

**Possibility of transmutation** Is long and strenuously denied, though certainly on no sufficient grounds, is now generally admitted. (Spedding).

There was a time when this fundamental doctrine of the alchemists was opposed to known analogies. It is now no longer so opposed to them, only some stages beyond their present development. (Faraday).<sup>113</sup>

**Potion of hemlock** In humanity was the form of execution of capital offenders in Athens. The poison of the asp, that Cleopatra used, hath some affinity with it. The cause is, for that the torments of death are chiefly raised by the strife of the spirits; and these vapours quench the spirits by degrees; like to the death of an extreme old man. I conceive it is less painful than opium, because opium hath parts of heat mixed. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Poverty** The derogations which grow to learning from the fortune or condition of learned men are either in respect of scarcity of means, or in respect of privateriess of life, and meanness of employments. Learned men grow not rich. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. L).

Poverty comes as one that travelleth, and want as an armed man. For debt and diminution of capital come on at first step by step, like a traveller, but, soon afterwards, want rushes in like an armed man, so strong and powerful as no longer to be resisted; for it was rightly said of the ancients that "Necessity is of all things the strongest." (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VIII., taken from the Proverb VII. 11).

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<sup>113</sup> *Lectures on Non Metallic Elements*, p.106

**Power** It is a strange desire which men have to seek power and lose liberty. (Bacon, *Remains*).

When the power of love overcomes the love of power, the world will know peace. (Hendrix).

**Praise** What is praised, even by enemies, is a great good. This sophism deceives by reason of the cunning of enemies. For enemies sometimes bestow praise, not against their will, nor as being compelled thereto by the force of truth, but choosing such points of truth as may breed envy and danger to the subject of it. And hence there was a prevailing superstition among the Greeks that, with a malicious purpose to injure him, a pimple would grow upon his nose. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Soph; *Promus* 1329).

Praise is the reflection of virtue, but it is glass or body which giveth the reflection. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Praise*).

To praise a man's self cannot be decent, except it be in rare cases. (*Ibid*).

**Pregnancy** Ingenuity, wit; from the metaphorical senses of Pregnant, which see.

Affect the opinion of pregnancy, by an impatient and catching hearing of the counselors at the bar. (Bacon, *Speech to Sir Rich. Hutton*).

**Preparation** Diligence and careful preparation remove obstacles against which the foot would otherwise stumble, and smooth the path before it is entered. This may be noted in the management of a family; wherein, if care and forethought be used, everything goes smoothly, without noise or discord; but if they be wanting, on any important emergency, everything has to be done at once, the servants are in confusion, and the house is in an uproar. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VIII).

**Prerogatives of Man** But that other subject of the Prerogatives of Man seems to me to deserve a place among the desiderata. Pindar in praising Hiero says most elegantly (as is his wont) that he "culled the tops of all the virtues." And certainly I think it would contribute much to magnanimity and the honour of humanity, if a collection were made of what the schoolmen call the ultimities, and Pindar the tops or summits of human nature, especially from true history; shewing what is the ultimate and highest point which human nature has of itself attained in the several gifts of body and mind. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. IV).

So as there was nothing to be added to this great King's felicity, being at the top of all worldly bliss. (Bacon, *History of Henry VII*).

For Princes being at the top of human desires, they have for the most part no particular ends whereto they aspire. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk II).

**President** Precedent, so was usually spelt in Bacon's time. (Bacon, *Apo*).

**Prest** A loan. This is still used officially in some cases. Johnson exemplifies it from Bacon.

**Presumption** Those that were great politiques ever ascribed their successes to their felicity, and not to their skill or virtue. (Bacon, *Adv.*, 1603–05).

All wise men, to decline the envy of their own virtues, use to ascribe them to providence and fortune. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Fortune*, 1607–12).

Bacon also cites an instance of the same kind from the life of Julius Cæsar. When it was reported to Cæsar that the omens were unpropitious for his going to the Senate, he was heard to mutter, “They will be auspicious when I will.” His death immediately followed.

**Pretence of wisdom** Some help themselves with countenance and gesture, and are wise by signs, as Cicero saith of Piso, that when he answered him, he fetched one of his brows up to his forehead, and bent the other down to his chin. Some are so close and reserved as they will not show their wares but by a dark light, and seem always to keep back somewhat. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Seeming Wise*, 1607–12).

**Pride** Is unsociable to vices among other things; and as poison by poison, so not a few vices are expelled by pride. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Antitheta).

Pride will have a fall. (Bacon, *Promus* 952).

Icarus, with a juvenile confidence, soared aloft and fell headlong. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Icarus; Advice to Essex*).

**Prince** A Prince who readily hearkens to lies has all his servants wicked. (Bacon, Proverbs. XXIX. 12).

When the Prince is one who lends an easy and credulous ear without discernment, to whisperers and informers, there breathes as it were from the King himself a pestilent air, which corrupts and infects all his servants. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VIII).

Some (bad servants or informers) probe the fears of the Prince, and increase them with false tales; others excite in him passions of envy, especially against the most virtuous objects. (*Ibid*).

**Principal study** Chief concern. (Bacon).

**Printing** And the art of printing is mentioned many times by Bacon as an invention perfectly simple when once made, and which nevertheless was only made after a long course of ages. The county of Kent has been long famed for its manufacture of paper. It was at Dartford, in this county, that paper was *first made* in England.<sup>114</sup> [Also see *Paper making of the age*].

It seems probable that the art of making paper came to the west of Europe from Constantinople, and that our word *quire*, of which the equivalent in Low Latin is *manus*, is a token of its Greek origin, and means properly a handful of paper. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. V).

**Producing cold** Drebbel’s method. (Bacon, *De Aug*).

**Production of experiment** Of two kinds; repetition and extension; that is when the experiment is either repeated, or urged to some effect more subtle. (Bacon, *De Aug*).

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<sup>114</sup> *Notes & Queries*, No. 59, 1850

**Production of heat by friction** *Orig. Disc*; ascribed to Bacon. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XIX).

Mr. Joule and Prof. Thomson ascribe the discovery of this chiefly to Sir Humphrey Davy <sup>115</sup> but though Davy's experiments guard against sources of error of which Bacon takes no notice, the merit of having perceived the true significance of the production of heat by friction belongs right to Bacon.

**Prognostics of winds** If the sun appear concave at its rising, the day will be windy. If the body of the sun appear blood red at setting, it forebodes high winds for many days. Red clouds at sunrise foretell wind; at sunset, a fine day for the morrow. The sun setting behind a cloud forebodes rain the next day. Circles round the moon always foretell wind from the side where they break. When the thunder is more continuous than the lightning, there will be great winds. Spiders work hard and spin their webs a little before wind. (Bacon, *History of Winds*). [Also see *Names of Winds*.]

**Prolongation of life** A science of slowing down human ageing that Bacon believed sufficient attention had not been paid to observation and experiment. In the *De Augmentis*, Bacon complains that physicians have not sufficiently recognised the prolongation of life as one of the objects which their art should seek to obtain. Flacius in his *Commentatio de Vitâ et Morte* published in 1584 decides that by asserting health and longevity depends on the same causes and must therefore be promoted by the same means. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, IV. 23).

Bacon divides the duty of the physician into three distinct parts: the preservation of health; the cure of diseases; and the prolongation of life. In none of Bacon's writings is there more appearance of research; he has collected a great number of instances of longevity, and in attempting to find something in the character of way of life of the persons whom he mentioned to which their long life may be ascribed with singular felicity whatever is most remarkable about them.

**Promise** A promise is worth nothing from a man who acknowledges an authority that may release him from it. (Spedding).

**Proud** Those that want friends to open themselves unto are cannibals of their own hearts. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Friendship*, 1625).

**Providence** Takes care of the world; do thou take care of thy country. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Antitheta).

**Purchase** Profit; the ordinary meaning of the word at the time of Bacon. (Bacon, *History of King Henry VII.*).

**Purl** To curl, or run in circles; hence "purling stream," possibly, meant dimpled, or eddying, though now usually thought to allude to its sound. Yet Bacon speaks of a "purling sound".

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<sup>115</sup> Beddoes. *Contributions to Physical and Medical Knowledge*, p.14

**Purpose** A thing insane, the meaning appears to be that these speculations, being founded upon such an inadequate conception of the case, must necessarily be so wide of the truth that they would seem like mere madness if we could only compare them with it, like that aim of a man blindfolded to bystanders looking on. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*)

**Putrefaction** Bacon strongly held the old notion that putrefying substances generate organisms, such as frogs, grasshoppers, and flies. Is the bastard brother of vivification. (Bacon, *Natural History*, (1622–25).

Moulds of pies and flesh, of oranges and lemons, turn into worms. (*Ibid*).

The nature of vivification is best inquired into in creatures bred of putrefaction. Dregs of wine turn into gnats. (*Ibid*).

Wholesome meat corrupteth to little worms. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Superstition*, 1607–12).

Aristotle dogmatically assigned the cause of generation to the sun. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, 1608–20).

St. Augustine says: “Certain very small animals may not have been created on the fifth and sixth days, but may have originated from putrefying matter.” St. Isadore of Seville, who wrote in the seventh century of our era, is more explicit; he declares that “bees are generated from decomposed veal, beetles from horse-flesh, grasshoppers from mules, scorpions from crabs.” Bacon pursued the subject still farther, anticipating the time when the generation of animals out of putrefying substances would be controlled by man, thus: “We make a number of kinds of serpents, worms, flies, fishes, of putrefaction; whereof some are advanced (in effect) to be perfect creatures, like beasts or birds. Neither do we this by chance, but we know beforehand of what matter and commixture what kind of those creatures will arise.” (Bacon, *New Atlantis*).

## P (Latin)

**Pabulum animi** The food of the mind. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Parvis componere magna** Compare small things with large. (Bacon).

**Patientissimus veri** Patience itself. (Bacon).

**Paupertas est virtutis fortuna** Poverty is virtue’s fortune. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Pendente lite** While the case is pending; while a suit is pending. (Bacon).

**Per incommodum** Pressing an absurdity. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Per infortunium** By accident. (Bacon).

**Per saltum** In one leap. (Bacon).

**Per tot discrimina** Through all perils. (Bacon).

**Percussit illico animum** Utterly dismayed me then and there. (Bacon).

**Permissio Intellectûs** Indicates that in this process the mind is suffered to follow the course most natural to it; it is relieved from the restraints hitherto imposed on it, and reverts to its usual state. (Bacon).

**Petrelæum** Petroleum; petrol. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XII).

**Pictoribus atque poetis** Painters and poets have always been allowed to take what liberties they would. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Plures adorant solem orientem quam occidentem vel meridianum** There be more that worship the rising sun than the sun setting or at midday. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Plurimi pertransibunt, et multiplex erit scientia** Many shall pass to and fro, and knowledge shall be multiplied. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Plurimum honoris sui interesse** Knowing well that it stood him upon. (Bacon, *History of King Henry VII.*).

Doth it not, think'st thou, stand me now upon? (Hamlet).

**Plus ultra** Yet further beyond, a motto adopted by the emperor Charles V., the motto to Bacon's device of a ship sailing through the Pillars of Hercules, and the remainder of the title is both in tone and language clearly Baconian. (Bacon, *De principiis Atque Originibus*).

**Pompa mortis magis terret, quam mors ipsa** It is the accompaniments of death that are frightful rather than death itself. (Bacon, *Essays*: II.; Seneca, *Ep.* 24).

**Populous me sibilat, at mihi plaudo** The people hiss me, but I applaud myself. (Bacon, *Col. Good & Evil*).

**Possunt quia posse videntur** They find it possible because they think it possible. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Postquam divus Nerva res olim insociabiles miscuisset, imperium et libertatem:** He united and reconciled two things which used not to go together, government and liberty. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Postrema hæc** Idols of the tribe, the cave, and the market place. [Also see *Idola*.]

**Potestatem verborum** Power of words. (Bacon).

**Præfatio Generalis** General Preface.

**Pretiosa in oculis Domini mors sanctorum ejus** Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Prima philosophia** Summary philosophy; in the writings of Aristotle, the first philosophy denotes the science which since his time has been called metaphysics. Bacon, adopting Aristotle's name, applied it differently. With him, the first philosophy is divided into two parts; "if to unequals are added equals, the sums are unequal, which Bacon refers to the first; things which agree with a third, agree with one another" which Bacon refers to the second. Both are known as a mathematical principle.

**Primitivas hominis observations** Primary results of observations. (Bacon).

**Primo die lucem** The light created on the first day is by many divines supposed to be not a corporeal but a spiritual light. This is the doctrine of St. Augustine who however does not say that those who adopt a contrary opinion are necessarily wrong. This idea of a spiritual light was developed at great length in connexion with the theory of the nature and cognition of angels.

**Principio sedes apibus statioque petenda, quo neque sit ventis aditus** First for thy bees a quiet station find, and lodge them under covert of the wind. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II.; Virgil, *Georg.* IV. 8).

**Principium autum sumendum a Deo** [ἐκ Διός ἀρχώμεσθα]; of two we came, of God we came.

**Priora duo** Idols of the theatre. [Also see *Idola*.]

**Pro desiderio quærit cerebrosus, omnibus immiscet se** Through desire a man having separated himself seeketh and intermeddleth with all wisdom. (Proverbs, XVIII, I.; Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. VII).

**Pro ratione ejus temporis** For that time. (Bacon, *History of King Henry VII.*).

**Pro verbis legis** For the words of the law. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Producant aquæ, producat terra** Let the waters bring forth, let the earth bring forth. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Promerendi studio** Purposing to deserve well of their country. (Bacon).

**Proplasticis** Used in a Latin form by Pliny, a mould for casting. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XLIX).

**Prosperum et felix scelus virtus vocatur** A crime that is successful is called a virtue. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Pugnæum Paracelsi** Gnomes, earth spirits. (Bacon, *Densi et Rari*).

**Pulmonem marinum** Lungs of the sea; [πνεύμων θαλάσσιος]. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XII).

**Purumque reliquit æthereum sensum atque auræ simplicis ignem** Pure and unmixed the ethereal sense is left, mere air and fire. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Putrefactione** Animals which cannot result from putrefaction. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XLI).

Telesius' opinion is that the more perfect animals cannot result from putrefaction, because the conditions of temperature necessary to their production cannot be fulfilled except by means of animal heat. Aristotle, though he speaks of the great fecundity of mice, and even of their being impregnated by licking salt, does not mention the possibility of their being produced by putrefaction. (Bacon, *De Hist. Animal.* VI. 37. Problem. X. 64).

## Q (English)

**Qualities and powers of winds** The qualities and powers of the winds have not been observed diligently and variously. I will extract the more certain of them, and leave the rest as frivolous to the winds themselves. (Bacon, *History of Winds*). [Also see *Names of Winds*.]

**Quarrels** For quarrels, they are with care and discretion to be avoided; they are commonly for (1) mistresses; (2) healths; (3) place; (4) words; (5) let a man beware how he keepeth company with choleric and quarrelsome persons, for they will engage him in their quarrels. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Travel*).

Life is grown too cheap in these times, and every petty scorn or disgrace can have no other reparation [than with the sword]. Nay, so many mens' lives are taken away with impunity, that the life of the law is almost taken away. (Bacon, *Charge against Duelling*, 1613).

Men have almost lost the true notion and understanding of fortitude and valour. A man's life is not to be trifled with; it is to be offered up and sacrificed to honourable services, public merits, good causes, and noble adventures. (*Ibid*).

**Queching** To move, or stir. (Bacon, *Essays: XXXIX*).

**Question** As it asks some knowledge to ask a question not impertinent, so it asketh some sense to make a wish not absurd. (Bacon, *Interpretation of Nature*).

**Questman** or **Questmonger** One who laid information, and made a trade of petty lawsuits. Dr. Johnson has illustrated this word from Bacon.

**Quick** To stir, or twist; Saxon, *cucian*, to quicken. This word, with a trifling change, to *quech*, was used by Bacon: The lads of Sparta, of ancient time were wont to be scourged upon the altar of Diana, without so much as *queching*. (*Essays*, 40). This is rightly printed in the folio of 1730; but in the separate editions of the *Essays*, had been corrupted into *quecking*, and even *squeeking* (octavo, 1690). From one of these incorrect editions, Johnson had taken to *queck*.



**Quiet** I would (out of a care to do the best business well) ever keep a guard and stand upon keeping faith and a good conscience. There is nothing that more awakens our readiness to die, than the quieted conscience. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Death*).

Death will give a long time for resting. (Bacon, *Promus* 1205).

I may now in a manner sing *Nunc dimittis*. I may not forget also to thank your Majesty for granting me my *Quietus Est*. (Bacon, *Memorial to the King*).

**Quinsy** Quinsai of Marco Polo, now Hangchowfoo. (Bacon, *New Atlantis*).

## Q (Latin)

**Quæ assensum parit, operas effœta est** Which procured assent but can do no work. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Quæ in eodem tertio conveniunt, et inter se conveniunt** Things that are equal to the same are equal to each other. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Quæ si feceritis, non oratorem duntaxat in præsentia laudabitis, sed vosmetipsos etiam non ita multo post statu rerum vestrarum meliore:** If you follow this advice you will do a grace to yourselves no less than to the speaker, to him by your vote today, to yourselves by the improvement which you will presently find in your affairs. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Quæstionum minutiis scientiarum frangunt soliditatem** They broke up the solidity and coherency of the sciences by the minuteness and nicety of their questions. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Quare si in operibus tuis sudabimus, facies nos visionis tuæ et sabbati tui participes:** Compare with the line with which the *Faerie Queene* breaks off: O that great Sabbaoth God graunt me that Sabbaoth sight.

**Quasi quœ fingeret simul et crederet** Nay himself with long and continual counterfeiting and with often telling a lie was turned (by habit) almost into the thing he seemed to be, and from a liar to a believer. (Bacon, *History of King Henry VII.*).

Like one who having unto Truth, by telling oft, made such a sinner of his memory to credit his own lie, he did believe he was indeed the Duke. (Tempest).

**Qui delicate a pueritia nutrit servum suum, postea sentiet eum contumacem:** He that delicately bringeth up his servant from a child shall have him become forward at the length. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Qui extendit aquilonem super vacuum, et appendit terram super nihilum** Who stretcheth out the north upon the empty space, and hangeth the earth upon nothing. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Qui facit Arcturum, et Oriona, et Hyadas, et interiora Austri** Which maketh Arcturus, Orion, and Hyades, and the secrets of the South. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Qui festinat ad divitias non erit insons** He that maketh haste to be rich shall not be innocent. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Qui finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponat naturæ** The end of life is to be counted among the boons of nature. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Qui gravi morbo correpti Dolores non sentient, iis mens ægrotat** They that are sick and yet feel no pain are sick in their minds. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Qui magnam felicitatem concoquere non possunt** That cannot digest great felicity. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Qui respicit ad ventos, non seminat; et qui respicit ad nubes, non metet** He that looketh to the winds doth not sow, and he that regardeth the clouds shall not reap. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Qui respiciunt ad pauca de facili pronunciant** They who take only few points into account find it easy to pronounce judgment. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Quia mortui non mordent** Because the dead do not bite. (Bacon).

**Quid deformius quam scenam in vitam transferre** What more unseemly than to be always playing a part. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Quid igitur agendum est?** What must then be done? (Bacon).

**Quidam tam sunt umbratiles, ut putent in turbido esse quicquid in luce est:** There are some men so fond of the shade, that they think they are in trouble whenever they are in the light. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Qui non intelligit, aut taceat, aut discat** Who does not understand, should either learn or be silent. (Dee, *Monas Hieroglyphica*, 1564).

**Quis Carmen præit, ut hos oblivioni devoveam?** Who will repeat before me the form of words whereby I may devote these persons to oblivion? (Bacon, *Temp. Par. Masc*).

**Quis psittaco docuit suum χαίρει** Who taught the parrot to say how d'ye do? (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Quis putasset** Who would have thought. (Bacon).

**Quivis etiam in cursu ea perlegere possit** Write so as that the message may be quickly read, in order that the reader may run at once and without loss of time. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Quo meliores, eo deteriores** The better the worse. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Quod imitabile est potentia quadam vulgatum est** That which can be imitated is potentially common. (Bacon, *Col. Good & Evil*).

**Quod instat agamus** Let's do what has to be done. (Bacon).

**Quod me nutrit me destruit** That which nourishes me, also destroys me. (Bacon).

**Quomodo Augustus, sic et Antoninus** Let the name of Antoninus be as the name of Augustus. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

## R (English)

**Rack** Torture instrument; also known as stretching racks where the examinee was stretched by four ropes. It was invented by John Holland, Duke of Exeter who was constable of the Tower under Henry VI., and used at the Tower until 1588 though it is mentioned in other documents of the time, that its last recorded use was in 1640. [Also see Part III: *Torture*; *Tools of Torture*; *Use of Torture*].

The winds in the upper region (which move the clouds above, which we call the *rack*, and are not perceived below), pass without noise. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Rather make able and honest men yours than advance those that are otherwise because they are yours.** (Bacon, *Letter of advice to Buckingham upon becoming King James' favourite*).

**Rational and moral knowledges** Considered with reference to reason and morals. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Reason** The affections themselves ever carry an appetite to apparent good, and have this in common with reason; but affection beholds principally the present good; reason looks beyond, and beholds likewise the future and sum of all. After the eloquence and persuasion have made things future and remote appear as present, then upon the revolt of imagination to reason, reason prevails. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI).

Reason doth buckle and bow the mind unto the nature of things. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Rebellion against the belly** In this they fall into the error described in the ancient fable, in which the other parts of the body did suppose the stomach had been idle, because it neither performed the office of motion, as the limbs do, nor of sense, as the head doth; but yet, notwithstanding, it is the stomach that digesteth and distributeth to all the rest. (Bacon, *Adv.*, 1603–05).

**Receiver** He that receiveth knowledge desireth rather present satisfaction, than expectant search, and so rather not to doubt than not to err. (Bacon, *Of the Interpretation of Nature*).

**Reciproque** The like. (Bacon).

**Recognition of friends** It is mentioned in some stories that where children have been exposed, or taken away young from their parents, and afterward have been brought into their parents' presence, the parents, though they have not known them, have felt a secret joy or other alteration thereupon. (Bacon, *Natural History*, 1622–25).

**Recorder** Kind of flute. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Recovered** Gained, not *get back again*; very commonly used in Bacon's time. (Bacon, *History of King Henry VII.*).

**Recreation** As for games of recreation, I hold them to belong to civil life and recreation. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. L).

**Redgrave** Gorhambury Estates. (Bacon, *Apo*).

**Reformation** The labour (of the will) is to reform the affections, restraining them if they be too violent, and raising them if they be too soft and weak; or else it is to cover them; or, if occasion be, to pretend and represent them. Examples are plentiful in the Courts of Princes, and in all politic traffic. (Bacon, *Discourse of the Intel. Powers*).

**Remembrance** The invention of speech is no other but the knowledge whereof our mind is already possessed, to call before us that which may be pertinent to the purpose which we take into our consideration. So as, to speak truly, it is but a remembrance or suggestion with an application. All knowledge is but memory or remembrance. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. L).

**Reputation** As for reputation, with a view to which the Councils of Princes ought to be specially framed, they (scornful councillors) despise it as a breath of the people that will quickly be blown away. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VIII).

It is a wry hard and unhappy condition of men preeminent for virtue, that their errors, be they ever so trifling, are never excused. In men of remarkable virtue the slightest faults are seen, talked of, and severely censured, which in ordinary men would be unobserved or readily excused. (*Ibid*).

**Research** Do likewise command the use of dead bodies for anatomies. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Reseiser** Taking again of lands into the King's hands, whereof a general livery or *ouster le main* was formerly misused by any person or persons, and not according to form and order of law. (Cowell).

**Resolution** In human actions fortune insists that some resolution shall be taken. Not to resolve is itself to resolve; so that many times suspension of resolution involves us in more necessities than a resolution would. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Soph).

**Resolved to enlarge the old house instead of building a new one** Completing what has started, instead of abandoning it for something new. (Spedding).

**Respect** From *respicere*, to look back, to view in the light of the past; considerate, consideration.

In sickness *respect* health. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Regimen of Health*).

**Respective duty** The duties between husband and wife, parent and child, master and servant: so likewise the laws of friendship and gratitude, the civil bond of companies, colleges, and politic bodies, of neighbourhood, and all other proportionate duties; not as they are parts of government and society, but as to the framing of the mind of particular persons. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Respiration** Aristotle's theory on respiration was that it was necessary in order to keep the animal heat from becoming excessive. (Bacon, *Vitæ et Mortis*).

**Revelation** In 1953, a two-leaf paper found stuck between the bindings of the spine of a copy of Thomas Gataker's *Certaine Sermons* (1637) revealed a publisher's written list from 1603 where *Loves Labour Won* was jotted. (Hibbard).<sup>116</sup>

**Revenge** How happy might we be, and end our time with blessed days and sweet content, if we could contain ourselves, and, as we ought to do, put up injuries, learn humility, meekness, patience, forget and forgive. (Burton).<sup>117</sup>

**Rhetoric** To apply reason to imagination. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

Being to the imagination what logic is to the understanding. [Also see Part III: *Arte of Rhetoricke*.]

**Rhymes** Because there is no education collegiate which is free; where such as were so disposed might giveth themselves to histories. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Riches** Of great riches you may have either the keeping, the giving away, or the fame; but not the use. Do you not see what feigned prices are set upon little stones and such rarities, only that there may be some use of great riches? (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Antitheta).

Plenty made me poor. (Bacon, *Promus* 354).

**Ridicule** It is the exercise of buffoons, to draw all things, to conceits ridiculous. (Bacon, *Discourse of the Intellectual Powers*).

**Roman ointment** To further the very act of assimilation of nourishment; which is done by some outward emollients, that make the parts more apt to assimilate. For which I have compounded an ointment of excellent odour, which I call Roman ointment; vide the receipt. The use of it would be between sleeps; for in the latter sleep the parts assimilate chiefly. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).<sup>118</sup>

<sup>116</sup> Hibbard. Introduction *Shakespeare's Love's Labour's Lost*, Oxford World Classics, 1990

<sup>117</sup> Burton Richard. *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1653

<sup>118</sup> This receipt is not found in the *Syl. Sylv* but in Tenison's *Baconiana*, p. 173

**Rosicrucianism** The title of the Brotherhood is derived from Rosa-Crux, a red rose affixed to a cross, presumably of gold. To the Rosicrucians of the age of Elizabeth, it hardly seems questionable that the rose was the symbol of silence, as among the ancients it was originally derived from the pagan tradition that the God of Love made the first rose, which he presented to the God of Silence. From this tradition originated the custom of carving a rose on the ceilings of banquet halls, or rooms where people met for gayety and diversion, to intimate that under it, whatever was spoken or done was not to be divulged; hence our term *sub rosa* used to indicate secrecy. The Cross, of course, signified salvation, to which the Society of the Rose-Cross devoted itself by teaching mankind the love of God and the beauty of brotherhood, with all that they implied. [Also see Part II: *Fludd Robert*.]

**Rule of the alphabet** The alphabet is constructed and directed in this manner. The history and experiments occupy the first place. These, if they represent an enumeration and series of particular things, are set down in table; otherwise they are taken separately. (Bacon, *Abecedarium Naturæ*). [Also see *Conditions of beings*.]

**Rumour** The nature of the common people gives birth to rumours, and malignant whispers, and querulous fames, and defamatory libels, and the like. (Bacon, *Wisdom of the Ancients*, 1609).

Libels and licentious discourses against the state, when they are frequent and open, and in like sort, false news, running up and down to the disadvantage of the state and hastily embraced, are amongst the signs of troubles. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Seditions*, 1607–12).

## R (Latin)

**Ratione certe, et sua lege** In principle at least and in their essential law; God could change them, but that this change would be above reason and a change of the law of the form, otherwise unchangeable. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum IX).

**Rebus arduis levia immiscet** Levity is mixed in with hard things. (Bacon).

**Reductionem** Reducing, *reductio* appears to have been used much as in modern scientific language that is as nearly equivalent to correction.

**Rege inconsulto** The King not having been consulted. (Bacon).

**Repræsentari** To be presented at once, before the regular time. (Bacon, *Nov. Org*).

**Rerum divinarum et humanarum scientia** The knowledge of things human and divine. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Rerum pondera verborum frangit argutiis** He dashes to pieces the weight of things with sharp words. (Bacon).

**Res inæqualis sit** Acts irregularly. (Bacon).

**Responsa prudentum** By the Roman Jurists was reckoned among the Fontes Juris, but with a few points in the history of Roman law on which it is more difficult to form a satisfactory opinion; no information exists to the form in which these *Responsa* were given, or as to the degree of authority with which they were invested. Common opinion is that they received absolute force of law in virtue of an ordinance of Augustus, and that more precise regulations with respect to cases in which a diversity of opinion existed were made by Hadrian. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. VIII).

**Reverted benedictio mea in sinum meum** The blessing returns to my lap. (Bacon).

**Rosa solis** Sundew. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv.*).

Paracelsus says that the herb is at noon and under a burning sun filled with dew, while all the other herbs round it are dry. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*).

**Rubor est virtutis color** A blush is virtue's colour. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Rustici** The illustration is derived, not from fencing, but from boxing. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VIII).

## S (English)

**Salic law** And thereupon he took a fit occasion to send the Lord Treasurer and Master Bray, whom he used as Counselor, to the Lord Mayor of London, requiring of the city a present of six thousand marks; but after parleys, he could obtain but two thousand pounds. (Bacon, *History of Henry VII.*).

The Archbishop further alleged out of the book of Numbers this saying: "When a man dieth without a son, let the inheritance descend to his daughter. (Holinshed).

And yet wish I not any of you to be so unadvised as to be the occasion that I dye your tawny ground with your red blood. (*Ibid.*).

**Salomon's House** The erection and institution of an order or society, which we call Salomon's House, the noblest foundation, as we think, that ever was upon the earth, and the lanthorn [lantern] of this Kingdom. It is dedicated to the study of the works and creatures of God. Some thing it beareth the founder's name a little corrupted, as if it should be Salomona's House; but the records write it as it is spoken. I find in ancient records this order or society is sometimes called Salomon's House, and sometimes the College of the Six Days. God had created the world, and all that therein is, within six days. (Bacon, *New Atlantis*, 1623). [Also see Part III: *New Atlantis*]

**Santali citrini** Yellow sandalwood. (Bacon, *Vitæ et Mortis*).

**Saxon lettering** One way of writing the Saxon *th*, in Bacon's time, was by a peculiar kind of *d*. The other character for *th* was more like the letter *y*, and was not generally known that in the common contraction *y<sup>e</sup>*, *the*, the *y* was merely a corruption of the Saxon *th*.

**Scholars** When a doubt is once received, men labour rather how to keep it a doubt still, than how to solve it, and they bend their wits accordingly. Of this we see the familiar example in lawyers and scholars, who if they have once admitted a doubt, it goeth ever afterwards authorised for a doubt. But that use of wit and knowledge is to be allowed, which laboureth to make doubtful things certain, and not those which labour to make certain things doubtful. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VII).

**Schoolmen** In the *Adv.*, and *De Aug.*, the schoolmen in particular are compared to the spider; a passage which has been misunderstood by a distinguished writer, whose judgments seem not infrequently to be as hastily formed as they are fluently expressed, and who conceives that Bacon intended to condemn the study of psychology.

**Sciences** Bacon paid great attention to astronomy, discussed carefully the methods in which it ought to be studied, constructed for the satisfaction of his own mind and elaborate theory of the heavens, and listened eagerly for the news from the stars brought by Galileo's telescope, he appears to have been utterly ignorant of the discoveries which had just been made by Kepler's calculations. He does not say a word about Napier's *Logarithms*; he complained that no considerable advance had been made in Geometry beyond Euclid, without taking any notice of what had been done by Archimedes and Apollonius; he speaks of the Eureka [*εὕρηκα*] of Archimedes in a manner, which implies that he did not clearly apprehend either the nature of the problem to be solved or the principles upon which the solution depended; in reviewing the progress of mechanics, he makes no mention either of Archimedes himself, or of Stevinus, Galileo, Guldinus, or Ghetaldus; he makes no allusion to the theory of Equilibrium. (Spedding).

**Scorners** When a man informs a scorner, the scorner himself despises the knowledge he has received. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VIII).

Scornful men scorn with gibes and jests, men of real wisdom, and experience, of great minds, and deep judgment. In short, they weaken all the foundations of civil government; a thing the more to be attended to, because the mischief is wrought, not openly, but by secret engines and intrigues; and the matter is not yet regarded by men with as much apprehension as it deserves. (*Ibid*).

**Screaming** Caused by an appetite of expulsion, as hath been said: for when the spirits cannot expel the thing that hurteth, in their strife to do it, by notion of consent they expel the voice. (Bacon, *Syl. Syl*).

**Second choice** A man ought to have one thing under another, as, if he cannot have that he seeketh in the best degree, yet to have it in a second. (Bacon, *Adv.*, 1603–05).

**Secondary qualities** All qualities of bodies, which result from the combination and mutual modification of the elementary and primary qualities. [Also see *Elementary qualities*.]

**Secret system** How far Bacon meant to keep his system secret or under what motive is still in question today. That the discretion anciently observed, though by the precedent of many vain



persons and deceivers abused, of publishing part and reserving part to a private succession, and of publishing in such a manner whereby it may not be to the taste or capacity of all, but shall as it were single and adopt his reader, is not to be laid aside; both for the avoiding of abuse in the excluded, and the strengthening of affection in the admitted. (Bacon, *Val. Term.*, Ch. 18).

To ascend further by scale I do forbear, partly because it would draw on the example to an over-great length, but chiefly because it would open that which in this work I determine to reserve. (Bacon, *Val. Term.*, Ch. 11).

And as Alexander Borgia was wont to say of the expedition of the French for Naples, that they came with chalk in their hands to mark up their lodgings, and not with weapons to fight; so I like better that entry of truth which cometh peaceable with chalk to mark up those minds which are capable to lodge and harbour it, than that which cometh with pugnacity and contention. (Bacon, *Adv.*).

Another diversity of method there is, [he is speaking of the different methods of tradition] which hath some affinity with the former, used in some cases by the discretion of the ancients, but disgraced since by the imposture of many vain persons, who have made it as a false light for their counterfeit merchandises; and that is, enigmatical and disclosed. The pretence whereof is to remove the vulgar capacities from being admitted to the secrets of knowledge, and to reserve them to selected auditors, or wits of such sharpness as can pierce the veil. (Bacon, *Adv.*).

He possibly meant to withhold the publication of his formula (secret system) as a subject too abstruse to be handled successfully except by the fit and few. (Spedding).

**Security** My meaning was plain and simple, that his Lordship might, through his great fortune, be less apt to cast, and foresee the unfaithfulness of friends, and malignity of enviers and accidents of times. Guicciardini maketh the same judgment, not of a particular person but of the wisest State of Europe, the Senate of Venice, when he saith their prosperity had made them secure, and underweighers of perils. (Bacon, *Letter to the King*, August 31, 1617).

**Serre** To join closely; *Fr*; serrer. Bacon has used it, and Milton certainly employs the participle *serried*, but it is supposed from to *serry*. This word was attempted to be introduced into a passage of Shakespeare's *Timon*, but without necessity or propriety.

**Self-lovers** Extreme self-lovers will set a man's house on fire, though it were but to roast their eggs. (Bacon, *Remains*).

**Seeming** He that is only real, had need have exceeding great parts of virtue as the stone had need to be rich that is set without foil. It doth add much to a man's reputation to have good forms. (Bacon, *Essay: III*).

**Shame** Causeth blushing, and casting down of the eyes. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv.*).

**Shew of Advancement** Towards the perfection of nature. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Ships** Of 1200 tons were rare in Bacon's time and he refers either to the *Prince Royal* built in 1610 by Phineas Pett, of Emanuel College, Cambridge; was 114 feet in length and the cross-beam 44 feet; or to the *Trade's-Increase* built in 1609. (Bacon, *Hist. Vent*). [Also see *Chariots with sails*.]

**Ships and boats for going under water** Bacon refers to Drebbel's inventions exhibited in 1620. (Bacon, *New Atlantis*).

**Sighing** Caused by the drawing in of a greater quantity of breath to refresh the heart that laboureth, like a great draught when one is thirsty. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*). [Also see *Sobbing*]

**Silence** Upon question whether a man show speak or forbear speech. (Bacon, *Promus* 1148).

Silence gives to words both grace and authority. (Bacon, *De Aug.* Bk. VI. Antitheta).

Sirence is the sleep which nourishes wisdom. Silence is the style of wisdom. Silence nourishes thought. (*Ibid*).

[On being charged with a fault] guard against a melancholy and stubborn silence, for this either turns the fault wholly upon you, or impeaches your inferior. (Bacon, *Adv.*, 1603–05).

**Silenced** Not talked of. (Bacon, *History of King Henry VII.*).

**Six and seven, or At sixes and sevens** That is, in a state of neglect and hazard. This odd phrase, which is still in use, has been fully exemplified by Johnson; and very admirably from Bacon, who jocularly changes it to *six and five*, in allusion to pope Sixtus the Fifth.

**Sloth** He who is sluggish, and defers everything to the last moment of execution, must needs walk every step, as it were, midst briers and thorns, which must catch and stop him. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VIII).

**Snaste** Same word as *snat*, which is given in Bailey's *Dictionary* as a North Country word for burnt wick or snuff. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Sneezing** Looking against the sun doth induce sneezing. The cause is not the heating of the nostrils; for then the holding up of the nostrils against the sun, though one wink, would do it; but the drawing down of the moisture of the brain; for it will make the eyes run with water: and the drawing of moisture to the eyes, doth draw it to the nostrils by motion of consent; and so followeth sneezing: as contrariwise, the tickling of the nostrils within, doth draw the moisture to the nostrils, and to the eyes by consent; for they also will water. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*; Aristotle, *Problems* XXXIII. 1).

**Soak or soake** Another form of the word *suck*. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Sobbing** Same as sighing stronger. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*). [Also see *Sighing*.]

**Social rank** Men of birth and quality will leave the practice when it comes so low as barbers, surgeons, butchers, and such base mechanical persons. (Bacon, *Speech on Dueling*).

**Solomon's House** In the *New Atlantis*, was a prophetic scheme of the Royal Society as Glanvill tells in his address to that body, prefixed to his *Scepsis Scientifica*, published in 1665. [Also see Part III: *New Atlantis*]

**Solyman's lesson** On the art of sieges; "Come close to me," said the Sultan, "but on your head be it if you tread on the carpet on which I sit." The vizier reflected for a while, then gradually rolling up the carpet, advanced close to his instructor. "All is said," resumed Solyman; "you know now how strong places are to be taken." (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI). A lesson given in relation to the siege of Rhodes in 1521.

**Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested.** (Bacon, *Essays: Of Studies*). It is a shame Bacon did not mention the titles of these books. But since Ben Jonson was one of Bacon's pen men, we may assume that Bacon had at least for the digesting books the same opinion as Jonson, "that Quintilian's books were not only to be read, but altogether digested." <sup>119</sup> [Also see Part III: *Ben's Journey to Scotland to Meet Drummond*].

**Sophisma** That which people praise is good, that which they blame is bad. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Soul's immortality** The doctrine of this is attributed to Aristotle and his followers, who are contrasted with the Platonists, as being *more immersed in the senses*. What Aristotle's opinion as to the immortality of the soul really was, is a question which when his philosophy began to be studied independently of the scholastic theology attracted great attention. In common with others who in his day professed themselves followers of the genuine Aristotelian philosophy, he obtained, perhaps not undeservedly, the reputation of holding irreligious opinions on this and on other questions. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. I).

**Soundness of direction** Prevent error. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Sounds** Move better downwards than upwards as been asserted by Aristotle. (Prob. XI. 45; Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

There be these differences in general by which sounds are divided: a. musical, immusical; b. treble, base; c. flat, sharp; d. soft, loud; e. exterior, interior; f. clean, harsh or purling; g. articulate, inarticulate. (Bacon, *Historia Soni et Auditus*).

**Spang** A spangle; this seems to have been the original word, being from the German *spange*. Ocs and *spangs*, as they are of no great cost, so they are of most glory. (Bacon).

**Specific gravities** [εὕρηκα]; eureka; of Archimedes related to the discovery of a method of determining the specific gravity of a body which could not be made *implere mensuram*. If he had had a crown of pure gold of the same size and form as the suspected one, he need only have

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<sup>119</sup> Drummond's *Conversations* 1619

weighed the one against the other; and if the latter were lighter, the question as to its being alloyed would have been settled. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. V).

Bacon refers to the discovery of Archimedes without distinguishing between his own inartificial method of determining specific gravities, which consisted in filing a measure with different substances and then weighing it, and that of Archimedes. (Bacon, *Historia Densi et Rari*).

**Speech** There are three kinds: (Bacon, *Med. Sac*)

1. Of those who, as soon as they get any subject matter, straightway make an art of it, fit it with technical terms, reduce all into distinctions, thence educe positions and assertions, and frame oppositions by questions and answer. Hence the rubbish and pother of the schoolmen. The first catches and entangles man's sense and understanding.
2. Of those who through vanity of wit, as a kind of holy poets, imagine and invent all variety of stories and examples, for the training and moulding of men's minds: when the lives of the fathers, and innumerable figments of the ancient heretics. The second allures.
3. Of those who fill everything with mysteries and high sounding phrases, allegories and allusions: which mystic and Gnostic style of discourse a great number of heretics have adopted. The third astonishes: all seduce it. [speech.]

**Speeches** Short speeches which fly abroad (are) like darts shot out of their secret intentions. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Seditions*).

Not a simple slander, but a seditious slander, like to that the Poet speaketh of *Calamosque armare veneno*. A venomous dart that hath both iron and poison. (Bacon, *Charge against St. John*).

Apophtegms are pointed speeches. (Bacon, *Apo.* Pref).

**Sperable** or **sparable** A small nail, such as are put into the shoes of rustics, and sometimes called *clouts*. Bacon uses *sperable*, as an adjective, derived from *spero*, in the sense of to be hoped for.

**Sperm** Of drunken men is unfruitful. The cause is, for that it is over moistened, and wanteth spissitude: and we have a merry saying, that they that go drunk to bed get daughters. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Sponges** Increase. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Spots in the sun** The nebula Præsepe in Cancer, and the one in the head of Orion, were the two first nebulæ ever resolved into distinct stars. Galileo gave figures of them as they appeared through his telescope in the *Sydericus Nuncius*. What Bacon goes on to say of spots in the sun is particularly interesting Galileo did not publish on the subject before 1613; so that Bacon's information was probably not derived from Galileo, though it is believed that Galileo's first observations were made in November 1610. The earliest account which is known to have been printed of these spots is that of Fabricius, whose father's interesting correspondence with Kepler was published in the 1800's. (Bacon, *Descriptio Globi Intellectualis*).

**Stamping** Caused by an imagination of the act of revenge. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Stars** When one counts the stars warts appear on their fingers.

Whether the stars are nourished, and likewise, whether they are increased, diminished, generated, and extinguished. (Bacon, *Intellectual Globe*).

There was one of the ancients indeed who with a plebeian kind of observation thought that the stars are nourished as fire is, and that they feed on the waters and ocean and moisture of the earth, and are repaired by vapours and exhalations. But this opinion does not seem worthy to supply matter for a question. (*Ibid*).

**Statua** A statue. *Lt.* This word was long used in English as a trisyllable, though statue was also employed. Bacon has it more than once in his *Essay 45*; and also in other places: It is not possible to have the true pictures or *statuaes* of Cyrus, Alexander, Caesar. (*Adv*). He speaks afterwards of the statua of Polyphemus. Hence Mr. Reed very justly remarked, that *statua* should be read in those passages of Shakespeare, where the dissyllable statue makes a defective verse.

For as Statuas and Pictures are dumb histories, so histories are speaking Pictures. Wherein, if my affection be not too great, or my reading too small, I am of this opinion, that if Plutarch were have to write lives by parallels, it would trouble him for virtue and fortune both to find for her a parallel amongst women. (Bacon, *Letter to the Lord Chancellor, referring to the deceased Queen Elizabeth*).

**Stay a little, that we may make an end the sooner** Amias Paulet's comment when he saw men hasten to a conclusion. (Bacon, *Essays: XXV*).

**Stellionate** Fraudulent dealing; a term of the Roman civil law, adopted in English only by Bacon. *Stellionatûs crimen*; of which a man was guilty, who sold or pledged as his own, what was the property of another: It discerneth of crimes of *stellionate*, and the inchoatious towards crimes capital, not actually committed. (Bacon). The word is not used in the English law, nor generally found in Dictionaries. Blount's *Glossographia* has it, with a reference to Bacon.

**Stickler** A moderator or umpire at a tournament, a wrestling match etc., appointed to see fair play and to part the combatant when they have fought enough; one who takes an active or busy part in contest; a factious, seditious or pragmatic contender.

**Still** A steep ascent; perhaps from *stigele*, a ladder, Saxon. It appears that Bacon has used still as a substantive for calmness, or quiet.

**Stone** They bring from the West Indies, hath a peculiar force to move gravel, and to dissolve the stone; insomuch as laid but to the wrist, it hath so forcibly sent down gravel, as men have been glad to remove it, it was so violent. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

A gentleman which had one of them here, the best of them that I have seen, having put it to his arm, he doth make him to expel and cast out much sand, that many times he doth take it

away, for that he thinketh that it doeth hurt him for to put out so much, and in taking it away he ceaseth to cast any from him. (Frampton). <sup>120</sup>

**Strachy** Occurs only in the following passage, which has much exercised conjectural ingenuity, though apparently hitherto in vain.

There is example for 't; the lady of the *Strachy*  
married the yeoman of the wardrobe.  
*Twelfth Night* Act. II, Sc. 5.

After various attempts of other commentators, Steevens conjectured that it should be read *starchy*, and explained it to mean *the laundry*. But no such word was ever seen in that sense; nor does it appear that it would make an apposite example of an unequal match, which is the thing required. Why the lady of the laundry should be so much superior to the yeoman of the wardrobe, is far from clear. <sup>121</sup>

**Strength** Athletic. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Studies** In studies, whatsoever a man commandeth upon himself, let him set hours for it; but whatsoever is agreeable to his nature, let him take no care for any set times; for his thoughts will fly to it of themselves; so as the spaces of other business or studies will suffice. A man's nature runs either to herbs or weeds; therefore let him seasonably water the one, and destroy the other. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Nature in Men*).

**Subjects traitors** In the edition of 1622 these words are printed "his subjects, traitors, are received," in the MS., there is no comma before or after traitors. And this expressed the intended construction better. (Bacon, *History of King Henry VII.*).

It is the same form with *merchants strangers*; for so it is written in the MS.; the double plural, without any comma between. So it was usual in Bacon's time to say *letters patents*; not *letters patent*. In the edition of 1622 *merchants stranger* is printed *merchant-strangers*. According to which rule subject traitors would be corrected into *subject-traitors*. The true modern equivalents would be *stranger-merchants* and *traitor-subjects*. (*Ibid*).

**Submarine** Bacon refers to the experiments exhibited by Drebbel in 1620. One of them was of a boat that would go under water. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. V). [Also see Part III: *New Atlantis*]

<sup>120</sup> *Joyfull Newes out of the newe founde Worlde*, fol. 19

<sup>121</sup> After various examples given of this word and its derivation by Robert Nares in his *The Works of English Authors*, Vol. II., 1888, it is stated, that "Lord Bacon's daughter married her gentleman-usher, Underhill; and, though she was not a countess, her birth was noble." Should this statement refer to Francis Bacon, as it is clear it does from the reference to the name "Underhill", then this eminent scholar of his time was in great error. Francis Bacon had no issue with Alice Barnham who married her gentleman usher (called Underhill) eleven days after Bacon died

**Substantia** In the school philosophy among the Realists, every substantial form (and the soul among the rest) was regarded as a *substance*. St. Thomas Aquinas affirms that angels are immaterial forms. Bacon's remark that the soul had hitherto been looked on rather as a function than a substance, refers to Melancthon's exposition of the Aristotelian doctrine. For Melancthon, whose views of the Peripatetic philosophy had long great influence in the Protestant Universities; he affirms that, according to the true view of Aristotle's opinion, the soul is not a substance but a function. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. IV).

**Subtility of spirit** Of the understanding. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Successions of winds** If the wind follows the motion of the sun, that is if it move from east to south, from south to west, from west to north, from north to east, it does not generally go back; or if it does, it is only for a short time. (Bacon, *History of Winds*). [Also see *Names of Winds*.]

**Suffering** This pain also was pleasant by comparison with the suffering of my neighbours. (Bacon, *Promus* 454 in imperfect Latin).

For as it savoureth of vanity to match ourselves highly in our own conceit, so, on the other side, it is a good, sound conclusion that if our betters have sustained the like events, we have the less cause to be grieved. In this kind of consolation I have not been wanting to myself. (Bacon, *Letter to Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester*, 1622).

**Suits** There is use also of ambitious men in pulling down the greatness of any subject that overtops. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Ambition*, 1625).

**Superstition** Superstitious narrations of sorceries, witchcrafts, dreams, divinations, and the like, where there is an assurance and clear evidence of the fact, be altogether excluded. For it is not yet known in what cases, and how far, effects attributed to superstition do participate of natural causes; and therefore howsoever the practice of such things is to be condemned, yet from the speculation and consideration of them light may be taken, not only for the discerning of the offences, but for the further disclosing of nature. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

It is thought that the sounds of bells will dispel lightnings and thunder. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Supposition** If things were as they might be. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Suspicion** Suspicions amongst thoughts are like bats amongst birds, they ever fly by twilight. (Bacon, *Essays: XXXI*).

**Swelling** Caused both by a dilatation of the spirits by over-heating, and by a liquefaction or boiling of the humours thereupon. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

## S (Latin)

**Salings** Saltpits; apophthegms. That you may extract salt out of, and sprinkle it where you will. They serve to be interlaced in continued speech. (Bacon, *Apo*).

**Sapiens corde appellabitur prudens, sed dulcis eloquio majora reperiet:** The wise in heart shall be called prudent, but he that is sweet of speech shall compass greater things. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Satis magnum alter alteri theatrum sumus** Each is to other a theatre large enough. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Scientia inflat** (Corinth. 8.1; Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. I).

**Scientiam dissimulando simulavit** An affectation of knowledge under pretence of ignorance. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Scilicet ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros** A true proficiency in liberal learning softens and humanises the manners. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Scrutari arcane imperii** Examine too deeply the mysteries of empire.

**Secreta Secretorum** Treatise ascribed in the Middle Ages to Aristotle. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Secundum exterius** Outwardly at least.

**Sed adhuc popullus non direxerat cor suum ad Dominum Deum patrum suorum:** But as yet the people had not turned their hearts towards the Lord God of their fathers. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Sed et cunctis sermonibus qui dicuntur ne accommodes aurem tuam, ne forte audias servum tuum maledicentem tibi:** Hearken not unto all words that are spoken, lest thou hear thy servant curse thee. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Sed plerumque regiae voluntates, ut vehementes sunt, sic mobiles, saepeque ipsae sibi adversae:** Royal desires, as they are violent, so are they changeable, and often incompatible with each other. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Senibus veneres mutantur in gratias** This idea has been expressed in a different form by Mr. Milnes: on that deep retiring shore, frequent pearls of beauty lie; where the passion-waves of yore, fiercely beat and mounted high. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI).

**Serpens Mosis** Serpents of the enchanters. *Err*; it should be the serpent of Aaron. (Ex. VII.12 & Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. I.; II.; *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Servatis legibus materiae** With a corresponding decrease of volume. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum IV).



**Si inæqualibus æqualia addas, omnia erunt inæqualia** If equals be added to unequals, the wholes will be unequal. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Sic probo** I prove it thus. (Bacon).

**Sic vos non vobis** So be it for you, though not for yours. (Bacon).

**Sine fraude** Without harm. (Bacon).

**Sodam** Soda; from the low Latin for a headache. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. V).

**Solus Vespasianus mutates in melius** Vespasian the only one of the emperors that changed for the better. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Specificatis** In things that have a specific character; In Bacon's time only certain things were supposed to belong to natural species, all others being merely elementary. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum VII.; *De Aug.*, II. 3).

**Speculum** Used by Bacon for the term *lens*. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XII).

Used by Bacon for *a glass* and appears from a corresponding passage in the *Adv.* This use of the word is sanctioned by the authority of C. Agrippa, who distinguished lenses from mirrors and called the former *specula perspicua*. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. III).

**Spiculi jactum** When archers try which can shoot further, they call it flight-shooting; the distance would be between 200 and 300 yards. (Bacon, *New Atlantis*).

Old double, according to Justice Shallow, would have "carried you a forehand shaft a fourteen and fourteen and half;" that is, 284 or 294 yards. (Shakespeare).<sup>122</sup>

**Spiraculum** Nature of the soul. Man's two souls that Bacon derived from the writings of Telesius. [Also see Part II: *Bouillet*; *Telesius Bernadino*.]

**Spiritus ejus ornavit cælos, et obstetricante manu ejus eductus est Coluber tortuosus:** By his spirit he hath garnished the heavens; his hand hath formed the crooked Serpent. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Splendet tremulo sub lumine pontus** Beneath the trembling light glitters the sea. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II.; *De Aug.*, Bk. III.; Virgil, *Æn.* VII. 9).

**State super vias antiquas, et videte quænam sit via recta et bona, et ambulate in ea:** Stand ye in the old ways, and see which is the good way, and walk therein. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Struthiones** Ostrich; also a term used to signify a sparrow. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XII).

**Suavibus modis** Smoothly. (Rawley).

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<sup>122</sup> *Henry IV.* Part II; Act 3; Sc 2

**Suavissima vita, indies sentire se fieri meliorem** To feel himself each day a better man than he was the day before. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Sub omni lapide latet anguis** A snake lurks under every stone. (Bacon).

**Summa Theologiæ** The dogmatic basis consists chiefly of spiritualising interpretations, sanctioned by the Fathers and especially by S Augustin, of certain texts of Scripture and of the supposed visions of Dionysius the Areopagite. The theory of the angelic nature (both in its first and in its fallen state) which the ingenuity of the schoolmen elaborated from these data, is a most remarkable instance of metaphysical creation; being no less than a determination of the conditions of thought and volition which exist among intelligences of a higher order than our own. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. III).

**Sylla potuit, ego non potero?** Sylla could do it, why not I? (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

## T (English)

**Tablemen** Part of some musical instrument. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv.*).

**Tables of the mind** Tables of the mind differ from common tables; you will scarcely wipe out the former records unless you shall have inscribed the new. (Bacon, *Redargutio Philosophiarum* (date unknown)).

**Tamarinds** An Indian fruit like green damasens. (Bacon, *Medical Remains*).

**Taylor's yard** Whose arrows as is reported, were in length a full yard. (Bacon, *History of King Henry VII*).

There is a question as to the length of the *cloth-yard shaft*, but *a full yard* must be taken, to mean thirty-six inches.

**Tears** Caused by a contraction of the spirits of the brain; which contraction by consequence astringeth the moisture of the brain, and thereby sendeth tears into the eyes. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv.*).

They are the effects of compression of the moisture of the brain, upon dilatation of the spirits. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv.*).

**Telepathy** Some trial should be made whether pact or agreement do anything; as if two friends should agree that on such a day in every week, they, being in far different places, should pray one for another, or should put on a ring or tablet, one for another's sake. (Bacon, *Natural History*, 1622–25).

**Telescope** Galileo often mentioned the attempt which many of the peripaticians made to set aside all arguments founded on his discoveries with telescope, by saying that they were mere optical delusions. Bacon had begun to doubt how far these observations could be trusted. He

believed that all the received theories of the heavens were full of error, as soon as he heard that by means of telescope men could really see so much further into the heavens than before, he was prepared to hear of a great number of new and unexpected phenomena; and his only fear was that the observers, instead of following out their observations patiently and carefully, would begin to form new theories. He wondered how it could be that men seeing so much further should be able to see so little more than they did, and began to suspect that it was owing to some defect either in the instrument or in the methods of observation. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XL).

**Terebration of trees** The terebration of trees not only makes them prosper better, but it maketh also the fruit sweeter and better. The cause is, for that, notwithstanding the terebration, they may receive aliment sufficient, and yet no more than they can well turn and digest. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv.*, 463).

It hath been practised in trees that show fair and bear not, to bore a hole through the heart of the tree, and thereupon it will bear. Which may be, for that the tree before hath too much repletion, and was oppressed with its own sap. (*Ibid.*, 428).

**Terrella** *Ital*; A word used by Gilbert to denote a spherical magnet. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XXXVI). [Also see Part II: *Gilbert*.]

**Thalassites** Wine so prepared was called *Thalassites*. It is reported by one of the ancients, that new wine put into vessels well stopped, and the vessels let down into the sea, will accelerate very much the making of them ripe and potable. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv.*).

**That is was like another man's ground battling upon his house, which might mend his prospect, but it did not fill his barn.** This was Bacon's saying upon having never conferred upon him any ordinary place or means of honour or profit in Queen Elizabeth I's reign, save only one dry reversion of the Register's Office in the Star Chamber, worth 1600*l. per annum*, for which he waited in expectation either fully or near twenty years; the reversion for which he considered himself indebted to Lord Burghley (1520–1598), was granted to him in October 1589; he succeeded to the office in July 1608; in the Latin version of *Resuscitatio*, Dr. Rawley adds that he administered it by Deputy. [Also see Chapter entitled *The Life of the Right Honourable Francis Bacon*.]

**That practice constantly applied to one thing often does more than either nature or art.** (Bacon, *De Aug.*; Cicero, *Pro Balbo*, c. 20).

Who taught the parrot to say how d'ye do? (Persius, *Prolog*).

**That the spirit of man being of an equal and uniform substance doth usually suppose and feign in nature a greater equality and uniformity than is in truth.** (Bacon, *Adv*).

**That which is forced is not forcible** (Bacon, *Col. Good & Evil*).

**The** This article was used in Bacon's time to denote notoriety. Any word when referred to as being defined and well known may of course be preceded by the article. Thus we frequently speak of "*the* air." Bacon however wrote, "The matter (the substance called matter) is in a perpetual flux." This abbreviation is also remarkably illustrated by Bacon in his third Essay. He first uses the abbreviated form, and then, with a verbal noun that could not so easily have a verbal force, he adopts the full form: "Concerning the Means of procuring Unity. Men must beware that in the Procuring or Muniting of Religious Unity, they do not dissolve and deface the Laws of Charity."

**The books which are written do in their kinds represent the faculties of the mind of man:** Poesy his imagination; Philosophy his reason; and History his memory. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk II).

**The Court** This Court is one of the sagest and noblest institutions of this Kingdom; and as the Chancery had the pretorian power for equity, so the Star Chamber had the censorian power for offences under the degree of capital. This Court is compounded of good elements for it consisteth of four kinds of persons counsellors, peers, prelates, and chief judges. It discerneth also principally of four kinds of causes forces, frauds, crimes various of stellionate, and the inchoations or middle acts towards crimes capital or heinous, not actually committed or perpetrated. (Bacon, *Life of Henry VII.*).

**The fool putteth to more strength, but the wise man considereth which way.** (Bacon, *Of the Interpretation of Nature*).

**The infant in the mother's womb is compatible with the mother, suffers together with the mother.** (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk II).

**The living die in the embraces of the dead.** (Bacon, *History of Life and Death*).

**The making of a beginning of anything is thought so great a matter.** Meaning well begun is half done. (Bacon, *De Aug*).

**The matter goeth so slowly forward that I have almost forgot it myself, so as I marvel not if my friends forget.** (Bacon, *Promus*).

**The most precious things have the most pernicious keepers.** (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk II).

**The nature of everything is best considered in the seed.** (Bacon, *Col. Good & Evil*).

**The only author I like is time.** (Bacon, *De Aug*).

**The organs of the senses are analogous to instruments, which produce reflection.** (Burton).

<sup>123</sup> [Also see Part II: *Burton Robert*.]

**The poetry of earth is never dead.** (Bacon, *De Sapientia Veterum*).

**The poets make Fame a monster.** (Bacon, *Fragment of an Essay of Fame*). [Also see Part IV: *Bacon's Works*.]

**The slightest loss of time should be accounted precious.** (Bacon, *History of Life and Death*).

**The smallest hair casts a shadow.** (Bacon, *Remains*).

**The sun and moon are eternal and faithful witnesses in the heaven.** (Bacon, *Intellectual Globe* & Ecclesiastes, I. 4).

**The support of a powerful and faithful friend is a surer protection than all manner of plots and tricks.** (Bacon, *De Aug.*).

**The turning of the cat in the pan** When that which a man says to another, he lays it as if another had said it to him. (Bacon, *Essays: XXII*).

**The ways of sapience are not much liable either to particularity or chance** Neither confined to particular methods, nor liable to be defeated by accidental obstructions. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Theory of exchanges** Bacon, as with the Peripatetics, cold is not the negation of heat; it is something positive, the opposite of heat, and not merely its absence. Prevost's experiment, in which two concave mirrors are placed opposite to one another with a piece of ice in the focus of the one and a thermometer in that of the other, shows that the effect apparently due to the radiation of cold may be made more intense in the manner which Bacon suggests: the real explanation of the phenomenon depends upon the theory of exchanges. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. V).

**Theory of the lever** Mercurial barometer; the first part of this inquiry relates as well understood in Bacon's time, that of the siphon, inasmuch as it depends on the idea of atmospherical pressure, was then unknown, and could not be established until this idea was introduced by Torricelli. The experiment which bears his name, and which was in effect the construction of a mercurial barometer, corresponds in the history of physics to the invention of the telescope in that of astronomy. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. V).

**Thou stand'st as though a mystery thou didst.** (Jonson).<sup>124</sup>

**Thrasonical behaviour** He was of an insolent thrasonical disposition. (Bacon, *Charge against Somerset*, 1616).

**Thunder** Upon the noise of thunder, and great ordinance, glass windows will shake; and fishes are thought to be frayed with the motion caused by noise upon the water. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv.*).

Similarly it has been observed that discharge of artillery is injurious to lobsters. (Spedding).

<sup>124</sup> Jonson Ben. *Ode on Bacon's Sixtieth Birthday*

**Thus the loss of an eye is harder for a man with only one eye than for a man with two.** (Bacon, *De Aug*).

**Time** Is like a river which carrieth down things which are light and blown up, and sinketh and drowneth that which is sad and weighty. (Bacon, *Of the Interpretation of Nature*).

Time is like a river, which has brought down to us things light and puffed up, while those which are weighty and solid have sunk. (Bacon, *In. Mag*).

Chronicles, the most complete and absolute kind of history and hath most estimation and glory. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

If time give the advantage, what needeth precipitation to extreme remedies? But if time will make the case more desperate, then (one) cannot begin too soon. (Bacon, *Letter to Sir J. Villiers*, 1616).

Use the advantage of your youth, and be not sullen to your fortunes. (*Gesta Grayorum*).

That which I knew then, such as took a little poor advantage of these latter times, I know since. (Bacon, *Letter to Mr. Matthews*, 1620).

When he [Popham] was Speaker and the House of Commons had sat long and done in effect nothing, coming one day to Queen Elizabeth, she said to him, "Now Mr. Speaker what hath passed in the Commons House?" He answered, "If it please your Majesty, seven weeks." (Bacon, *Apo*).

**Timon's tree** There be many that make it their practice to bring men to the bough, and yet have never a tree for the purpose in their gardens. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Goodness and Goodness of Nature*, 1607–12).

In the second edition of Bacon's *Essays* (1612), the above extract appears as follows: "There be many misanthropi [half-men] that make it their practice to bring men to the bough, and yet have never a tree for the purpose in their gardens, as Timon had." The author of *Timon of Athens* derived his knowledge of this circumstance, not from Plutarch, but from Lucian, the Greek writer from whose *Dialogues* Plutarch himself copied it.

**To** As regards taking any penalty. We still say, "I fear to do it," where "to" has no meaning of purpose; but Bacon wrote, "Young men care not *to* innovate." (Bacon, *Essays*).

But on this condition, that she should follow him, and he not *to* follow her. (Bacon, *Adv.*, L. 284).

The punishment was, that they should be put out of commons and not *to* be admitted to the table of the gods. (Bacon, *Adv.*, L. 260).

That we make a stand upon the ancient way, and look about us and discover what is the straight and right way, and so *to* walk in it. (Bacon, *Essays*).

**To leave the observations and conclusions thereupon to the liberty and faculty of every man's judgment.** (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**To me, it seemeth best to keep way with *antiquity usque ad aras*, and therefore to retain the ancient terms, though I sometimes alter the uses and definitions.** (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Tobacco** A thing of great price, if it be in request: of an acre of it will be worth two hundred pounds by the year towards charge. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*). The price in Bacon's time of tobacco was about 3s. 9d. a pound. In 1577 John Frampton, a merchant who had long resided at Seville and also translated Marco Polo, published a translation of the *Historia Medicinal* of Nicolas Monardes under the title of *Joyfull Newes out of the Newe founde Worlde*, which gives a good account of all its most valuable vegetable productions. This must have been a notable revelation, but Shakespeare wholly ignores it. Even to tobacco he makes no allusion. This is the more remarkable as Bacon (*History of Life and Death*, 305) says: "Tobacco in our age is immediately grown into use." Elsewhere (*Sylva Sylvarum*, 184) he describes the cultivation as extremely profitable, but notices that "English Tobacco hath small credit, as being too dull and earthy". This shows a cultivated taste. He discusses the remedy and comes very near the truth in finding it in heat.

**Topics in Bacon's Philosophical Works.** See Part III for the complete table derived from the *Works of Francis Bacon*, collected and edited by James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis, and Douglas Denon Heath, in fifteen volumes, printed by Taggard and Thompson, 1886.

**Toxophilus** A work written in 1554, during Roger Ascham's residence at the University of Cambridge, and seems, in addition to other ends, to have been intended as an apology for the zeal with which he studied and practiced the ancient, but now forgotten art of archery as a means of recreation. His great attachment to the exercise, and the time spent upon it were considered unbecoming the character of a grave scholar and teacher. [Also see Part II: *Ascham Roger*.]

**Tranquility** Certainly in all delay and expectation to keep the mind tranquil and steadfast, by the good composure of the same, I hold to be the chief firmament of human life; but such tranquillity as depends upon hope I reject, as light and unsure. (Bacon, *Meditations Sacrae*).

**Transmutation of plants** Most possibly related to modern cloning.

One into another, is *inter magnalia naturæ*: for the transmutation of species is, in the vulgar philosophy, pronounced impossible; and certainly it is a thing of difficulty, and requireth deep search into nature; but seeing there appear some manifest instances of it, the opinion of impossibility is to be rejected, and the means thereof to be found out. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Travel** In the younger sort is part of education; in the elder, a part of experience. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Travel & Advice to Rutland*).

When a traveller returneth home let his travel rather appear in his discourse than in his apparel and gestures; let it not appear that he doth change his country manners for those of foreign parts. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Travel*).

**Trepidation** Alphonsine astronomers refer to it as a motion by which they imagined the starry heaven to be affected, and in virtue of which its equinoxes described small circles of nine degrees radius about those of the ninth or next superior orb. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XLVIII).

**Trinity College, Cambridge** Bacon educated and sent by his father in April 1573 at the age of thirteen. He was absent from the College from the latter end of August 1574 till the beginning of March, while the plague raged and left the College at Christmas in 1575 being sixteen years old. (Whitgift).<sup>125</sup>

**Triumph** A trump at cards; *Fr*; triomphe, from which the present word, *trump*, is corrupted. A triumph meant also a public show or exhibition; such as a masque, pageant, procession. Bacon, describing the parts of a palace, says, of the different sides: "The one for feasts and *triumphs*, and the other for dwelling." (*Essay*: 45).

**True history vs Poetry** Therefore, because the acts or events of true history have not that magnitude which satisfieth the mind of man, poetry feigneth acts and events greater and more heroical; because true history propoundeth the successes and issues of actions not so agreeable to the merits of virtue and vice; therefore poetry feigns them more just in retribution, and more according to revealed providence; because true history representeth actions and events more ordinary and less interchanged, therefore poetry endueth them with more rareness, and more unexpected and alternative variations. So it appeareth that poetry serveth and conferreth to magnanimity, morality, and to delectation. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk II).

**Trunks** Telescopes as originally known. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Truth** Is more easily extricated from error than from confusion. (Bacon, *Adv*).

*What is Truth?* said jesting Pilate; and would not stay for an answer. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Truth*).

Truth may perhaps come to the price of a pearl, that sheweth best by day; but it will not rise to the price of a diamond or carbuncle, that sheweth best in varied lights. (*Ibid*).

It is heaven upon earth, to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in providence, and turn upon the poles of truth. (*Ibid*).

Human nature is too weak to be true to the nature of things, let them then at least be true to itself. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Antitheta).

**Turk** When a Prince among the Khazars was made Khakan, he was strangled with a piece of taffeta, and asked, when he could scarcely breathe, how long he had to reign. He answered so many years; and if he reached the term, was then put to death. (Klaproth).<sup>126</sup>

Bacon alludes, particularly when using this word, to a memorable and then recent instance of a practise as follows: Mahomet III., on becoming Sultan in 1595, put to death nineteen of his brothers and ten or twelve women supposed to be with child by his father. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk III).

**Two souls** We now come to the doctrine of the human soul. It has two parts; the one treating of the rational soul, which is divine; the other of the irrational, which we have in common with the brutes. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, 1622).

<sup>125</sup> *British Magazine*, Vol. XXXII., p. 365, and XXXIII, p. 444

<sup>126</sup> *Tableaux Hist. De l'Asie*, p. 273



## T (Latin)

**Taedium vitæ** Considered by the Romans in the time of the Emperors a reasonable and legally sufficient motive for suicide appears from the *Digest III. 2.11.2.*, from the *Codex IX. 50. 1.*, and from several other texts; the burden of life being most felt in an advanced state of corrupt civilization. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VII).

**Talis quum sis, utinam noster esses** They are so good that I wish they were on our side. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Tanquam ansae** According to occasion.

**Tanquam aranea texens telam** (Bacon, *Promus*). A proverb similar is found taken from Erasmus who derived it from Plutarch, *De Osiride* who applies the comparison to poets and orators. Neither in his use of it or of Erasmus is there anything to countenance the interpretation, which Cousin had given of Bacon's meaning that he intended to throw discredit on the study of psychology. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. I). [Also see Part IV: *Bacon's Works*.]

**Tanquam imperfecte mista** Things imperfectly compounded. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Tanquam tabula naufragii** Like the planks of a shipwreck. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Tantum series juncturaque, pollet tantum de medio sumptis accedit honoris**: The arrangement and connexion and joining of the parts has so much effect. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Telis, Phœbe, tuis lacrymas ulciscere nostras** O Phœbus, with thy shafts avenge these tears. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Temere et inæqualiter a rebus abstracta** Rashly and irregularly abstracted from their objects.

**Tempus omnia terminat** Time does all. (Whitney). <sup>127</sup> [Also see Part III: *Alciati and Whitney*; *Alciati's Emblem 45*, *Whitney's Emblem 5*.]

**Terram Piscationis** Newfoundland. (Bacon, *Hist. Vent*).

**Thermometer** An invention ascribed to Bacon; vitrum calendare. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XII). Fludd [*Ltn*: Fluctibus] was the first to publish an account of the thermometer. [Also see Part II: *Fludd Robert*.] In Viviani's *Life of Galileo*, it is said that Galileo invented the thermometer between 1593 and 1597.

**Tolerare jugum in juventute meâ** To endure the yoke during my youth.

**Traditio Lampadis** The Greek torch race; each side had a lighted torch; they were so arranged that each bearer, as he began to slacken, handed it to another who was fresh, and the side whose torch first reached the goal, still alight, was the winner. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*)

Alluding to the transmission of the lighted torch from one to another in the Greek torch-race. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II). [Also see *Ad filios*.]

**Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento, Hæ tibi erunt artes** Be thin, O Rome, with arts of government to rule the nations. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Typhone** A name given to hurricanes of the China seas has only an accidental resemblance to the Greek word *typhon*, *τύφων*, and is a corruption of the Chinese phrase Tæ-Foong, meaning "Great Wind." (Bacon, *Hist. Vent.*)

## U (English)

**Uniformity** Philosophers have sought in all things to make mens' minds too uniform and harmonical, not breaking them to contrary motions and extremes. But men should rather imitate the wisdom of jewellers, who if there be a cloud, or a grain or an ice in a jewel, which may be ground forth without taking too much of the stone, they remove it: otherwise they will not meddle with it. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VII).

**University reform** That which Peter Ramus addressed to Charles the Ninth; it related chiefly to the expenses arising from fees, to the neglect of the civil law which had always been coldly regarded at Paris, and to the trifling manner in which the scholastic disputations were conducted. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. I).

**Use** Mens' deeds are as they have been accustomed in languages the tongue is more pliant the points more supple in youth than afterwards; late learners cannot so well take the ply except it be in minds that have not suffered themselves to fit. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Custom*).

**Uttered** Put into circulation. (Bacon).

## U (Latin)

**Ubi eadem ratio, eadem dispositio** Where by the same reason, the same arrangement.

**Ultra posse non est esse** It would be impossible to do more. (Bacon). <sup>128</sup> [Also see Part III: *Bacon's Pedigree*.]

**Universi** [κόσμος]; universe. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XLIX).

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<sup>128</sup> Bacon Nicholas. Poem to Anne Bacon (1557–58)

**Usque ad aras** As far as may be without violating higher obligations. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Usus uni rei deditus et naturam et artem sæpe vincit** Practice applied constantly to one thing will often do more than either nature or art can. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Ut varias usus meditando extunderet artes Paulatim** That practice with meditation might by degree hammer out the arts. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

## V (English)

**Vacuum** Bacon's mind was in a curious state of vacillation regarding the theory of a vacuum in nature. At first he thought that the atoms of which a body is composed must vibrate in a vacuum, as he could not otherwise conceive how bodies contract and expand. This was in 1603. In 1620, when he published the *Novum Organum*, he said he was in doubt on the subject; but three years later we find him distinctly and emphatically rejecting the theory of a vacuum, whether applied to bodies in space or to the internal constitution of bodies.

**Vain** Vain glorious persons are ever factious, liars, inconstant, extreme. Thraso is Gnaso's prey. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Antitheta).

Glorious (or boastful) men are the scorn of wise men, the admiration of fools, the idols of parasites, and the slaves of their own vaunts. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Vain Glory*).

**Vast** From *vastus* (kindred with *vacuus*), empty, waste. Because their excursions into the limits of physical causes hath bred a *vastness* [vacancy] and solitude in that tract. (Bacon, *Adv.*).

**Vengeance** Vndictive persons live the life of witches; who, as they are mischievous, so end they infortunate. (Bacon, *Essays: IV*).

**Vanity** Dispositions that have in them some vanity are readier to undertake the care of the commonwealth. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Antitheta).

**Venus Apellis** *Err*; Helen of Zeuxis. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI).

**Vices of authority** Are chiefly four: (Bacon, *Essays: XI*)

1. Delays: give easy access; keep times appointed; go through with that which is in hand, and interlace not business but of necessity.
2. Corruption: do not only bind thine own hands or thy servants' hands from taking, but bind the hands of suitors also from offering.
3. Roughness: a needless cause of discontent.
4. Facility: avoid not only the fault, but the suspicion.

**Vindication** What Hallam left dark and Campbell foul should be cleansed as soon as may be from dust and stain. It is our due. One man only set aside, our interest in Bacon's fame is greater

than in that of any Englishman who ever lived. We cannot hide his light, we cannot cast him out. For good, it be good, for evil, if it must be evil, his brain has passed into our brain, his soul into our souls. We are part of him; he is part of us; inseparable as the salt and sea. The life he lived has become our law. If it be true that the Father of Modern Science was a rogue and cheat, it is also most true that we have taken a rogue and cheat to be our god. (Dixon).<sup>129</sup>

**Virtue** Is nothing but inward beauty; beauty nothing but outward virtue. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Antitheta).

A long course is better than a short one for everything, even for virtue. Without a good space of life a man can neither finish, nor learn, nor repent. (*Ibid*).

For which of the good works do you stone me? (Bacon, *Promus*, 1594–96).

Praise is the handmaid of virtue. (*Ibid*).

We should both seek and love virtue for itself, and not for praise; for, as one said, it is a shame for him that woos the mistress to court the maid, for praise is the handmaid of virtue. (Bacon, *Letter to Rutland*, 1596).

**Vivisection** The practice of vivisection, and trial of drugs on living organisms can be traced back to a very early period; but until Harvey resorted to it in order to demonstrate the circulation of the blood, knowledge of the subject was confined to a very limited circle of physiologists. It was on this account that Harvey has been called the Father of Vivisection. And yet it seems that Bacon and Shakespeare had both investigated it before Harvey's experiments became public, and were fully aware of the beneficent effects claimed in its behalf. "To speak, therefore, of medicine, and to resume that we have said, ascending a little higher." (Bacon).

**Vocabulary** A common farm laborer in England uses, it is said, five hundred words. The average educated business man, three thousand. A writer, like Thackeray, five thousand. The great poet, scholar and publicist, John Milton, used seven thousand. According to Professor George L. Craik, a recognized authority in this branch of science, the author of the Shakespeare plays and poems used twenty-one thousand (inflectional forms not counted). This is admitted to have been the largest vocabulary ever possessed by any individual of the human race. The extent of Bacon's vocabulary has not been definitely ascertained, but "a Dictionary of the English language might be compiled from Bacon's works alone." (Johnson). We are certain that it was immense, probably the greatest, with one exception (if it be an exception), ever known. Bacon made a study of comparative philology in order to show, as he said, "in what points each language excels and in what it fails, so that not only may languages be enriched by mutual exchanges, but also the several beauties of each be combined and thus made to constitute a model of speech itself."

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<sup>129</sup> William Hepworth Dixon of the Inner Temple

## V (Latin)

**Vacuum coacervatum** Clear empty space. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XLVIII).

**Vacuum permistum** Vacuum diffused through the interstices of any portion of matter. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XLVIII).

**Vehicula scientiæ** Carriers of knowledge. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Vehiculum formæ** Carries the form. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XXIII.; *Adv.*, Bk. II).  
Actuates the potential existence of the form in the subject matter.

**Vena porta** Gate-vein; the metaphor is historically curious; for no one would have used it since the discovery of the circulation of the blood and of the lacteals. But in Bacon's time it was supposed that the chyle was taken up by the veins, which converge to the *vena porta*. (Bacon, *Essays: XIX*).

Being a King that loved wealth and treasure, he could not endure to have trade sick, nor any obstruction to continue in the *gate-vein*, which disperseth that blood. (Bacon, *Hist. Henry VII*).

**Veni in nomine Patris, nec recipitis me; si quis venerit in nomine suo, eum recipietis:** I have come in my Father's name, and ye receive me not; if one come in his own name, him ye will receive. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Verba ista sunt senum otiosorum** It is the talk of old men that have nothing to do. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Verba sapientum tanquam aculei, et tanquam clavi in altum defixi** The words of the wise are as goads, and as nails fixed deep in. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Verbera sed audi** Strike me if you will, only hear me. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Verborum minutiis rerum frangit pondera** That he broke up the weight and mass of the matter by verbal points and niceties. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Vere magnum, habere fragilitatem hominis, securitatem dei** It is true greatness to have in one the frailty of a man and the security of a God. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Versatile ingenium** A wit that could turn well; if a man look sharply and attentively he shall see fortune, for though she be blind, yet she is not invisible. (Bacon, *Essays: XL*).

**Verum hæc et omnia mala pariter cum honore precunæ desinent; si neque magistratus, neque alia vulgo cupienda, venalia erunt:** But these and all other evils will cease as soon as the worship of money ceases; which will come to pass when neither magistracies nor other things that are objects of desire to the vulgar shall be to be had for money. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Vestigiorum** This application of the word *vestigia* is constantly made by the schoolmen.

**Victorque volentes per populos dat jura, viamque affectat Olympo** Moving in conquest onward, at his will to willing peoples he gives laws, and shapes through worthiest deeds on earth his Court to Heaven. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. I).

**Video meliora, proboque; deteriora sequor** Whereby they who not only see the better course, but approve it also, nevertheless follow the worse. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Viderit successus** The result will show. (Bacon).

**Vidi cunctos viventes qui ambulant sub sole, cum adolescente secundo qui consurgit pro eo:** I beheld all the living which walk under the sun, with the second youth that shall stand in his place. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Vidisti virum velocem in opere suo? Coram regibus stabit, nec erit inter ignobiles:** Seest thou a man that is quick in his business? He shall stand before Kings; his place shall not be among mean men. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Vincenda est omnis fortuna ferendo** All fortune may be overcome by endurance or suffering. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Vincenda est omnis natura ferendo** All nature may be overcome by suffering. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Vinculum** Bond. (Bacon).

**Vir sapiens si cum stulto contenderit, sive irascatur sive rideat, non inveniet requiem:** A wise man if he contend with a fool, whether he be angry or whether he laugh, shall find no rest. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Vis unita fortior** Combined forces are stronger. (Bacon).

**Viscerum pensilitas** Not being supported from below, but merely hanging from their attachments. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. IV.; *Syl. Sylv.* 733).

**Vita brevis, ars longa** Life is short and art is long. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Vita sine proposito languida et vaga est** Life without an object to pursue is a languid and tiresome thing. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

## W (English)

**War** A civil war indeed is like the heat of a fever, but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise, and serves most of all to keep the body in health. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VIII).

**Weight in air and water** Bacon derived this method of weighing in air and water from Porta, who in his *Natural Magic* speaks of it as so great a thing as to entitle him to say *ὑπερέυρηκα*, *Grk*; [over found, over found] referring of course to the story of Archimedes. (Bacon, *Medical Remains*).

**What a wonderful thing**, for example, is that which is told of Cæsar, that he could dictate to five secretaries at once. (Bacon, *De Aug*).

**What is Truth?** Said jesting Pilate; and would not stay for an answer. (Bacon, *Essays: Of Truth*).

**Whereof** Of whom nevertheless. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Whetstone** To give the whetstone, as a prize for lying. This was a standing jest among our ancestors, as a satirical premium to him who told the greatest lie. This explains the force of Bacon's sarcasm, who, when Sir Digby boasted of having seen the Philosophers Stone in his travels, but was puzzled to describe it, interrupted him, saying, "Perhaps it was a *Whetstone*."

**Whipping** Was the common penalty, inflicted upon insane people, in Bacon's time, even so good a man as Sir Thomas More sent women who were acknowledged to be insane to the whipping post before he was himself put to death. The author of the Shakespeare dramas also approved of this punishment. And so did Bacon. One of Bacon's most intimate friends on the continent, one whom he delighted to visit at his home in Geneva, was Theodore Beza. Beza, the ruler of the theocratic state of Geneva during nearly the whole of Elizabeth's reign, entertained many young Englishmen or Scotchmen, who were studying theology. Among Beza's Elizabethan guests was Anthony Bacon, brother of Francis Bacon, who afterwards sojourned in the South of France for as long a period as twelve years (1579-91). Beza was especially severe against those who believed insanity to be a natural malady, and declared: "Such persons are refuted both by sacred and profane history."

**Whosoever seeketh, knoweth that which he seeketh for in a general notion; else how shall he know it when he hath found it.** (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

The larger your anticipation is, the more direct and compendious is your search. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Why should a few received authors stand up like Hercules' Columns** Beyond which there should be no sailing or discovering, since we have so bright and benign a star to conduct and prosper us? (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II).

**Why should I be angry with a man for loving himself better than me?** (Bacon, *Essays: IV*).

**Wicked** There is great danger in the reproof of the wicked. For not only will the wicked man lend no ear to advice, but turns again on his reprover, whom being now made odious to him, he either directly assails with abuses, or afterwards traduces to others. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VIII).

**Will** Example transformeth the will of man into the similitude of that which is much observant and familiar towards it. (Bacon, *Discourse of the Intellectual Powers*).

He had rather have his will than his wish. (Bacon, *Promus*, fol. 84).

**Winding staircase** All rising to great place is by a winding stair. (Bacon, *Essays: XI*).

**Winds** Their names used by Bacon may be found in Pliny, (II. 44), except *Iapyx* for which is to be found in Seneca, *Nat. Quæst.* V., 17. (Bacon, *Hist. Vent*). The origin of winds is told by Bacon and refers to one story by Oviedo in 1535, that a vessel in 1484 going from Spain to England was driven out of its course so far as to reach the West Indies; that on their return home all the crew, which had been reduced to the pilot and three or four sailors, were sick, and shortly afterwards died; that the pilot died in the house of Columbus, and that from him Columbus obtained exclusive possession of the discovery, which had been accidentally made. (Ramusios).<sup>130</sup>

**Wise** One of the philosophers was asked, "What a wise man differed from a fool?" He answered, "Send them both naked to those that know them not, and you shall perceive." (Bacon, *Apo.* 5355).

A wise son rejoiceth the father, but an ungracious son shames the mother. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Parents and Children*). Taken from the Proverbs X. 1: "A wise son makes a glad father, but a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother."

Here are distinguished the domestic comforts and tribulations of a father and mother respectively, touching their children. For a wise and prudent son is of most comfort to the father, who knows the value of virtue better than the mother, and accordingly has more joy in the virtuous inclination of his son; he may feel a satisfaction also in the course he has pursued, whereby he has brought up his son so well and implanted sound morality in him by precept and example. But the mother has most sorrow and discomfort at the ill fortune of her son, both because the affection of a mother is more gentle and tender, and because she is conscious perhaps that she has spoiled and corrupted him by her indulgence. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VIII., pp. 243–244).

**Wit** The honourablest part of talk is to give the occasion. (Bacon, *Essay: Of Discourse*).

**Wonder** Causeth astonishment or an immoveable posture of the body; casting up of the eyes to heaven; and lifting up of the hands. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Words** There are many forms which, though they mean the same, yet affect differently, as the difference is great in the piercing of that which is sharp and that which is flat though the strength of the percussion be the same. Certainly there will be no man who will not be more affected by hearing it said, "Your enemies will be glad of this" than by hearing it said only, "This will be evil for you." Therefore these points and stings of words are by no means to be neglected. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI.; *Promus* 1,418, 725).

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130 Ramusios. *Collection of Voyages*, 1606, Vol. III. p. 1a., & p. 64. c



**Work any man** You must either know his nature and fashions, and so lead him; or his ends, and so persuade him; or his weakness and disadvantages, and so awe him; or those that have interest in him, and so govern him. (Bacon, *Essays: XLVII*).

**Wooring** Fortune has somewhat of the nature of a woman, who, if she be too much wooed, is commonly the farther off. (Bacon, *Adv*).

**Writing for the future** I must confess my desire to be that my writings should not court the present time, or some few places, in such sort as might make them either less general to persons, or less permanent in future ages. (Bacon, *Letter to Sir Toby Matthew*, 1609).

## X (English)

**Xylobalsamo** *Grk*; ξυλοβάλαμο; technical name of the twigs of the tree which yields the balm of Gilead. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XLIV).

## Y (Latin)

**Yersina pestis** The plague, formerly known as *Pasteurella pestis*, now named after Yersin who first described it in 1894.

**Youth** There is implanted in youth contempt for authority of age; so every man must grow wise at his own cost. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Antitheta).

## Z (English)

**Zeal** They that err from zeal, though we cannot approve them, yet we must love them. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. VI. Antitheta).

Zeal, affection, alacrity. Impatience a zeal and good affection. "I can do all things through Him that strengthened me. (Bacon, *Promus* 1,242).

**Zoroaster system** At one time the subject of almost as many idle fancies as the philosophy of Hermes Trismegistus. The first idea of the connexion between the Persian magic and the art of government was suggested by the circumstance mentioned in the *Alcibiades* of Plato, that the princes of Persia were by the same persons instructed in politics and in magic. (Bacon, *De Aug.*, Bk. III).



## A Finding List:

### Part II. Bacon's Acquaintances, Friends, Companions, Colleagues

In this section, it was felt the need to contain all persons referred to in Bacon's works, speeches, and letters who were his acquaintances, friends, or companions.

They are given a well deserved synoptic yet understandable biography. This way, all references noted to persons mentioned by Bacon would be well understood to why he referred to them, and under what circumstances they surrounded his lifestyle. In continuation to these synoptic biographies, are their works either in a detailed account or in a synoptic form after each individual biography.

Where no additional information is added to those works, is due to the lack of historical records, which is believed to be more and more noted to modern researchers on the history of those times and especially when compiling such a volume as this one.

A jesty note from Edmund Burke will end the introduction to this part: "Strip majesty of its externals and it is merely a jest." [(m)ajest(y).]

## A

**Abbot George** (1562–1633) Archbishop of Canterbury. He was educated at Guildford Grammar School and Balliol College, Oxford. His servant was called Old Nightingale “and weeps when he talks of him”. (Aubrey).

**Abbott A. Edwin, D.D.** (1838–1926) eldest son of Edwin Abbott (1808–1882), headmaster of the Philological School, Marylebone, and his wife, Jane Abbott (1806–1882). His parents were first cousins. Edwin A. Abbott was educated at the City of London School and at St John’s College, Cambridge, where he took the highest honours in classics, mathematics and theology, and became fellow of his College. In 1862 he took orders. After holding masterships at King Edward’s School, Birmingham, and at Clifton College, he succeeded G.F. Mortimer as headmaster of the City of London School in 1865 at the early age of twenty-six. Here he oversaw the education of future Prime Minister H. H. Asquith. He was Hulsean lecturer in 1876. He retired in 1889 and devoted himself to literary and theological pursuits. Dr. Abbott’s liberal inclinations in theology were prominent both in his educational views and in his books. His *Shakespearian Grammar* (1870) is a permanent contribution to English philology. In 1885 his works on Francis Bacon were published. His theological writings include three anonymously published religious romances: *Philochristus* (1878), *Onesimus* (1882), and *Sitanus* (1906). More weighty contributions are the anonymous theological discussion: *The Kernel and the Husk* (1886), *Philomythus* (1891), his book *The Anglican Career of Cardinal Newman* (1892), and his article *The Gospels* in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, embodying a critical view which caused considerable stir in the English theological world. He also wrote *St Thomas of Canterbury, his Death and Miracles* (1898), *Johannine Vocabulary* (1905), *Johannine Grammar* (1906), and his *Flatland* was published in 1884. [Also see Part IV: *Author’s who published Bacon’s Works*]

**Alciati Andrea** (b. May 8, 1492–d. 1550) Born in Alzate, near Milan, whence his cognomen. His family moved to Milan in 1504, and, between 1507 and 1514, he went to Pavia and Bologna to study law. In 1516, at age twenty-four, the University of Ferrara granted him a doctorate in civil and canon law, and he then practiced jurisprudence in Pavia and Bologna. Soon renowned for his intellectual acumen, in 1518 he was invited to teach in France, where he took up his first academic post in the papal city of Avignon. Equally fluent in Latin and Greek, he regularly corresponded with notable European humanists, the likes of Desiderius Erasmus in Rotterdam and Konrad Peutinger in Augsburg. In 1521, he was made a Palatine Count by Pope Leo X. Although the prestige he enjoyed in France was enormous, he was driven to return to his homeland in 1522. Unfortunately, for the next four years northern Italy was to become the battle ground between Charles V., and Francois I., for dominion over Milan, so Alciati reluctantly left Italy in 1527 to take up academic posts in Avignon and, later, in Bourges. In 1533, he was recalled to Milan by Duke Francesco Sforza II. Back in Italy, besides teaching at Pavia, Bologna and Ferrara, Alciati worked tirelessly to re-establish political harmony, and Pope Paul II., appointed him an apostolic

first notary. At the age of fifty-seven, covered with honours, he died in Pavia on January 12, 1550. His posthumously published (1582) writings on the interpretation of laws filled two volumes.

**Allen Thomas** (1542–1632) He was described by Fuller as having succeeded to the skill and scandal of Friar Roger Bacon. He was generally acquainted, and every long vacation he rode into the country to visit his old acquaintance and patrons, to whom his great learning, mixed with much sweetness of humour, rendered him very welcome. One time being at the home of Lacy in Herefordshire, at Mr. John Scudamore's (grandfather to the Lord Scudamore) he happened to leave his watch in the chamber window. The maids came in to make the bed, and hearing a thing in a case cry tick, tick, tick, presently concluded that that was his devil, and took it by the string with the tongues, and threw it out of the window into the mote to drown the devil. It so happened that the string hung on a sprig of an elder that grew out of the mote, and this confirmed them that it was the devil. So the good old gentleman got his watch again. (Aubrey).

**Agrippa Cornelius** (1486–1535) born at Cologne. His best-known work, the treatise *De Incertudine et Vanitate Scientiarum* from which Bacon borrowed, though not largely, in his *Advancement of Learning*. Bacon's mention of him in his work *Temporis Partus Masculus*.

**Allen Thomas** (1542–1632) Considered "in those dark times, astrologer, mathematician, and conjurer were accounted the same things: and the vulgar did verily believe him to be a conjurer." Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, on advisements of nativities, would constantly call in Thomas Allen. Even Queen Elizabeth I., attributed him to a paradigmatic of great astrology with Dr. Dee.

**Anderson Edmund. Sir** (1530–1605) born at Flin borough or Broughton in Lincolnshire. He was educated at Lincoln College, Oxford, called to the Bar, and made a Serjeant in 1577. He tried Robert Brown, founder of the Brownists, as assistant judge on the Norfolk Circuit in 1581; in the same year he tried Campian, the Jesuit, on the Western Circuit. In both cases he expressed strong views as to the claims of the Established Church. He was promoted to the Chiefship of the Common Pleas in 1582, and tried Babington for treason in 1586, and Davison for beheading Mary, Queen of Scots. He also took part in the trials of the Duke of Arundel; Sir John Perrot, Lord Deputy of Ireland; and the Earl of Essex. He tried Udall, the puritan, and no doubt tried to entrap him into a confession of guilt. Apart from political trials, he had the reputation of being a good judge and a sound lawyer.

**Andrews Lancelot. Dr** (1555–1626) was appointed to the living of St. Giles, Cripplegate, in 1589, through Walsingham's influence. He was made Master of Pembroke Hall soon after and refused two bishoprics offered him by Elizabeth I., because he would not consent to the alienation of any part of their revenues, but became Dean of Windsor in 1601. He subsequently became Bishop of Chichester in 1605; of Ely in 1609; of Winchester in 1619. He took part in the Hampton Court Conference, and his name stands first in the list of the authors of the Authorised Version of The King James Bible. He was a very prominent divine and great favourite

in the reign of Elizabeth. After completing his collegiate course at Cambridge, he was appointed chaplain in ordinary to the Queen, and acted in a like capacity to Archbishop Whitgift. He afterwards became Dean of Westminster and Privy Councillor for England and Scotland. Finally, he was further honoured by being made successively, Bishop of Ely, Chichester, and Winchester. Being a man of unusual intellectual gifts, he was selected to assist in the preparation of the Authorized Version of The King James Bible. His scholarly mind and able preaching were later on much appreciated by King James I., who held him in high esteem also for "his social qualities and rare sense of humour."

His best-known work, written in Latin, was entitled *Tortura Torti*. Besides this he published many sermons which were edited by Laud and Buckeridge. Most of the prayers composed by him are well known, and those for special use in the consecration of churches are still employed. He saw very much of Bacon, and we may infer that he was intimately associated with him during his whole life. They died in the same year 1626, the Bishop having reached the age of seventy-one years.

Bacon was in the habit of seeking his advice on various philosophical subjects relating to his works, and in the *Miscellany Works*, published in 1629, appears a long letter from Bacon to him, pertaining more especially to the *Instauration*, and he adds in this: "I have also entered into a work touching Laws.<sup>131</sup> So now being (as I am) no more able to do my Country service, it remained unto me to do it honour, which I have endeavoured to do in my work of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh. As for my Essays, and some other particulars of that nature, I count them but as the recreations of my other studies, and in that sort of purpose to continue them, though I am not ignorant that those kind of writings would, with less pains and embracement (perhaps), yield more lustre and reputation to my name than those other which I have in hand. But I account the use that a man should seek of the publishing of his own writings before his death to be not an untimely anticipation of that which is proper to follow a man, and not to go along with him."

The literary fragment which Bacon has left on an *Advertisement touching an Holy War* contains a dedication to Bishop Andrews; and in a letter accompanying the presentation of a copy of the *Cogitata et Visa* one finds the following remarks: "And because you were wont to make me believe you took liking to my writings, I send you some of this vacation's fruits, and thus much more of my mind and purpose. If your Lordship be so good now, as when you were the good Dean of Westminster, my request to you is not by pricks, but by notes, you should mark unto me whatsoever shall seem unto you either not current in the style, or harsh to credit an opinion, or inconvenient for the person of the writer; for no man can be judge and party: and when our minds judge by reflection of ourselves they are more subject to error."

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<sup>131</sup> He alludes to the Reign of Henry the Seventh

**ArchBishop Parker** (1504–1576) the eminent prelate of the English Protestant Church was a native of the city of Norwich. Arch Bishop Parker was educated in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. After he had taken orders, and during the reigns of Henry VIII., and Edward VI., he had various preferment bestowed upon him: of these he was deprived in the reign of Queen Mary; but when Elizabeth ascended the throne, he was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. Before he became primate, he executed a metrical version of the entire Psalter either, as Warton remarks, “for the private amusement and exercise of his religious exile, or that the people, whose predilection for psalmody could not be suppressed, might at least be furnished with a rational and proper translation.” This work was subsequently printed without date or translator’s name, under the title of *The whole Psalter translated into English Metre, which containeth an hundredth and fifty Psalms. The first Quinquagene. Cum gratia et privilegio Regiæ Majestatis per decennium.* The other two *quinquageneæ* are indicated by half titles. Warton states that this translation was never published; and Strype tells that he could never get a sight of it from its great scarcity. There are, however, copies extant in the Bodleian Library, the British Museum, and Lambeth Palace Library, beside other in private libraries.<sup>132</sup>

**Aristotle** Born in 384 BC, Stagira, Chalcidice, Greece and died in 322, Chalcis, Euboea. He determined the orientation and the content of Western intellectual history. He was the author of a philosophical and scientific system that through the centuries became the support and vehicle for both medieval Christian and Islāmic scholastic thought: until the end of the seventeenth century, Western culture was Aristotelian. Even after the intellectual revolutions of centuries to follow, Aristotelian concepts and ideas remained embedded in Western thinking.

**Ascham Roger** (1515–1568) born at Kirby Wiske, near Northallerton in Yorkshire, where his father resided as steward to the noble family of Scroope. His parents, who were highly esteemed in their station, after living together for forty-seven years, both died on the same day and nearly at the same hour. Their son Roger displayed from his childhood a taste for learning, and was received into the family of Sir Anthony Wingfield, who caused him to be educated with his own sons, under the care of their tutor, Mr. Robert Bond; and in the year 1530, placed him at St. John’s College, Cambridge, then the most flourishing in the University. Ascham applied himself particularly to the study of Greek, to which a great impulse had recently been given by the dispersion of the learned Greeks throughout Europe, in consequence of the taking of Constantinople. He made great proficiency in Greek as well as Latin, and he read Greek lectures, while yet a youth, to students still younger than himself. He took the degree of A.B. in February, 1534, and on the 23rd of the next month was elected fellow of his College, through the influence of the master, Dr. Medcalf, himself a northern man, who privately exerted himself in Ascham’s favour, notwithstanding he had exhibited a leaning toward the new doctrines of Protestantism, and had even been exposed to public censure for speaking against the Pope.

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<sup>132</sup> Farr. *Select Poetry*, Vol. I. 1845

He took the degree of A.M. in 1536, at the age of twenty-one, and began to take pupils, in whose instruction he was very successful. He also read Greek publicly in the University, and privately in his own College. In 1544, on the resignation of Sir John Cheke, he was chosen University Orator, an office which he filled with general approbation. In the following year, 1545, appeared his *Toxophilus*, or, the *Schole of Shootinge*, a treatise on archery, which he composed with a double view; in the first place, to exhibit a specimen of English prose composition in a purer taste than then prevailed, and in the second, to attract the attention of King Henry VIII., then on the point of setting out on his Boulogne expedition, and to obtain the means of visiting Italy, which he much desired. He succeeded perfectly in the first object, and partially in the second; for the King was so well pleased, that he settled on the author a pension of 10*l.* per annum at that time a considerable sum, especially to a poor scholar. Ascham about this time acquired other great patrons. He enjoyed a pension from Archbishop Lee, acted for some time as tutor to Henry and Charles Brandon, the two sons of the Duchess of Suffolk, and attracted the friendly regards of the Chancellor Wriothesly, and other eminent men. In 1548, on occasion of the death of William Grindal, who had been his pupil at Cambridge, Ascham was appointed instructor in the learned languages to the Lady Elizabeth, afterwards Queen, a situation which he filled for some time with great credit to himself and satisfaction to his pupil. Of Ascham's own attachments, as well as methods of study and teaching, we have the best record in his letters and the *Schoolmaster*, written in 1563/64 and first printed in 1571.

He held fast the truth, that it is only by its own free agency that the intellect can either be enriched or invigorated; that true knowledge is an act, a continuous immanent act, and at the same time an operation of the reflective faculty on its own objects. How he applied this idea to the purposes of education, his *Schoolmaster*, written in the maturity of his powers, and out of the fullness of his experience, sufficiently shows. But the idea, though undeveloped, wrought in him from his earliest youth; his favourite maxim was *Docendo discas*. For two years the most perfect harmony subsisted between Elizabeth and her preceptor. The intervals of study were occasionally relieved with chess, at which Ascham is said to have been an adept. It is to be hoped that he had too much prudence and gallantry to beat the Lady oftener than was necessary to convince her that he always played his best. True, the royal virgin was not then Queen, or even presumptive heir; but no wise man would take the conceit out of a chess-player, that stood within the hundredth degree of relationship to the throne. Elizabeth was not the only distinguished female whose classical studies were assisted by Ascham; he taught Latin to Anne, Countess of Pembroke, to whom he addressed two letters in that language, still extant. The Court of the young Edward was filled with lovers of learning in whose society and patronage Ascham enjoyed himself fully, as Sir John Cheke his old friend, Lord Paget, Sir William Cecil, and the Chancellor Wriothesly.

He had a share in the education of the two Brandons, and he partook the favour of the youthful King, who honouring knowledge, and ail its professors, must have especially esteemed it in the instructor of his Lady Temper, as the amiable boy used to call his favourite sister.



It was at this period that he became acquainted with the lovely Jane Grey, a creature whose memory should singly put to rout the vulgar prejudice against female erudition. Returning to his duties, as public orator at Cambridge, he still retained his pension, and the confidence of the worthiest persons about Court. His interest must have been very considerable, if, as Lloyd quaintly expresses it, “he hindered those who had dined on the church from supping on the Universities;” He was certainly esteemed by Elizabeth, and of her he spoke with enthusiasm to his latest day, not without a pleasing consciousness of his own services in making her what she was. Thus, in the *Schoolmaster*, his latest work, he makes her perfections a reproach to all her male subjects. He took to his bed on December 28, and expired on the 30th of the same month, 1568, aged fifty-three. He was attended to the last by Dr. Alexander Nowel, Dean of St. Paul’s, who, on the ensuing fourth of January, preached his funeral sermon, in which he declares that “he never knew man live more honestly nor die more christianly.” As he had many friends, and no enemies, his death was a common sorrow, and Queen Elizabeth is reported to have said, that she would rather have thrown ten thousand pounds into the sea, than have lost her Ascham. Notwithstanding his preferment, Ascham died poor.

**Aspley William** (fl. 1588–1637) Stationer and printer, son of William Aspley, clerk deceased, late of Raiston (?), Cumberland, was apprenticed to George Bishop for nine years from 5 February, 1588, and admitted a freeman of the Stationers’ Company on 11 April 1597. He lived at the sign of the Tiger’s Head in St. Paul’s Churchyard, and afterwards at the Parrot. The first appearance of the name of Shakespeare in the registers is in connection with Aspley and Andrew Wise, who obtained license 23 August, 1600 for *Much Ado about Nothing* and the second part of “Henry IV., wrytten by master Shakespere”, (Arber, Transcript, iii. p. 170). They were printed by V.S. for the two booksellers. It is worth noticing that while both the quartos have “Shakespeare” on their title-pages the name is transcribed as above. Aspley dealt largely in plays, as maybe seen by the numerous licenses obtained by him down to 1627, when his business appears to have declined. In 1637 he was made warden. The play *Eastward Hoe* was performed in the Blackfriars, by the Children of Her Majesty’s Revels. It was created by Geo. Chapman, Ben Jonson, Job. Marston, and printed in London, for William Aspley in 1605. King James I., was so displeased with this performance, on account of some sarcastical remarks upon the Scotch, that both the writers and printer were nigh being imprisoned. The Sonnets printed by G. Eld, for T. T., by William Aspley, 1609. 4to. Sold at the sale of Dr. Farmer’s library for £8; at Mr. Steevens’ for £3.19s., at the Duke of Roxburghe’s for £21, at White Knight’s for £37, at Mr. Boswell’s for £38.18s., and at Sotheby’s, June 1826, for £40.19s.<sup>133</sup>

**Aubrey John** (1626–1697) Author of *Brief Lives* with local gossip and brief biographies of eminent persons.

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<sup>133</sup> Timperley. *Encyclopaedia of Anecdote*, 2nd ed. 1842

## B

**Bacon Anne Cooke. Lady** (1528–1610) mother of Francis Bacon. Second daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, an accomplished person, sister-in-law to the then Secretary of State, Sir William Cecil. She was a learned, eloquent, and religious woman, full of affection and puritanic fervour, deeply interested in the condition of the church, and perfectly believing that the cause of the nonconformists was the whole cause of Christ. The first short *Apologia* of Jewel's was translated into English by Lady Anne Bacon, and both in Latin and English was regarded as the official statement of the position of the Church of England under Elizabeth. Jewel's books were printed in great numbers. His challenge sermon caused his elaborate controversy with Harding; and his *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, printed first in 1562, was answered by the same adversary, and resulted in a second series of volumes. In 1609 Jewel's sermons and controversies were published in folio and reprinted in 1611. Like Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, Jewel's works were frequently placed in the churches. Among translators of selected psalms may be mentioned Queen Elizabeth I., Spenser, Abraham Fraunce, the Davisons, Donne, Phineas Fletcher, Francis Bacon, Herbert, Crashaw. The versions of George Wither and of George Sandys in the early seventeenth century are from the literary point of view the best. Much paraphrasing of Scripture followed upon the paraphrasing of psalms. Among Roman Catholic poets Robert Southwell reaches a spiritual exaltation rare in religious poetry.

**Bacon Anthony** (1558–1601) brother of Francis Bacon. The time and place of Anthony Bacon's death have not yet been discovered by the strictest enquiry as with his month and birthplace is not recorded. He survived the turmoil when Essex was arrested, as we find by the letter to him of May 30, 1601 concerning Essex's confession, but he did not live till the accession of King James to the throne.

Essex to Anthony Bacon. May 30, 1601 <sup>134</sup>

Sir,

Medea had not more sympathy of those, which felt the same evils which herself did, than I have of my friend that is lame. My mischance hath made me be grave in going with a staff before my time. I would you were sure to be as soon rid of your infirmity, as I am in hope to be free from this kind of gravity.

I that have only body to serve my country withal, should be unprofitable if my limbs were taken from me; but where the indisposition of the body is matched with an ability and strength of all parts and powers of the mind, the public use for which we are all born is not taken away.

Therefore, though I would be without legs to be able to serve my country with Mr. Anthony Bacon's sufficiency, yet do I not envy the advantage you have of me in the better part, but wish I

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134 Walter Bouchier Devereux. *Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex, in the Reigns of Elizabeth, James I.*

could lend you strength and borrow pain of you, to free you from this ill companion which keeps you from all your friends but those that are able to go to you.

I wish you ease, strength, health, and happiness, and will ever be your most assured friend,  
R. Essex.

There is a discrepancy with the above date of the letter that does not coincide with the possible date of Anthony's actual death, as in an entry in St Olave's Church register it states: "May 17, 1601 Mr Anthonye Bacon buried in the chamber within the vault." The date on the letter does not coincide either with Essex' date of execution being February 25, 1601. So either Essex had written this letter earlier and the date had been changed when sent nearly a month after the Earl's execution, or there is a major error by Walter Bouchier Devereux in his *Lives and Letters of the Devereux*, where this letter is printed.

Anthony Bacon is mentioned in a grant of his Majesty to Mr. Francis Bacon of an annual pension of sixty pounds, dated August 25, 1603, as then dead, but with an acknowledgment of good faithful, and acceptable service to that King to whom Francis Bacon had before represented in a letter his brother's infinite devotion and endeavours, beyond the strength of his body, and the nature of the times, towards his Majesty's service.<sup>135</sup> All we have of Anthony's last days is of his residence that was in Crotched Friars and shared with his servant William Lawson. [Also see Part III: *Bacon's Pedigree*.]

**Bacon Delia Salter** In 1771 her father, David was born. In the town of Tallmadge, in a log cabin which begun the town, was born to David and Alice Bacon, on February 2, 1811, their fifth child, Delia. She was also called Delia Salter, and almost to the close of her life she continued to use both names thus given her in baptism; but when she began to contemplate closely the publicity which she was to confront, she seems though it was never spoken of by her to have thought of a certain ludicrousness in the sounds thus brought together, and then, for the first time, she dropped out of use the second name. Her father died in 1817; it was not long after Delia had thus found an asylum in Hartford that a school for girls was opened there which made no small mark upon the generation then coming on.

It was that of Catherine Beecher, whose father, Lyman Beecher, was a minister of the Congregational churches which were just then ceasing to be "by law established" in Connecticut, and one whose fame for homiletic and polemic power is far from extinct. Into this school Delia entered as a pupil, and with her was the teacher's sister, Harriet, a year her junior, who was destined to attain extraordinary renown and success in literature, not long before her schoolmate's life of unsparing toil ended in disappointment and failure.

On May 14, 1853 she sailed from New York in the steamer *Pacific*, and arrived in Liverpool on Queen Victoria's birthday, the 24th. She was not long, after going at once to London, in

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<sup>135</sup> *Biographical Dictionary*; Vol. II. 1761

beginning, by the help of one of Emerson's letters, the friendship with Carlyle and his wife, which was to bring her much kindness and comfort in her solitude. This seems to be an answer to the letter of introduction:

Chelsea, June 8, 1853.

My Dear Madam, Will you kindly dispense with the ceremony of being called on (by sickly people, in this hot weather), and come to us on Friday evening to tea at 7. I will try to secure Mr. Spedding at the same time; and we will deliberate what is to be done in your Shakspeare affair. A river steamer will bring you within a gunshot of us. You pronounce *Chainie Row* and get out at Cadogan Pier, which is your fast landing place in Chelsea. Except Mrs. C. and the chance of Spedding, there will be nobody here.

Yours very sincerely,

T. Carlyle.

Some account of the visit invited by Carlyle's letter above, and referred to in that of the 14th, is given with familiar confidence to her sister, under date of several weeks later: "My visit to Mr. Carlyle was very rich. I wish you could have heard him laugh. Once or twice I thought he would have taken the roof of the house off. At first they were perfectly stunned he and the gentleman he had invited to meet me [Spedding]. They turned black in the face at my presumption. "Do you mean to say," so and so, said Mr. Carlyle, with his strong emphasis; and I said that I did; and they both looked at me with staring eyes, speechless for want of words in which to convey their sense of my audacity. At length Mr. Carlyle came down on me with such a volley. I did not mind it the least. I told him he did not know what was in the Plays if he said that, and no one could know who believed that that booby wrote them. It was then that he began to shriek. You could have heard him a mile. I told him too that I should not think of questioning his authority in such a case if it were not with me a matter of knowledge. I did not advance it as an opinion. They began to be a little moved with my coolness at length, and before the meeting was over they agreed to hold themselves in a state of readiness to receive what I had to say on the subject. I left my introductory statement with him. In the course of two or three days he wrote to me to ask permission to show my paper to Mr. Monckton Milnes, who had expressed a wish to see it, inviting me to come there again very soon. He told me I had left a beautiful handkerchief there which Mrs. Carlyle would keep till I came. He also enclosed to me a letter of introduction to Mr. Collier, which he had taken the pains to obtain for me from another literary gentleman. I have not yet sent it. That was five weeks ago." On August 12, 1853, Carlyle writes to her: "On Wednesday I forgot to say that the printed Harley MSS. Catalogue, which I spoke of your buying, lies for consultation on its table in the Museum; and that you can examine it to all lengths, either as a preliminary or as a final measure. If you can find in that mass of English records (the main collection that exists) any document tending to confirm your Shakspeare theory, it will be worth all the reasoning in the world, and will certainly surprise all men."

On the last day of November, 1853, she took lodgings at St. Albans, attracted, no doubt, by its association with the great Chancellor, to whom it gave a title and a tomb. It was during her stay there that she sought through Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, as a note from him indicates, an introduction to Lord Verulam. As the bearer of that title was then not a Bacon but a Grimston, there would seem to have been little help from him to be hoped for. For eleven months, until the beginning of November, 1854, she remained at St. Albans, pursuing her work with exhausting eagerness. For the next month she was at Hatfield, redolent of Elizabethan memories, ten miles beyond St. Albans; and thence, at the beginning of December, she returned to London.

According to Mrs. Hawthorne and Emerson's correspondence, Delia Bacon was now in the beliefs that proof could be found of her theory; it laid under Shakespeare's tombstone. She was putting pressure on the British Literature wits of the day; her brother got the wind of it, of her notion that proof lies under Shakespeare's grave. "I have found by experiment that I can make the examination thoroughly, and leave the stone exactly as I find it, and I could do it alone, weak as I am, now, without any one to lift a finger to help me. I have promised to perform the experiment without removing a particle of the stone, or leaving a trace of harm, and what is very gratifying to me under the circumstances, neither the clerk nor the vicar appears disposed to take it for granted that I am insane. I have told them my reasons for it. The archives of this secret philosophical society are buried somewhere, perhaps in more places than one. The evidence points very strongly this way, it points to a tomb Lord Bacon's tomb would throw some light on it I think. Spenser's I know contains, or did when it was closed, verses, (and the pens that writ them,) the verses of his brother poets, the poets of this school, Raleigh's school."

About the beginning of April 1857, her book came before the world. Its title, so long and so laboriously disputed, was this: *The Philosophy of the Plays of Shakspeare Unfolded. By Delia Bacon. With a Preface by Nathaniel Hawthorne, Author of The Scarlet Letter etc.* It was in form an octavo, of about seven hundred pages, including a hundred pages, separately numbered, of the author's *Introduction*. This *Introduction*, after a statement, not too compact or clear, of *The Proposition*, contained a review of *The Age of Elizabeth, and the Elizabethan Men of Letters*; extracts from an altogether separate, and unpublished, *Life of Raleigh; Raleigh's School*, and *The New Academy*. When this work of hers, for which alone she had for years been willing to live, was done and failed her life was ended too. In December, 1857, under the stress of her heightening malady, she was removed to an excellent private asylum for a small number of insane persons at Henley-in-Arden, in the forest of Arden, eight miles from Stratford. April 13, 1858 five years, wanting but a few days, after she had sailed from New York upon her enthusiastic quest, she was returned to her native land. She was brought very soon to the *Retreat* at that city of Hartford where so many years of her childhood had been spent, and there she remained until the second day of September, 1859, as her brother then wrote: "she died, clearly and calmly trusting in Christ, and thankful to escape from tribulation and outer into rest."

**Bacon Edward. Sir** Of Culford, had been High Sheriff of the County of Suffolk in 1600. He was Knighted by King James on May 11, 1603 at the Charter House.

**Bacon James. Sir** Was probably some relation to the famous family. He was Knighted by King James on July 21, 1604 at Whitehall.

**Bacon Nathaniel. Sir** Son of the Lord Keeper Sir Nicholas Bacon, and half-brother to Francis Bacon. He travelled into Italy, and became an excellent painter. Many of his works are mentioned in Chalmers's *Biographical Dictionary*. He has a monument with his bust in Culford Church, Suffolk, and another in Stiffkey Church, Norfolk. He was Knighted by King James on July 21, 1604 at Whitehall.

**Bacon Nicholas. Sir** (1510–1579) father of Francis Bacon. A high official in the government of Queen Elizabeth I., he was admitted to the Bar in 1533, made Attorney of the Court of Wards and Liveries in 1546. Despite his Protestant sympathies, he retained his office during the reign of the Roman Catholic Queen Mary I., (1553–58). Upon the accession of Elizabeth, he was made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, in which capacity in January 1559 he began to exercise the full judicial authority of Lord Chancellor. In this position he worked with Elizabeth's Chief Minister, Sir William Cecil (later Lord Burghley), to maintain the relatively moderate Protestantism of the Elizabethan church. At the same time, Sir Nicholas Bacon advocated policies designed to undermine the power of Catholics in Europe. He was temporarily dismissed from Court after a misunderstanding with the Queen in 1564, but he soon regained his former influence. His distrust of the Catholic Mary Stuart, who was imprisoned in England, led him in 1570 to oppose effectively a plan to reinstate her on the Scottish throne. [Also see Part III: *Bacon's Pedigree*.]

Sir Nicholas Bacon was appointed Keeper of the Great Seal <sup>136</sup> in less than five weeks after Elizabeth came to the throne; Heath, Archbishop of York, though not excluded from the Queen's Council, being deprived of his office of Lord Chancellor. On April 14, 1559, a Commission (of which the following is an official copy) was issued, authorizing Sir Nicholas Bacon, as Keeper of the Great Seal, to hear causes in Chancery, as the Lord Chancellor had been accustomed to do, and indemnifying him for any acts he had committed. When Lord Ellesmere (then Sir Thomas Egerton) was raised from Master of the Rolls to be Lord Keeper, this Commission seems to have been taken as a precedent, and for that purpose a copy of the original was made and furnished to him.

**Indorsed by Lord Ellesmere, A° 1 Eliza.**

**A Commission to Sir N. Bacon, Keeper of the Great Seal,  
to hear causes in the Chancery, as the L. Chancellor of England might do.**

Elizabeth by the grace of God, *ꝛc.* To all and singular our subjects, greeting. Where we of our especial grace have deputed and assigned our trusty and well beloved Counsellor Nicholas

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<sup>136</sup> Privy Seal according to the translation of Camden's *Elizabeth*, in Kennett, Vol. II., p. 369, 1719

Bacon, Knight, to be Keeper of our Great Seal, know that we by these presents do give full power and authority to the same Nicholas Bacon as well to hear, examine and determine of all causes, offences, contempts, and matters of whatsoever kind or nature they be of, as to do and use himself in everything and things with our said Seal in as large and ample manner as our Chancellor of England might do, and that he shall have the same power and authority in every behalf to change the premises, as if he were our Chancellor. And further, we grant for us, our heirs and successors, that all acts and things done or suffered to be done by the said Nicholas at any time since the committing of the custody of the said Scale to his hands, shall be as good and effectual to all intents and purposes, as if he had been Chancellor at the time of doing or suffering of any such act or thing: Or that he, his heirs or executors, shall in no wise be impeachable or answerable for any such act or thing, otherwise then he should have been if that he had been our Chancellor at the time of doing of any such act or thing. And that these our Letters Patents shall be to him sufficient warrant for the same. In witness whereof, *℥c.* Witness the Queen at Westminster the xiiijth date of April, in the first year of our reign.

Per ipsam Reginam, *℥c.*

Convenit cum record. et exáiat. per me

Tho. Ravenscrofte.

**Bacon Roger** (b.1214 d.1292 or 1294) born in Elchester. One of the greatest men of the age in which he lived and one of the most remarkable circumstances connected with him is the influence, which a passage in the *Opus Majus* exercised on Columbus, who perhaps had never heard of him. Peter de Alliaco, whose *Imago Mundi* was compiled in 1410, transcribed almost literally, but without acknowledgment, from Roger Bacon a passage (containing quotations in favour of the possibility of reaching India by sailing westward, from Aristotle, Pliny, and Seneca) which seems to have made a profound impression on Columbus, who as Humboldt remarks, was familiar with the *Imago Mundi*. “Friar Bacon walked in Oxford between two steeples, but he that would have discovered his thoughts by his steps had been more his fool than his fellow.” (Vaughan).<sup>137</sup> Francis Bacon’s mention of him in his work *Temporis Partus Masculus*.

**Barents William** (1550–1597) Dutch navigator; because of his extensive voyages, accurate charting, and the valuable meteorological data he collected, he is regarded as one of the most important early Arctic explorers. His first voyage in 1594 was stopped by the ice on July 13, and obliged to return. In his third voyage (1596) his first considerable check was on July 19; after which he only succeeded in coasting round the northern point of Nova Zembla till August 26, where the ship stuck fast and they were forced to leave her and winter on the island, and return in their boats in the beginning of June 1597. [Also see Part I: *Nova Zembla*.]

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<sup>137</sup> *Anthroposopia Theomagica*

**Barnes Barnaby** (*b.* 1569) born in Yorkshire. Younger son of Dr. Richard Barnes, Bishop of Durham. At the age of seventeen he became a student of Brasenose College, Oxford. He left the University without a degree, and Wood states that he knew not what became of him afterwards. It appears, however, that in 1595 he accompanied a military expedition into Normandy, to aid the King of France. Barnaby Barnes wrote *A Divine Century of Spiritual Sonnets*, which work issued from the press in 1595.<sup>138</sup>

**Barnham Alice** (1592–1650) brought up in the family of Sir John Pakington, who was a great favourite of Queen Elizabeth I., known as “Lusty Pakington” for his magnificence of living. He owned several estates that hosted royalty, including King James I., of England on his way from Scotland to take possession of the English throne in 1603. The family’s favourite home was in the Strand, London. Her marriage to Francis Bacon led to no children. Upon a marriage settlement, Bacon and his wife were to receive £220 per annum and upon his mother-in-law’s death, to receive £140 per annum. Though it was traditional and indecent for a widow to marry before a full year of their husband’s death, “because in that time the husband’s body may be presumed to be rotten,” Alice Barnham remarried on April 20, 1626, eleven days after Bacon died. Lovejoy: “No ministering hands of feminine love soothed his fevered brow, moistened his parched lips; no gentle woman’s voice, modulated by sympathy and sorrow, fell upon his ear.”<sup>139</sup> She married John Underwood, her Gentleman-Usher. She was rumoured to have had an ongoing affair with Underhill who was a cousin of the William Underhill who sold New Place to Will Shaksper in 1597. [Also see Part V: *Important Letters written by Bacon*].

**Bernard André** (*d.c.* 1521) born at Toulouse and was an Augustinian friar. He was present in London when Henry VII., entered the city after the Battle of Bosworth Field. In 1496 he became tutor to Prince Arthur, and wrote a Latin Life of Henry VII., and also in the same language some short notices of events in the reign of Henry VIII.

**Birch Thomas. D.D.** (*b.* November 23, 1705–*d.* January 9, 1766) historian and biographer, was born of quaker parents in St. George’s Court. His father, Joseph Birch, was a coffee-mill maker. The son received the rudiments of a good education, and when he left school spent his spare time in study. He was baptised, December 15, 1730, at St. James’ Clerkenwell, having been bred as a quaker.<sup>140</sup> He is believed to have assisted a clergyman called Cox in his parochial duty, and he is known to have married, in the summer of 1728, Cox’s daughter Hannah. His wife’s strength had been undermined by a decline, but her death was caused by a puerperal fever between July 31 and August 3, 1729.<sup>141</sup> Birch was ordained deacon in the Church of England on January 17,

<sup>138</sup> Farr. *Select Poetry*, Vol. I. 1845

<sup>139</sup> Lovejoy. *Francis Bacon*, p. 169

<sup>140</sup> Register, St. James’ Harleian Soc. ii. 191

<sup>141</sup> A copy of verses which the widowed husband wrote on her coffin on the latter day is printed in the *Miscellaneous Works of Mrs. Rowe*, Vol. II. pp.133–7, and in the *Biographica Britannica*



1730 and priest on December 21, 1731. Being a diligent student of English history and a firm supporter of the whig doctrines in church and state, he basked in the patronage of the Hardwicke family, and passed from one ecclesiastical preferment to another. The small rectory of Iltling in Essex was conferred upon him May 20, 1732 and the sinecure rectory of Llandewi-Velfrey in Pembroke in May 1743.

In January 1744 he was nominated to the rectory of Siddington, near Cirencester, but he probably never took possession of its emoluments, as on February 24 in the same year he was instituted to the rectory of St. Michael, Wood Street, London. Two years later he became the rector of St. Margaret Pattens, London, and on February 25, 1761 he was appointed to the rectory of Depden in Suffolk. The last two livings he retained until his death. Birch never received the benefit of a University education, but in 1753 he was created D.D. of the Marischal College, Aberdeen, and of Lambeth. He was elected F.R.S. February 20, 1735 and F.S.A. December 11, 1735. From 1752 to 1765 he discharged the duties of secretary to the Royal Society. Whilst riding in the Hampstead Road he fell from his horse, it is believed in an apoplectic fit, and died on January 9, 1766. He was buried in the chancel of the church of St. Margaret Pattens. He was the original editor of the quarto edition of *The Works of Francis Bacon* in five volumes published 1763 and reprinted in ten volumes octavo, that have since kept the market and is now known as the trade edition followed Blackbourne's arrangement in the main, though with several variations which are for the most part not improvements. [Also see Part IV: *Bacon's Works*.]

**Blackbourne John** (1683–1741), nonjuror, born and educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he became B.A. in 1700, and M.A. in 1705. His refusal to recognise the revolutionary settlement excluded him from clerical preferment. According to Dr. Bowes, who “waited on him often in Little Britain, where he lived almost lost to the world and hid amongst old books,” Blackbourne “lived a very exemplary, good life, and studied hard, endeavouring to be useful to mankind, both as a scholar and divine. To keep himself independent he became corrector of the press to Mr. Bowyer, printer, and was, indeed, one of the most accurate of any that ever took upon him that laborious employ.”<sup>142</sup> He was powerfully recommended to King James III., by Lord Winchelsea and other nobles of his faction, and was consecrated Bishop of the nonjurors June 11, 1725 by the nonjuring prelates, Spinckes, Gandy, and Doughty, with the last two of whom he took part in the consecration of Richard Rawlinson, March 25, 1728 and subsequently with Gandy and Rawlinson in the consecration of George Smith.<sup>143</sup>

Blackbourne belonged to that section of the nonjurors which, in respect to the “usages” adhered to the practice of the English church as it stood at the time of the separation, and who were known as “nonusagers,” in contradistinction to the “usagers,” who wished to introduce chiefly into their eucharistic liturgy certain catholic practices. The two parties remained separate, each consecrating several Bishops, from the year 1718 to 1733, when a reconciliation took

<sup>142</sup> Nichols. *Literary Anecdotes*, Vol. I. p. 252

<sup>143</sup> Blunt. *Theological Dictionary*, 1872

place on the basis of a general adoption of the catholic “usages”; but Blackbourne still refused, though almost alone, to relinquish the use of the communion office of the Anglican church. Blackbourne published an edition of Johan Bale’s *Brief Chronicle concerning the Examination and Death of the Blessed Martyr of Christ, Sir Johan Oldecastell the Lorde Cobham*. To which is added an Appendix of *Original Instruments* 8vo, London, 1729; and an edition of *The Works of the Lord Bacon. Francisci Baconi, Baronis de Verulamio, Vicecomitis Sancti Albani, Magni Anglise Cancellarii, Opera omnia*, fol. London, 1730.

He was the first editor of *Opera Omnia*, took the *Distributio Operis* as his ground work, and endeavoured first to place the various unfinished portions of the *Instauratio Magna* in the order in which they would have stood had they been completed according to the original design; and then to marshal the rest in such a sequence that they might seem to hang together, each leading by a natural transition to the next, and so connecting themselves into a kind of whole. He is also credited with editing the *Castrations to Holinshed’s Chronicle*, 1728, fol.

Blackbourne died November 17, 1741, and his library was sold by auction in February 1742. He was buried in Islington churchyard. His widow, Philadelphia, after having contracted a second marriage with Richard Heybourne, a citizen of London, died January 10, 1750, at the age of seventy, and was buried by the side of her first husband. [Also see Part IV: *Bacon’s Works*].

**Blake William** (1757–1827) English poet, painter engraver, and visionary mystic whose hand illustrated series of lyrical and epic poems, beginning with *Songs of Innocence* (1789) and *Songs of Experience* (1794), form one of the most strikingly original and independent bodies of work in the Western cultural tradition. Blake is now regarded as one of the earliest and greatest figures of Romanticism. Yet he was ignored by the public of his day and was called mad because he was single-minded and unworldly; he lived on the edge of poverty and died in neglect. Northrop Frye states that “many students of literature or painting must have felt that Blake’s relation to those arts is a somewhat quizzical one. Critics in both fields insist almost exclusively upon the angularity of his genius. Blake, they tell us, is a mystic enraptured with incommunicable visions, standing apart, a lonely and isolated figure, out of touch with his own age and without influence on the following one. He is an interruption in cultural history, a separable phenomenon.

**Blount Charles. Earl of Devonshire and eighth Lord Mountjoy** (1563–1606) Second son of James, sixth Lord Mountjoy, by his wife Catherine, daughter of Sir Thomas Leigh, of St. Oswald’s, Yorkshire, and thus grandson of Charles Blount [*q.v.*], fifth Lord Mountjoy. He studied at Oxford for a short time, and was created M.A. in later years June 16, 1589. From Oxford he proceeded to the Inner Temple to study law. However, although always interested in learning, his ambition lay in other directions. His family had been steadily losing its reputation and its wealth for many years past. To recover both was Blount’s aim from youth. When as a boy his parents had his portrait painted, he insisted on its being subscribed with the motto *ad resedificandam antiquam domum*.

Arrived in London, he soon made his way to Court (c.1583) and his good looks at once attracted the attention of the Queen: "Fail you not to come to Court, and I will bethink myself how to do you good," was one of her earliest remarks to him,<sup>144</sup> and how the favour she bestowed on him excited the jealousy of the Earl of Essex. On one occasion Elizabeth is said to have rewarded Blount for his skill in a tilting match with "a Queen at chess of gold richly enamelled, which his servant had the next day fastened on his arm with a crimson ribbon and" Essex noticed the token and angrily remarked at Court to Sir Fulke Greville, "Now I perceive every fool must have a favour." The speech was reported to Blount, and a duel followed, near Marybone Park, in which Essex was wounded. The two men lived subsequently on friendly terms.

Blount was elected MP for the family borough of Beeralston, Devonshire, in 1584, although the return was never delivered; he was re-elected and took his seat for the same borough in 1586 and 1593.<sup>145</sup> He was knighted in 1586 and had a company in the Low Countries [in the same year], from whence he came over with a noble acceptance of the Queen.<sup>146</sup> He was present at the skirmish near Zutphen, when Sir Philip Sidney received his fatal wound. In 1588 he was one of those who built ships at their own expense to join in the pursuit of the Armada.<sup>147</sup> His anxiety to distinguish himself in warfare led him to absent himself from Court more frequently than the Queen approved. Up to 1591 he was constantly visiting the English contingent in the Low Countries engaged in war with Spain, and in 1593 he "stole over with Sir John Norris into the action of Brittany, which was then a hot and active war" waged on behalf of the King of Navarre. On June 30, 1593 the Queen wrote to Sir Thomas Sherley, "treasurer at war," that Blount was commanded by her to "absent himself from his charge in Brittany" and to attend upon her, but that he was to receive his ordinary pay meanwhile. In December 1593 a company of nine hundred men in Brittany was still officially stated to be under his command.

On January 26, 1593–94 Blount was nominated Captain of the town and island of Portsmouth, vacant by the death of Henry Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex, and he energetically superintended the renewal of the fortifications. The death of his elder brother, William, seventh Lord Mountjoy, later in 1594, put him in possession of the family peerage. In June 1597, Mountjoy accompanied Essex on his voyage to the Azores as Lieutenant of the land forces (15 June), and on his return in the same year he was created a Knight of the Garter. On August 14, 1598 O'Neil, the Earl of Tyrone, signally defeated the English troops at Blackwater, and the government resolved to despatch a vigorous Lord Deputy to crush Tyrone's insurrection. Mountjoy was generally believed to be best fitted for the office, but it seems almost certain that Essex brought all his influence to bear against Mountjoy's appointment. Ultimately the post was accepted by Essex himself, who wrote to Harrington at the time, "I have beaten Knollys and Mountjoy in the Council."<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> *Fragmenta Regalia*, ed. Arber, Vol. I. p. 57

<sup>145</sup> Return of Members of Parl. I. 413, 417, 428

<sup>146</sup> Cal. Dom. State Papers, Addenda, 1580–1625, p. 19

<sup>147</sup> *Naval History*, p. 353

<sup>148</sup> Harrington. *Nugee Antique*, Vol. I. p. 245

It was expected that Mountjoy would have accompanied Essex to Ireland, but he remained at home, and in August of the following year was appointed Lieutenant of the force to be raised to resist another anticipated Spanish Armada. But there was no breach in his friendly relations with Essex. In the summer of 1599 Mountjoy sent a secret messenger to Scotland to assure King James that Essex would support his succession to the English throne, and according to Essex's friend, Sir Charles Davers, Mountjoy "entered into" the business to strengthen Essex's position. This expression implies that Mountjoy was encouraging Essex in his treasonable plan of relying upon an armed force from Scotland to overcome his enemies at the English Court. When Essex was in confinement in October 1599, he committed the care of his fortunes to Mountjoy and Southampton. In the same month Mountjoy was offered the office in Ireland vacated by Essex. At first he declined it, but by the close of November he had accepted orders to depart within twenty days with thirteen or fourteen thousand men. But delays arose. On January 11, 1600–01 a warrant was issued to pay him a large sum of money for preliminary expenses. He did not leave England till the following month.

In the interval Essex was in frequent communication with Mountjoy, and begged him to bring his army from Ireland into England, and in concert with King James of Scotland to rescue him from prison and to overthrow the Queen's Councillors. But King James was unwilling to join in the plan, and Mountjoy refused to meddle with it after he had once reached Ireland. When Essex and his fellow-conspirators were charged with high treason in 1600–01, the Queen and her government, who needed Mountjoy's services in Ireland, boldly overlooked his complicity in Essex's earlier plans, and suppressed passages in the confessions of the prisoners which implicated him. But Mountjoy was terribly alarmed on first hearing of the arrest of his friends.<sup>149</sup>

In 1604 Francis Bacon addressed his *Apologie* concerning the late Earl of Essex to Mountjoy, "because you loved the Earl." Mountjoy's success in Ireland well warranted the government's confidence in him. On his arrival he found the rebels holding all Ireland up to the very walls of Dublin, and at first his progress was slow. On October 21, 1600 it was reported in London that Blount had asked for his recall, and that Sir George Carew was to take his place. But Mountjoy's services were not to be lightly dispensed with, and his persistent harrying of the enemy began to tell upon them. By July 1601 Lough Foyle, Tyrone's chief stronghold, had fallen. In December 1601 Tyrone summoned the largest rebel army ever known in Ireland, marched upon Kinsale, where four thousand Spaniards, lately landed in his behalf, were besieged by Mountjoy. On December 24, 1601 a battle was fought and a decisive victory gained by the English.<sup>150</sup>

On July 21, 1604 Mountjoy was created Earl of Devonshire, and on August 13 was made Master of the Ordnance. On May 8, 1604 he had been reappointed Keeper of Portsmouth castle. Through the whole of that year he was in regular attendance on the King and high in his favour. Grants of land in Lancashire were made him on June 21, 1603 and on February 27, 1603–04.

<sup>149</sup> Morison. *Itinerary*, Pt. II. Bk. I. Cp. 2, p. 89

<sup>150</sup> Winwood. *Memorials*, Vol. I. pp. 369–70

He was nominated one of the commissioners for discharging the office of Earl Marshal (February 5, 1604–05), and on February 13, 1604–05, received the manor of Loddington, Leicestershire, and part of the lands of Lord Cobham in Somerset and Kent (1 July). On May 20, 1604, he with other commissioners met commissioners from Spain to determine the English relations with the States-General and the Indies. Later in the year the new Spanish Ambassador, Villa Mediana, induced the Earl of Devonshire to accept a Spanish pension of £1,000 a year. On November 9, 1605 he was nominated the general of a force called out to repress a rising which, it was feared, might follow the discovery of the gunpowder treason.<sup>151</sup>

A grave scandal disfigured Blount's private life, and caused him much anxiety in his last years. He had contracted in early life a liaison with Penelope, the wife of Lord Rich and a sister of the Earl of Essex. This lady (born in 1560) had come to know Sir Philip Sidney in 1575, and she is the Stella of Sidney's Sonnets entitled *Astrophel and Stella*. In 1580 she was married against her will to Lord Rich, a man of violent and coarse temper; but between the year of her marriage and the spring of 1583, when Sidney himself married, she was guilty of a criminal intimacy with her former lover. A few years after Sidney's death in 1586 Mountjoy appears to have succeeded to his place in Lady Rich's affections. By her husband she had seven children, but after 1590 she became Mountjoy's mistress, and bore him three sons, Mountjoy [*q.v.*], Charles, and St. John, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Isabel. After a short illness caused by inflammation of the lungs, on April 3, 1606 at Savoy House, in the Strand. "The Earl of Devonshire left this life," wrote Chamberlain to Winwood, "on Thursday night last; soon and early for his years, but late enough for himself: happy had he been if he had gone two or three years since, before the world was weary of him, or that he had left his scandal behind him."<sup>152</sup>

He was buried about May 2 in St. Paul's chapel of Westminster Abbey. The funeral was celebrated with great pomp, but the heralds declined to impale the Countess' Arms with the Earl's who left her £1,500, and to a daughter £6,000, and provided very liberally for his son Mountjoy [*q.v.*] His second natural son, Charles, fought with the royalists in the civil wars, acted as Scout Master General at Abingdon in May 1643, and died in 1645.<sup>153</sup> His third son, St. John, was made a Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Charles I. The Earl did not provide for all his reputed children, and a third of his property passed away from his family. His titles became extinct at his death.

Mountjoy was popular with the poets of his day. John Davies of Hereford published a sonnet to him in his *Microcosmus* (1603), and Joshua Sylvester prefixed three Sonnets in his praise to the second week of his translation of *Du Bartas* (1641), probably written about 1598. In 1605 Nicholas Breton dedicated to him *The Honour of Valour*. Soon after the Earl's death John Ford, the dramatist, published a poem entitled *Fames Memorial, or The Earl of Devonshire Deceased*

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151 *Ibid.*, Vol. II. p. 173

152 *Ibid.*, Vol. II. p. 206

153 Clarendon. *History*, Vol. II. p. 485

(London 1606), with a dedication to the Countess Penelope, and a Sonnet in the Earl's praise by Barnaby Barnes. At the same time Samuel Daniel, the poet, produced *A Funeral Poem upon the Death of the late noble Earle of Devonshire*. It has been suggested with some probability that Ford's tragedy of the *Broken Heart* (1633) was "founded on the story of Mountjoy's relations with Lady Rich. The poet's pitch their panegyrics in a very high key, and warmly denounce the Earl's detractors." Fynes Morison, who was secretary to Mountjoy in Ireland, drew up a minute account of his character and habits in his *Itinerary*. He was of "stature tall and of very comely proportion," very careful in his dress and in his food, a constant smoker, very discreet in the conduct of political business, and fond of study and of gentle recreations." Manningham quaintly notes in his *Diary*, p. 104, on December 18, 1602: "The Lord Mountjoy will never discourse at table eats in silence." But against the laudatory verdicts of Davies, Sylvester, Breton, Ford, Daniel, and Morison must be set the fact that Mountjoy in his relations with Essex and with Spain was guilty of political dishonesty, and although much may be pleaded in extenuation of his private faults, there is little there to indicate a very high moral character.

**Bodley Thomas. Sir** (1545–1613) On February 10, 1613 John Chamberlain (1553–1628) writes to his stepson-in-law, Sir Ralph Winwood: <sup>154</sup> "He hath written his own life in seven sheets of paper, and not leaving out the least *minutезде*, or omitting nothing that might tend to his own glory or commendation, he hath not so much as made mention of his wife or that he was married, whereby you may see what a mind he carried, and what account he made of his best benefactors." There is a curious passage in a letter of Sir Thomas Bodley, recommending to Sir Francis Bacon, then a young man on his travels, the mode by which he should make his life "profitable to his country and his friends." His expressions are remarkable. "Let all these riches be treasured up, not only in your memory, where time may lessen your stock, but rather in good writings and books of account, which will keep them safe for your use hereafter." By these good writings and books of account, he describes the diaries of a student and an observer; these "good writings" will preserve what wear out in the memory, and these "books of account" render to a man an account of himself to himself." (Disraeli). <sup>155</sup>

**Borgia Valentino** (1475–1507) known as Cæsar Borgia, son of Pope Alexander the Sixth. A Renaissance Captain who, as holder of the offices of Duke of the Romagna and Captain General of the armies of the church, enhanced the political power of his father's papacy and tried to establish his own principality in central Italy. Commented on in Bacon's works in the *De Augmentis*, Bk. VIII.

**Bouillet** in his *Œuvres Philosophiques de François Bacon*, published in Paris 1834, he does not profess to include all even of the philosophical works of Francis Bacon; and he too though the

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<sup>154</sup> Sir Ralph Winwood. 1562–1617 was the King's representative in the Netherlands in 1603–9. He married Bodley's stepdaughter, Elizabeth Ball in 1603 and he was Secretary of State in 1614

<sup>155</sup> Disraeli Isaac. *Curiosities of Literature*, Vol. II

best editor by far who has yet handled Bacon, has aimed at a classification of the works more systematic, as it seems, than the case admits, and has thus given to some of the smaller pieces a prominence which does not belong to them.<sup>156</sup> Bouillet condemns the doctrine of man's having two souls, and goes on to remark that Bacon was led to adopt it in deference to the opinions of the schoolmen, and that it is also sanctioned by S. Augustine. [Also see Part I: *Spiraculum*.]

**Brahé Tycho** (1560–1601), the Prince of Observers, without a telescope and with a globe no bigger than his fist, detected the errors of existing astronomical tables, and by his mechanical skill in the construction of instruments discovered the means of remedying these errors; and to his observations we owe the deduction of the real laws of a planet's motion by Kepler (1609–1618), and of the fundamental law of attraction by Newton (1687).

**Brant or Brandt Sebastian** (1458–1520) surnamed Titio, born at Strasburg. The lines on his portrait say of him, that “he was equally skilled in law and in sacred poetry, noble in genius, but rude in art.” His early studies were pursued in Bale, where he enjoyed the titles of Doctor and Professor. His ability in business soon obtained for him a high reputation and the favour of many Princes, especially of the Emperor Maximilian I., who often consulted him and bestowed on him the title of Imperial Counsellor. Afterwards he was syndic and chancellor in his native land. He devoted his leisure to classic literature and poetic composition of various kinds. An edition of Virgil, ornamented with engravings, was published by him, and a translation into German verse of the Disticia, or Catechism concerning Morals, by Dionysius Cato. Indeed it has been said of Brant that he composed verses to infinity. The chief of his poems was in German iambics, a satirical work, entitled *The Ship of Fools*, which acquired great popularity, and was translated into Latin, French, Dutch and English. Of the Latin and of the French translation Whitney took the motto, *No man can serve two masters*, though he has not treated it in the same way. [Also see: *Whitney Geoffrey*.]

**Breton Nicholas. Sir** (1545–1626), poet, was descended from an ancient family originally settled at Layer-Breton, Essex. His grandfather, William Breton of Colchester, died in 1499, and was buried there in the monastery of St. John. His father, also William Breton, was a younger son, came to London and amassed a fortune in trade. His capital mansion house was in Red Cross Street, in the parish of St. Giles without Cripplegate, and he owned tenements in other parts of London, besides land in Essex and Lincolnshire. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of John Bacon, and by her he had two sons, Richard and Nicholas, and three daughters, Thamar, Anne, and Mary. He died January 12, 1558–59, while his sons were still boys, and left by will to Nicholas the manor of Burgh-in-the-Marsh, near Wainfleet, Lincolnshire, forty pounds in money, one salt, all gilt, silver spoons, and the gilt bedsted and bed that lie in at London with all its furniture.<sup>157</sup> This property was to be applied by the child's mother to his “maintenance and

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<sup>156</sup> Spedding, *Works*, Vol. I. p. 6

<sup>157</sup> See the Will and Testament printed in Dr. Grosart's preface to *Breton's Works*, pp. 12–17

finding” until he was twenty-four years old, when he was to enter into full possession. William Breton left much to his wife on the condition that she should remain unmarried, but before 1568 she had become the wife of George Gascoigne, the poet, who died October 7, 1577 and was thus for more than nine years Nicholas Breton’s stepfather. From the fact that Breton was a boy in 1559, the year of his father’s death, the date of his birth may be conjecturally placed in 1545, but no sure information is at present accessible. From his *Flourish upon Fancy* we know that in 1577 Breton was settled in London and had lodgings in Holborn.

The Rev. Richard Madox, chaplain to a naval expedition in 1582,<sup>158</sup> records under date March 14, 1582–83 that while on the continent, apparently at Antwerp, he met “Mr. Brytten, once of Oriel College, which made wits will.<sup>159</sup> He speaketh the Italian well.” No University document supports the statement that Breton was educated at Oriel College, but in *The Toys of an Idle Head*, the appendix to his first published book, *Flourish upon Fancy*, he refers to himself as “a young gentleman who had spent some years at Oxford.” He also dedicates the *Pilgrimage to Paradise* (1592) “to the gentlemen students and scholars of Oxford.” On January 14, 1592–93 he married Ann Sutton at St. Giles’ Church, Cripplegate, the church of the parish in which stood his father’s capital mansion house. On May 14, 1603 according to the St. Giles’ parish register, a son Nicholas was born; on March 16, 1605–06 another son, Edward; and on May 7, 1607 a daughter, Matilda. In the burial register of the same church are recorded the deaths of Mary, daughter of “Nicholas Brittaine, gent.,” On October 2, 1603 and of Matilda, daughter of “Nicholas Brittaine, gent.,” on July 27, 1625. But of Breton’s own death no record has yet been found.

His last published work bears the date 1626. The Captain Nicholas Breton, son of John Breton of Tamworth, who served under Leicester in the Low Countries in 1586, purchased an estate at Norton, Northamptonshire, and died there in 1624, has often been erroneously identified with the poet.<sup>160</sup> These scanty facts are all that is known of the poet’s life.

His voluminous works in prose and verse were issued in rapid succession between 1577 and 1626. Among his early patrons, the chief was Mary, Countess of Pembroke; he dedicated to her the *Pilgrimage to Paradise*, 1592, to which is added the *Countess of Pembroke’s Love* where he speaks of himself as “Your Ladyship’s unworthy named Poet.” He also wrote for her his *Auspicante Jehova* 1597, and the *Countess of Pembroke’s Passion*. Passages in *Wit’s Trenchmour* (1597) refer to the rejection of the poet’s love-suit by a lady of high station, and it seems not improbable that Breton’s intimacy with the Countess of Pembroke passed beyond the bounds of patron and poet. Whatever the character of the relationship, it ceased after 1601. As a literary man Breton impresses us most by his versatility and his habitual refinement. He is a satirical, religious, romance, and pastoral writer in both prose and verse. But he wrote with exceptional facility, and as a consequence he wrote too much. His fertile fancy often led him into fantastic puerilities.

158 Unpublished diary is in Sloane MS., 1008

159 i.e. the prose tract, *The Will of Wit*, *Wit’s Will*, or *Will’s Wit*, entered on the Stationers’ Register 7 Sept. 1580

160 Shaw. *Staffordshire*, Vol. I. p. 422; Bridges. *Northamptonshire*, Vol. I. p. 78; Phillipps. *Theatrum Poetarum*, 1800, p. 321



It is in his pastoral lyrics that he is seen at his best. The pathos here is always sincere; the gaiety never falls into grossness, the melody is fresh and the style clear. His finest lyrics are in *England's Helicon* and the collection of poems published by himself under the title of the *Passionate Shepherd*. Nashe speaks of Breton, in allusion to his *Bower of Delights*, as "Pan sitting in his Bower of Delights, and a number of Midases to admire his miserable hornpipes." He was probably an earnest student of Spenser, for whom he wrote a sympathetic epitaph. The enthusiasm for the Virgin Mary exhibited in a few poems, very generally attributed to Breton, has led to the belief that the poet was an ardent Catholic. But it is almost certain as we state below that the undoubtedly Catholic poems ascribed to Breton were by another hand; his long intimacy with the protestant Countess of Pembroke, which probably rested mainly on common religious sentiments, the direct attacks on Romanism which figure in many of Breton's prose tracts, and his sympathetic references to the practices of the English reformed church, point in quite the opposite direction. Breton's popularity lasted through the first half of the seventeenth century. A highly eulogistic Sonnet *in authorem* is prefixed by Ben Jonson to Breton's *Melancolike Humours* (1600) and Francis Meres in his *Palladis Tamia* (1598) classes him with the greatest writers of the time. Sir John Suckling, in *The Goblins* <sup>161</sup> joined his name with that of Shakespeare:

The last a well-writ piece, I assure you,  
A Breton I take it, and Shakespeare's very way. <sup>162</sup>

Breton was a regular contributor to the poetical collections of his age, and his poetical fame induced an enterprising publisher, Richard Jones, to put forth two miscellanies under his name. In the Stationers' Register, under date May 3, 1591 "Bryton's *Bowre of Delights* was entered to Jones, and published in the same year as containing many most delectable and fine devices of rare epitaphs, pleasant poems, pastorals, and Sonnets, by N. B., Gent." Breton says in an epistle April 12, 1592 prefixed to his *Pilgrimage to Paradise*: "There hath been of late printed in London by one Richard Jones, a printer, a book of English verse, entitled *Breton's Bower of Delights*." The most serious mistake made by Breton's bibliographers has been the ascription to him of Sir Philip Sydney's *Ourania*, by N. B. 1606. The author of this work is Nathaniel Baxter [*q.v.*] In the British Museum catalogue, *Mary Magdalen's Lamentations for the Loss of Her Master Jesus*, London, 1604, and *The Passion of a Discontented Mind*, London, 1601, 1602, 1621, are wrongly ascribed to Breton. Robert Southwell was more probably the author of the latter. A unique copy of the first edition is in the Huth Library, and the second edition (in the Bodleian) is reprinted in Collier's *Illustrations* (Vol. I). The Rev. Thomas Corser ascribes *The Case is Altered. How? Ask Dalio and Millo*, London 1604 and 1635, to Breton; Collier assigns it to Francis Thynne, although internal evidence fails to support this conclusion. Breton's name was pronounced Britton.

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<sup>161</sup> Vol. IV. p. 1

<sup>162</sup> Dodsley. *Old Plays*, 1826, Vol. X. p. 143

**Briggs Henry** (1561–1630) Mathematician. On looking at the map of England, he observed that the two rivers, the Thames and that of Avon, were not far distant, about three miles and twenty-five miles from Oxford. He found it to be a level ground and easy to be digged. He then considered cutting the charge between them which would be of great consequence for cheap and safe carrying of goods between London and Bristow, but not long after, unable to complete this, he died in the civil war. (Aubrey).

**Brooke Henry** eighth Lord Cobham (*d.*1619) was the son of a leading favourite of Queen Elizabeth's. Conspirator, was the son of William, seventh Lord Cobham, by Frances daughter of Sir John Newton. His father descended through the female line from the ancient Lords of Cobham, was a favourite of Queen Elizabeth, and held the offices of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, constable of the Tower, and Lord Chamberlain of the Queen's household. He was also Lord Lieutenant of the county of Kent and Knight of the Garter. He twice entertained Elizabeth at Cobham Hall on her progress through Kent (July 17, 1559, and September 4, 1573) and was employed in diplomatic missions abroad in 1559 and (with Sir Francis Walsingham in the Netherlands) in 1579.

In 1572 he was temporarily confined in the Tower on suspicion of being concerned in the plot to marry Mary Stuart to the Duke of Norfolk. He was buried at Cobham on April 6, 1597. One of his daughters (Elizabeth) married Sir Robert Cecil. <sup>163</sup> Henry succeeded his father in the Barony, and secured much of his influence. He was the intimate friend and political ally of his brother-in-law Sir Robert Cecil, and therefore the enemy of Essex. Early in 1597 he defeated Essex in a contest for the post of Warden of the Cinque Ports, vacant by his father's death. He was made a Knight of the Garter in 1599, and entertained the Queen at his London house in 1600. One of the objects of Essex's plot of February 1600–01 was the removal of Lord Cobham from Court, and when arrested Essex made serious charges against Cobham's political honesty, but he finally acknowledged them to be untrue. The death of Queen Elizabeth saw the end of Cobham's prosperity. In July 1603, while Cecil and the Council were engaged in tracking out Watson's well-known plot on behalf of the Catholics, suspicion fell on Cobham, whose brother, George Brooke [*q.v.*], was one of Watson's chief assistants. Bishop Goodman attributes the earliest advancement of Bacon to Sir Robert Cecil; "his first rising, as I take it, was by Salisbury", <sup>164</sup> which agrees with the letter of thanks from Cecil to Lord Ellesmere that is printed in the *Biogr. Britan. Art. Egerton* for his advice to "my cousin Bacon." There is some reason to think that Bacon at one time acted as Private Secretary to Sir Robert Cecil.

Sir Walter Raleigh, who was known to have been long on terms of great intimacy with Cobham, was entrusted with the task of obtaining information against him, and vague evidence was forthcoming to show that Cobham had been in negotiation with Aremberg, the Ambassador of the Spanish Archduke, to place Arabella Stuart on the throne, and to kill "the King and

<sup>163</sup> Lodge. *Illustrations*, Vol. III. p. 87

<sup>164</sup> Brewer. *Court of King James*, Vol. I., p. 284

his cubs.” The alleged plot is usually known as Cobham’s or the Main Plot, while Watson’s conspiracy goes by the name of the Bye Plot. Cobham was arrested early in July but the evidence that affected him appeared to the government to implicate Raleigh, who followed Cobham to the Tower within a few days. Cobham thereupon declared in a series of confessions that Raleigh had instigated him to communicate with Aremberg, and that pensions had been promised both of them by Spain. At Raleigh’s trial, held at Winchester (November 17, 1603) these depositions formed the basis of the accusation. Raleigh begged to be confronted by Cobham in person, but the request was refused, and finally the prosecution produced a very recent letter from Cobham, in which he stated that since he had been in prison Raleigh had entreated him by letter to clear him of the charge; but all that he could do as an honest man was to inform their Lordships anew that Raleigh was the original cause of his ruin. On the other hand, Raleigh produced a note just received by him from Cobham, in which the writer asserted his friend’s complete innocence. But the judges were convinced of Raleigh’s guilt, although Cobham’s evidence, even if admitted to be trustworthy, failed to support any distinct charge of treason.

On November 18, Cobham himself was tried and convicted; his defence was, as might be expected, cowardly and undignified. A warrant was issued for his execution at Winchester on December 10 <sup>165</sup> and he, together with Lord Grey and Sir Markham, was led to the scaffold. Cobham behaved boldly on this occasion, but reiterated his assertion of Raleigh’s guilt. James I., had, however, no intention of having the full penalty inflicted, and Cobham was taken back to the Tower alive. There, like Raleigh, he remained till 1617, when he was allowed to pay a visit to Bath, on the ground of failing health. He was to return to the Tower in the autumn, and while on his way thither he was seized with paralysis. He lingered in a semi-conscious state for more than a year, and died on January 24, 1618–19. The story runs that he died in the utmost destitution, but it appears that he was allowed £100 a year, and 8/. a week of diet, and that these payments were regularly made up to the date of his death. He certainly lay unburied for some time; but that was probably because the crown refused to pay his funeral expenses, which his relatives were anxious that it should incur. Osborne states in his *Traditional Memorials* <sup>166</sup> on the authority of William, Earl of Pembroke, that Cobham “died in a room, ascended by a ladder, at a poor woman’s house in the Minories, formerly his laundress, rather of hunger than any more natural disease.”

**Bryce Thomas** Appears to have been a clergyman: according to Ritson, an epitaph of *Mr. Bryce, Preacher*, was licensed to John Alide. He, however, escaped the rage of Queen Mary, and in 1559 he published “A Compendious Register in Metre, containing the names and patient sufferings of the members of Jesus Christ, and the tormented and cruelly burned within England, since the death of the famous King of immortal memory Edward VI.: to the entrance and beginning of the reign of the Sovereign and dearest lady Elizabeth of England, France, and Ireland, Queen, etc.” <sup>167</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> *Egerton Papers*, Camden Society, p 382

<sup>166</sup> *Court of James I.*, 1811, Vol. I. p. 156

<sup>167</sup> Farr. *Select Poetry*, Vol. I. 1845

**Burton Robert** or **Democritus Junior** (1577–1640) Coat of Arms: Azure on a bend O. between three dogs' heads O. a crescent G. He was an English scholar, writer, and Anglican clergyman. English scholar, writer, and Anglican clergyman. Son of Ralph Burton, of an ancient and genteel family at Lindley, in Leicestershire, and was born there on February 8. He received the first rudiments of learning at the free school of Sutton Coldfield, in Warwickshire, from whence he was, at the age of seventeen, in the long vacation, 1593, sent to Brazen Nose College, in the condition of a commoner, where he made a considerable progress in logic and philosophy. In 1599 he was elected student of Christ Church, and, for form sake, was put under the tuition of Dr. John Bancroft, afterwards Bishop of Oxford. In 1614 he was admitted to the reading of the Sentences, and on November 29, 1616, had the vicarage of St. Thomas, in the west suburb of Oxford, conferred on him by the dean and canons of Christ Church, which, with the rectory of Segrave, in Leicestershire, given to him in the year 1636, by George, Lord Berkeley, he kept, to use the words of the Oxford antiquary, with much ado to his dying day. He seems to have been first beneficed at Walsby, in Lincolnshire, through the munificence of his noble patroness, Frances, Countess Dowager of Exeter, but resigned the same, as he tells us, for some special reasons. At his vicarage, he is remarked to have always given the sacrament in wafers. Wood's character of him is, that "he was an exact mathematician, a curious calculator of nativities, a general read scholar, a thorough-paced philologist, and one that understood the surveying of lands well. As he was by many accounted a severe student, a devourer of authors, a melancholy and humorous person; so by others, who knew him well, a person of great honesty, plain dealing and charity. I have heard some of the ancients of Christ Church often say, that his company was very merry, facete, and juvenile; and no man in his time did surpass him for his ready and interlarding his common discourses among them with verses from the poets, or sentences from classic authors; which being then all the fashion in the University, made his company the more acceptable."

He appears to have been a universal reader of all kinds of books, and availed himself of his multifarious studies in a very extraordinary manner. From the information of Hearne, we learn that John Rouse, the Bodleian librarian, furnished him with choice books for the prosecution of his work. The subject of his labour and amusement, seems to have been adopted from the infirmities of his own habit and constitution. Mr. Granger says, "He composed this book with a view of relieving his own melancholy, but increased it to such a degree, that nothing could make him laugh, but going to the bridge-foot and hearing the ribaldry of the bargemen, which rarely failed to throw him into a violent fit of laughter. Before he was overcome with this horrid disorder, he, in the intervals of his vapours, was esteemed one of the most facetious companions in the University." His residence was chiefly at Oxford; where, in his chamber in Christ Church College, he departed this life, at or very near the time which he had some years before foretold, from the calculation of his own nativity, and which, says Wood, "being exact, several of the students did not forbear to whisper among themselves, that rather than there should be a mistake in the calculation, he sent up his soul to heaven through a slip about his neck." Whether this

suggestion is founded in truth, we have no other evidence than an obscure hint in the epitaph hereafter inserted, which was written by the author himself, a short time before his death. His body, with due solemnity, was buried near that of Dr. Robert Weston, in the north aisle which joins next to the choir of the cathedral of Christ Church, on January 27, 1639–40.

The *Anatomy of Melancholy* published in 1653 was widely read in the seventeenth century, lapsed for a time into obscurity, but in the eighteenth century it was admired by Dr. Samuel Johnson. [Also see *Johnson Samuel*.] Laurence Sterne's borrowings from this work are notorious. In the nineteenth century the devotion of Charles Lamb helped to bring the work into favour with the Romantics. [Also see Part III: *Anatomy of Melancholy*.] The *Anatomy of Melancholy* first appeared in 1621 under the pen-name of Democritus, Jr., and contained an Address to the Reader of 72 pages and 783 numbered pages ending with *Finis*. Bound with it is an Epilogue of six pages unnumbered in which are these words, "The last section shall be mine to cut the strings of Democritus' *vizor*, to unmaske and show him as he is." This is dated, "From my studie in Christ Church, Oxford, December 5, 1620," and signed Robert Burton. No other edition has these leaves, which do not appear to form any part of the book, but to have been added after printing as an afterthought. Strangely enough in his Address the author makes this startling statement, "I will yet to satisfie and please myselfe, make an Utopia of mine owne, a new Atlantis, a poetical commonwealth of mine owne, in which I will freely domineere, build cities, make lawes, statues, as I list myself"; which is just what Bacon did not long after in his *New Atlantis*.

The *Anatomy of Melancholy* seems to have been the only book published under Burton's name, though in his will he left his executor to dispose of "all such Books as are written with my own hand." He also left for disposal "half my Melancholy Copy for Henry Cripps hath the other half." Cripps was the publisher. Was Burton the real author of this work? In the British Museum is a copy of a book published in 1586, entitled *A Treatise of Melancholic*, by T. Bright. It is noticeable that Bright, who was a writer as well as an M.D., resided at Cambridge in the earlier part of his life, and was an admirer of Lady Burghley, the sister of Lady Bacon. He died in 1615. Burton in sketches of his life is said to have received his inspiration for the *Anatomy of Melancholy* from him.<sup>168</sup> Not only that, but referring to Old Verulam, the place suggests the fallen Chancellor, Burton says, "Near St. Albans, which must not now be whispered in the ear," his only special allusion to Bacon; yet he will be found to indulge in moralizing on the evils of his day, some of which may have been suggested by the frailty of Bacon himself and continues: "To see a man bend all his forces, means, time, fortune, to be a favourite's favourite's favourite."

In the *Biliteral Cipher of Francis Bacon* (Introduction) we are told that both Bright and Burton were names under which Bacon wrote, and that the different editions contain different (cipher) stories. At the time the *Treatise* was published, Burton was but eleven years of age. The inference from this would be that the *Treatise* was rewritten and enlarged in 1621, and published

168 (a) *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 8. Democritus, Jr. Philadelphia, 1853. (b) Cf. Memoir in edition of Burton's *Anatomy* of 1800. (c) Nichols. *Leicestershire*, Vol. II. p. 415. (d) Hearne. *Reliquitz*, Vol. I. p. 288

as the *Anatomy of Melancholy* under the pseudonym Democritus as Burton's work, one half of the copyright of which he owned in partnership with the printer. One who studies the works published under the name of Bacon, and those under the name Shakespeare, finds himself at the end face to face with an astounding problem. Here are the same thoughts often expressed in the same manner, or modified to suit the occasion; and since he knows the impossibility of two minds thinking the same thoughts, and expressing them in like manner, though subject to different experiences through life, he is forced to the conviction that these works, though published under different names, are the product of one mind.

Not long ago Laing and others, finding that Romano was only referred to as a painter, hastily rushed into print with the discovery that the author of *The Winter's Tale* had made "the egregious blunder of calling him a sculptor." Vasari, his contemporary, and the best of authorities, called him only a painter. Even Churton Collins, in the reprint from the First Folio, classes this allusion to Romano among his author's blunders, which would have passed unquestioned had not a copy of the Italian original of Vasari, published in 1550, been discovered. In this is a Latin epitaph which was upon Romano's tomb in the Church of St. Barnabas, and which lauded him for his achievements in "painting, architecture, and sculpture."<sup>169</sup>

There is no end to these issues and no doubt there will never be to the question of who wrote the Shakespeare Plays or Sonnets as seen by Calvert<sup>170</sup> (1872–1946) in his Preface of *Bacon and Shakespeare* published in 1902: "To anticipate for this little book that it may prove the means of convincing a single Baconian of the error of his ways, would be to express a hope that has only the faintest chance of realisation. Baconianism is so wilful and so obstinate that it is not amenable to any treatment that has yet been invented. It has its root in an entire misconception of the character and temperament of the man Bacon; it has nourished on the grossest misrepresentation of the man Shakespeare that the memory of an author has ever been subjected to. So long as the fallacy, backed up by specious argument, was confined to the consideration of the mighty few, it was scarcely necessary to enter into the lists with the Baconian champions, but the new and energetic move which is now being made to cast down Shakespeare from the topmost pinnacle in the temple of fame, and to set tip the figure of Bacon in his stead, has had the result of bringing the subject once more into public view." Many have written that Bacon is an "extinct volcano" but it should be stated, that Calvert was a well known Free Mason at St Alban Lodge No.29 and possibly Alfred Dodd's comment that "in future it will be particularly the proud privilege and high honour of every Master Mason to see that Francis Bacon is dealt with justly by the world,"<sup>171</sup> is offered to this Master Mason Calvert. Of the writer, Shakespeare, is well stated by Collins: "Fear," replied Neander, "that in obeying your commands, I shall draw a little envy upon myself." Besides, in performing them, it will be first necessary to speak somewhat of Shakespeare

<sup>169</sup> Baxter. *The Greatest Literary Problems*, 1915

<sup>170</sup> Calvert, Albert F. (Albert Frederick)

<sup>171</sup> Alfred Dodd. *The Personal Poems of Francis Bacon*, 1931

and his rivals in Poesy; and one of them, at least his equal, perhaps his superior. A few Baconian References in Burton's work:

- Burton's comment on a saying in an Essay of Bacon's: A bitter jest leaves a sting behind it: and as an honourable man [Bacon] observes, 'They fear a satirist's wit, he their memories.'
- Bacon's belief: Bachelors always are the bravest men. Burton: In sober sadness, 'marriage is bondage, a thralldom, a yoke, a hindrance to all good enterprises'. [Bacon's saying.]
- Bacon: Children make misfortunes more bitter. Burton: If she have children, and thy state be not good, though thou be wary and circumspect, thy charge will undo thee.
- Burton quotes from an Essay of Bacon's: A wife is a young man's mistress, a middle age's companion, an old man's nurse.
- Bacon's Essays: In all superstition wise men follow fools. Burton: They begin, as I say, with poor stupid, illiterate persons.

**Bushell Thomas** (1594–1674) Speculator and mining engineer. He was the page and Seal Bearer to Francis Bacon who nicknamed him *Buttoned Bushell* as his clothes were garnished with buttons. Aubrey <sup>172</sup> accounts a particular of Bushell's character: "In the time of the civil wars his hermitage over the rocks at Enston were hung with black-bays; his bed had black curtains, but it had no bed posts but hung by four cords covered with black-bays instead of bedposts. When the Queen Mother came to Oxon to the King, she either brought or somebody gave her, an entire mummy from Egypt, a great rarity, which her Majesty gave to Mr. Bushell, but I believe long ere this time the dampness of the place has spoiled it with mouldiness."

**Butler Gulielmus** (1535–1618) Of Clare Hall in Cambridge was one of the greatest physicians, and most capricious humourists of his time. His sagacity in judging of distempers was very great; and his method of cure was sometimes as extraordinary. Aubrey informs us, that it was usual with him to sit among the boys at St. Mary's Church in Cambridge; and that when he was sent for to King James, at Newmarket, he suddenly turned back to go home, and that the messenger was forced to drive him before him. The reputation of physic was very low in England before Butler's time; hypothetical nonsense was reduced into system, not only in medicine, but also in other arts and sciences. His will is among the Harleian manuscripts, No. 7049, Artic. 6. His benefactions to Clare Hall are mentioned at p. 197, of Richardi Parkeri *Sceletos Cantabrigiensis* and there are some notices of him, in Vol. III. p. 429, of Winwood's *Memorials*.

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<sup>172</sup> Aubrey John. *Brief Lives*

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**Caius John. Dr** (*d.*1573) This ridiculous character portrayed in the Shakespearean play *Merry Wives of Windsor*, was drawn from life. The prototype was Dr. John Caius of Cambridge University, a physician, the re-founder of Gonville Hall (which still in part bears his name), and in his relations with the students an exceedingly choleric and revengeful instructor. His true name was Kaye, but as he had been educated abroad, and was inclined to ape foreign manners, he changed his English cognomen into its Latin form, Caius, (pronounced Keyes), by which he was then and is now generally known. Caius' relations with the society over which he ruled at Cambridge were less happy. Lying, as he did, under the suspicion of aiming at a restoration of Catholic doctrine, he was an object of dislike to the majority of the fellows, and could with difficulty maintain his authority. He retaliated vigorously on the malcontents. He not only involved them in law-suits which emptied their slender purses, but visited them with personal castigations, and even incarcerated them in the stocks. Expulsions were frequent, not less than twenty of the fellows, according to the statement of one of their number, having suffered this extreme penalty.<sup>173</sup> Dr. Caius died in July, 1573, at which time the reputed poet was living at Stratford, nine years old. The controversy, as it raged in Cambridge and as it is reflected in the play, was a personal one, and in the absence of newspapers or equivalent means of disseminating general information could hardly have been known beyond University circles. Francis Bacon was the nephew of Lord Treasurer Burghley, to whom the students appealed for protection against their oppressor. He entered the University in April 1573, three months before Dr. Caius's death and in the height of the prevailing excitement. (Reed).

**Camden William** (1551–1623) Antiquary and historian. He published his *Britannia* in 1586 and in 1597 was made Clarencieux King-at-Arms, freeing him of academic duties enabling him to devote time to his historical works.

**Campanella Thomas** (1568–1639) Born in Calabria. An Italian, who suffered for his ardour in the cause of science. Entered the Dominican order when a boy, but had a free and eager appetite for knowledge. He urged, like Bacon, that Nature should be studied through her own works, not through books. He attacked, like Bacon, the dead faith in Aristotle, that instead of following his energetic spirit of research, lapsed into blind idolatry.<sup>174</sup> Being a Dominican monk, author of *Civitas Solis*, the story of an *Ideal Commonwealth*, he defended Telesius and was long years in prison. He warns men against mere books and definitions, proclaiming his own resolution to "compare books with that first and original writing, the world" and declaring that men must begin to reason from sensible things: "definition is the end and epilogue of Science."

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<sup>173</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*

<sup>174</sup> *Ideal Commonwealths* by various authors, 1890



**Campion Edmund** (1540–1581) Famous Jesuit, educated at Christ's Hospital, and afterward at St. John's, Oxford. He took an oath against the Pope's supremacy on proceeding to a Master's degree, in 1564; but was probably always a Catholic at heart. He welcomed Elizabeth to Oxford in a Latin oration in 1566, and was subsequently patronised by Leicester and Cecil. He took Deacon's orders, and went to Dublin in the hope of having the direction of the Dublin University, which it was proposed to resuscitate. He fell under suspicion as a Papist, but managed to escape arrest and return to England, whence, after hearing Dr. Storey's trial in 1571, he repaired to Douay, and formally renounced the Protestant faith. He went to Rome, became a Jesuit, and was among the first to be despatched to England on a Jesuit mission. He landed at Dover in 1580, and was arrested, but released and went to London. After various adventures in different parts of the country he was again arrested, and brought to London in 1581. He was rigorously examined as to his mission, but concealed the fact that he was charged to persuade Catholics to separate themselves from the English communion. Afterwards he was tortured, and a report, probably false, was spread abroad that he had betrayed his companions. He was then called upon to meet his adversaries in a public disputation, which he did with great courage and skill. After being again tortured, he was tried and convicted of treason in stirring up sedition. His trial was most unfairly conducted, and it seems probable that the charge was altogether false. He was executed on December 1, 1581.

**Campion Thomas** Flourished as a poet and physician during part of the reigns of Queen Elizabeth I., and King James I. He was educated at Cambridge, but of his family and life not any particulars can be traced, and probably the following is only an imperfect account of his several productions.

In 1594 a licence was granted to Richard Field, who also printed Puttenham's *The Arte of English Poesie*, for *Tho. Campiani Poema*; and that work seems to have founded the pretension for giving his name in the Comparative Discourse by Meres (1598) as one of those Englishmen who had "attained good report and honourable advancement in the Latin empire." *A Hymne in praise of Neptune*, from his pen, was "sung by Amphitryle, Thamesis, and other sea nimphes in Grayes-Inne Maske, at the Court, 1594," but the Mask has not been discovered. His confirmed reputation as a poet proves he wrote about that period many other English poems, that were circulated generally, and admired, if not printed. From such compositions as these, he was styled "Sweet Master Campion," in the margin of the *Polimanteia*, 1595, where it is said to "Cambridge, howsoever now old thou hast some young, bid them be chaste, yet suffer them to be witty; let them be soundly learned, yet suffer them to be gentleman like qualified." Though several eminent names are opposite the address to Oxford, which there follows, Campion's alone is affixed to Cambridge, as if he then shone the only eminent genius of that University and the admonition of the author, if not intended as a general one, might be a slight censure upon some youthful sallies of his Muse.

The above-noticed hymn from the Gray's Inn Masque, and three other pieces, were first printed in Davison's *Poetical Rapsodie*, 1602, the same year as his *Observations on Poetry* appeared; and in Camden's *Remains*, 1605, his name is found conspicuously placed in the list with Sydney,

Spenser, Owen, Daniel, Holland, Jonson, Drayton, Chapman, Marston, and Shakespeare, pregnant wits of those times, whom succeeding ages might justly admire. Perhaps there should here be mentioned as of that, or an earlier period, three other of his poems discovered in a manuscript that has a date of 1596, by Sir Egerton Brydges, and printed at the Lee press in the *Excerpta Tudoriana*, 1814. They are written in the spirit of true poetry.

As a dramatic writer he wrote some little musical entertainments, or Masques; a species of innocent revelry, usually exhibited at nuptials and other festivals; and the performance formed a fashionable recreation for near a century with the ladies at Court and the younger branches of our nobility. The music, a science in which he certainly excelled as a master, was also in part his own composition. All these pieces are now extremely rare.

**Catts Jacob. Dr** (1577–1660) Born at Brouwershaven in the Isle of Schouwen, province of Zeeland, on November 10. Eminent Dutch Jurisconsult, Statesman, and Poet. His father was a counsellor of some standing; and his son Jacob was first destined to the profession of the law. Having completed his course of philosophy, he proceeded to the University of Leyden, to study jurisprudence. From thence he went to France, and was some time at the University of Orleans, where he took the degree of Doctor of Laws. He subsequently went to Paris, and was very desirous to visit Italy; but his family opposed his going, and he was obliged to return to Holland. Arrived at The Hague, he applied himself wholly to jurisprudence, and was assiduous in his attendance at the Public Pleadings of the most distinguished lawyers. To perfect himself still more in his profession, he put himself under the direction of the jurisconsult, Cornelius Van der Pol, one of the most eminent pleaders of the Dutch Bar. Some time afterwards, Cats practised with distinction at Zieuwreckzee, and at Brouwershaven. At this period it would seem he applied himself no less assiduously to Poetry, and not only became distinguished among the literati of Holland for the purity and elegance of his Latin verses, but soon took rank as one of her first lyrists in his native tongue. Falling seriously ill of hectic fever, induced by over-application to study, he was advised by his physicians to seek a change of air. Hereupon he repaired to England, and visited the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford. When in London he consulted the then celebrated physician, Dr. Butter, on the subject of the obstinate fever which still afflicted him; but that physician was not more fortunate in his prescriptions than those of Holland.

Upon his return to his native country, he was eventually cured, says his biographer, Moreri, by an old alchemist. Distinguishing himself by his legislative and statesmanlike qualifications, no less than he had done by his poetic genius, Jacob Cats rose subsequently to high official rank, and for several years filled the post of State Pensionary and Chief Magistrate of Middleburgh and Dordrecht. He was eventually promoted to the rank of State Counsellor and Grand Pensionary of the province of West Friesland, and made Keeper of the Great Seal of Holland. After filling these important Offices for eighteen years, having now attained the age of seventy-two, he requested permission to retire into private life; which was at length granted by the States. His valuable services were, nevertheless, once more required, and he was solicited to form a member

of the Embassy sent at that time to England, to arrange a treaty of commerce between the two countries. After discharging the important duties therein delegated to him, he retired wholly into private life, and devoted himself with faculties still unimpaired to the Muses, up to the advanced age of eighty-three years, when he may be said to have expired with the pen in his hand.

Few men have left behind them greater proofs of indefatigable industry than Jacob Cats; and his numerous lyrical works are as rich in poetic genius as they are replete with evidence of world knowledge and genial with the love of mankind. This *Silenus Alcibiades sive Proteus* was published at Middleburgh in 1618. There is no author's name on the title page, but the Voor-reden, written in Dutch, is signed J. Cats. Attached to two of the preliminary complimentary verses are the names of Daniel Heyns and Josuah Sylvester, the translator of *Du Bartas*. The verses are in Latin, Dutch, and French. Immediately following the title page is a preface in Latin, signed by Majores de Baptis. Over this is the familiar emblem containing the archers, rabbits, and dogs, with the note of query on the right-hand side, and the message on the arrow. This volume is one of the most remarkable of the emblem books. The Latin preface is autobiographical. If the writer can be identified as the author of *Venus and Adonis*, it becomes one of the most important contributions to his biography. The poetic genius of a Jacob Cats found, in the pencils of Jan and Adrian Van De Venne, and the burins of Matham, Pet de Jode, Verstralen, Van Bremden, and others, artistic exponents worthy of his muse, and equal to his most ardent desires.

**Cecil Robert. Earl of Salisbury** (1563–1612) First appears in a public capacity in 1588, when he was sent to Spain in the train of Lord Derby, having been appointed Ambassador to negotiate conditions of peace. He represented Hertfordshire in the House of Commons in 1589. In 1591 he was sworn of the Privy Council; and in 1596, during the absence of his rival Essex on the Cadiz expedition, he was appointed Secretary of State. In 1598 he took part in an embassy to Paris with Lord Brooke, Raleigh, and others to hinder an alliance between France and Spain. In 1600 Cecil was a member of a Commission appointed to report on Essex's return from Ireland without permission, and managed to mitigate the gravity of his offence; but in 1601, on Essex's trial for treason, had to defend himself from an accusation by Essex of having declared himself in favour of the Infanta's claim to the throne. By careful preparations he secured the peaceable accession of James I., to the throne, and was raised to the peerage, and eventually made Earl of Salisbury in consequence. For the rest of his life he remained King James' most trusted minister. "He was a great artist in dissembling and double-dealing."<sup>175</sup>

**Cecil William. Lord Burghley** (b.1520–1598) Born at Bourne in Lincolnshire. His father Richard Cecil held the office of Master of the Royal Wardrobe to Henry VIII., and was generally known as a zealous Catholic, but, as a politician, he became the obsequious servant of the Court. The father of Richard Cecil was a working tailor. He subsequently kept an Inn at Stamford, where he was unsuccessful in trade. He came to London, and being a fine-looking man, obtained

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<sup>175</sup> Spedding, *Evenings with a Reviewer*, 1881

admission to the King's Body Guard. This new position proved to be the turning point in the future prosperity of the Cecil family. The grandson, William, received a University education. He studied for the profession of the law at Gray's Inn. Early in life he was fond of practical jokes. At one time he lost all his furniture and books at the gambling room of a convivial friend. "I am undone," he had said; "what shall I do?" He soon, however, thought of an expedient. He bored a hole in the wall which separated his chambers from those of the successful gambler, and at midnight shouted through the passage: "Give me back my property again, or else I will thrash you well; I am poor, do not fleece me; gambling is a great sin, do not cheat your poor friend." The next morning the gambler returned to young Cecil the money and other effects, which he had won from him. Sir Nicholas Bacon has related many of his wild freaks when but eighteen to twenty-two years of age. In after years William Cecil became one of the most remarkable statesmen in Europe.

He first attracted the notice of Henry VIII., by advocating the Spiritual Supremacy of that monarch. At this period Cecil was a very young man; and the fact of his exciting the attention of the King by the expression of certain opinions, was considered a proof that he possessed talent of a high order; besides, he was most pliant, and his principles were, whatever the King desired. At this time he was no favourite with the Seymours; but "circumstances" subsequently brought about an apparent friendship. Upon the accession of Edward VI., Cecil took office under Somerset, and when that Minister was impeached by the Warwick party, he deserted his friend and joined the Government formed by the newly created Duke of Northumberland. He volunteered to draw up the articles of impeachment against the Protestant and let the reader further remember that the "great performer" in question was his benefactor and sincere friend Somerset who was informed that Cecil had deserted him, he exclaimed, within tears and sobs, "Ah, my false friend! I thought he was a religious man, I have been deceived." It was a nice matter to discover a religious man connected with Warwick's government. Between Cranmer and Cecil there existed a private compact to promote the Reformation in Edward's reign and Cecil at that period was in communication with the German Reformers. He was also the agent through whom Cranmer offered terms to the "wavering secular clergy, to join the English Reformers." When Northumberland attempted to set aside the claims of Mary and Elizabeth to the English throne, Cecil joined him in his treason. The secret correspondence between Cecil and Northumberland, still extant amongst the State Papers of Edward's reign, reads like the despatches of men who were wholly absorbed in religion, but who in reality were engaged in a game of deep deception. They desired to keep the preachers on their side till a convenient opportunity occurred to dispose of them. Northumberland looked upon Cecil as the ablest man amongst the rising school of the Reformation party, and expressed a deep friendship for him. His professions in this case were hollow and treacherous; and Cecil, knowing such, was in daily correspondence with the secret agents of the Princess Mary. [Also see Part III: *Elizabethan Age*.]

**Cellini Benvenuto** (1500–1569) A great craftsman during the height of the Renaissance period: “The French King received me graciously, and I presented him with a cup and basin which I had executed for his Majesty, who declared that neither the ancients nor the greatest masters of Italy had ever worked in so exquisite a taste. His Majesty ordered me to make him twelve silver statues. They were to be figures of six gods and six goddesses, made exactly to his own height, which was very little less than three cubits. I began zealously to make a model of Jupiter. Next day I showed him in his palace the model of my great saltcellar, which he called a noble production, and commissioned me to make it in gold, commanding that I should be given directly a thousand old gold crowns, good weight. As a mark of distinction, the King granted me letters of naturalisation and a patent of Lordship of the Castle of Nesle. Later, I submitted to the King models of the new palace gates and the great fountain for Fontainebleau, which appeared to him to be exceedingly beautiful. Unluckily for me, his favourite, Madame d’Estampes, conceived a deep resentment at my neglect for not taking notice of her in any of my designs. When the silver statue of Jupiter was finished and set up in the corridor of Fontainebleau, alongside reproductions in bronze of all the first rate antiques recently discovered in Rome, the King cried out: “This is one of the finest productions of art that was ever beheld; I could never have conceived a piece of work the hundredth part so beautiful.” From a comparison with these admirable antique figures, it is evident that this statue of Jupiter is vastly superior to them. Madame d’Estampes was more highly incensed than ever, but the King said I was one of the ablest men the world had ever produced. The King ordered me a thousand crowns, partly as a recompense for my labours, and partly in payment of some disbursed by myself. I afterwards set about finishing my colossal statue of Mars, which was to occupy the centre of the fountain at Fontainebleau, and represented the King. Madame d’Estampes continuing her spiteful artifices, I requested the Cardinal of Ferrara to procure leave for me to make a tour to Italy, promising to return whenever the King should think proper to signify his pleasure. I departed in an unlucky hour, leaving under the care of my journeymen my castle and all my effects; but all the way I could not refrain from sighing and weeping. At this time Cosmo, Duke of Florence, resided at Poggio Cajano, a place ten miles from Florence. I there waited upon him to pay my respects, and he and his Duchess received me with the greatest kindness. At the Duke’s request I undertook to make a great statue of Perseus delivering Andromeda from the Medusa. A site was found for me to erect a house in which I might set up my furnaces, and carry on a variety of works both of clay and bronze, and of gold and silver separately. While making progress with my great statue of Perseus, I executed my golden vases, girdles, and other jewels for the Duchess of Florence, and also a likeness of the Duke larger than life. For a time I discontinued working upon marble statues and went on with Perseus, and eventually I triumphed over all the difficulties of casting it in bronze, although the shop took fire at the critical moment, and the sky poured in so much rain and wind that my furnace was cooled. I was so highly pleased that my work had succeeded so well that I went to Pisa to pay my respects to the Duke, who received me in the most gracious manner, while the Duchess vied with him in kindness to me.”<sup>176</sup>

**Clifton Baron** was taken into custody at the Tower for saying that he regretted not stabbing Francis Bacon when he had pronounced sentence against him. In October 1618, Clifton died by his own hand.<sup>177</sup>

**Cockeram Henry** (fl. 1650) Is known only as the author of *The English Dictionarie, or a New Interpreter of Hard English Words*, which was the first dictionary of the English language ever published. It is a small pocket volume, and, as the title indicates, does not profess to contain all the words in the language, but only those which specially require explanation. The second part, which occupies half the volume, may be called a dictionary for translating plain English into fine English, giving the ordinary words in alphabetical order, with their equivalents in the pompous literary dialect affected by writers of his period. Cockeram himself, however, was no admirer of the grandiloquent diction of his contemporaries, but remarks that he has thought it necessary to insert even “the fustian terms used by too many who study rather to hear themselves speak than to understand themselves.” On the title-page the author is designated only as *H.C. Gent.*, but the dedication, to Richard, Earl of Cork, is signed with his name in full. In this dedication he states that he was a relative of a Sir William Hull, whom the Earl had befriended, but he gives no other autobiographical information. The first edition of the book is said to have been published in 1623, and to have contained some complimentary verses by the dramatist John Webster, addressed “To his industrious friend, Master Henry Cockeram”;<sup>178</sup> but these lines were omitted in the succeeding editions. The second edition appeared in 1626, and the eleventh in 1655. A twelfth edition, revised and enlarged by S. C., in which the second part is suppressed and material alterations are made in the arrangement, was published in 1670. The Preface and Dedication to the English Dictionarie is in the British Museum Catalogue.

**Coke Edward. Sir** (1552–1634) Judge and law writer, commonly called Lord Coke or Cooke as the name was pronounced and frequently written in his own day, “the name of pre-eminence which he hath obtained in Westminster Hall”<sup>179</sup> came of an old Norfolk family, whose pedigree is traced from a William Coke of Doddington, or *Didlington*, mentioned in a deed of 1206.<sup>180</sup> His father, whom he describes as “a gentleman of Lincolne’s Inn,” was Lord of the manor of Mileham, where Coke, the only son of a family of eight, was born on February 1, 1551–52. He was educated at the Norwich free school, leaving which in September 1567 he was admitted into Trinity College, Cambridge, and afterwards proceeded by grace Master of Arts.<sup>181</sup> Fuller mentions that Whitgift was his tutor, but this is probably a misstatement of the fact that Whitgift about this time became Master of Trinity.

177 (a) William Camden. *Diaries* (b) R. Stephens. *Letters and Remains of the Lord Chancellor Bacon*, 1734

178 Webster. *Works*, ed. Dyce, p. 378

179 Barrington. *Observations*, 4th ed. p. 127

180 (a) Blomefield. *Norfolk*, Vol. V. p. 807 (b) Collins. *Peerage*, 3rd ed. Vol. III. p. 678 (c) Hasted. *Kent*, Vol. I. p. 288

181 Holkham MS. 727

After three years and a half spent at Cambridge, Coke in 1571 went to reside in Clifford's Inn, one of the Inns of Chancery dependent on the Inner Temple, and in the following year (24 April) he was "entered," as Fuller puts it, "a student of the municipal law in the Inner Temple." He was called to the bar on April 20, 1578 after a period of study somewhat shorter than was then customary. Already he had gained a considerable reputation as a lawyer, and practice came to him quickly. "The first occasion of his rise," we are told by Lloyd, "was his stating of the Cook's case of the Temple so exactly that all the house who were puzzled with it admired him; and his pleading it so that the whole bench took notice of him."<sup>182</sup> What the Cook's case was does not appear; Lord Campbell gives no authority for his more detailed account.<sup>183</sup>

In 1579 Coke was counsel for the defendant in *Cromwell vs Denny* (Coke, 4 *Reports* 13), an action *de scandalis magnatum* for words uttered by Denny, a Norfolk vicar, imputing sedition to the Lord Cromwell; and two years afterwards he was engaged in the famous Shelley's case (Coke, 1 *Reports* 94), which has ever since remained one of the leading cases in the law of real property. The year after his call he was appointed reader of Lyon's Inn, a post generally held by an utter barrister of ten or twelve years' standing,<sup>184</sup> and in 1584 he was retained as counsel by the corporation of Ipswich, with a yearly fee of five marks.<sup>185</sup> In 1582 he married Bridget Paston, a descendant of the family of the Paston Letters<sup>186</sup> who brought him a fortune of £30,000 besides considerable property in land. Throughout a long life Coke steadily added to his possessions. "Beginning on a good bottom left him by his father," says Fuller, "marrying a wife of extraordinary wealth, having at the first great and gainful practice, afterwards many and profitable offices, being provident to choose good pennyworths in purchases, leading a thrifty life, living to a great age, during flourishing and peaceable times (born as much after the persecution under Queen Mary, as dying before our civil wars), no wonder if he advanced a fair estate, so that all his sons might seem elder brethren by the large possessions left unto them."<sup>187</sup>

His advancement in public life was very rapid, owing at the outset in a great measure to the powerful assistance of Burghley. The following is a list of the chief offices held by him at various times before his fall:

- Recorder of Coventry, 1585.
- Recorder of Norwich, 1586.
- Bencher of the Inner Temple, 1590.
- Solicitor-General, reader of the Inner Temple, and Recorder of London, 1592.
- Speaker of the House of Commons, 1592–93.
- Attorney-General, 1593–94.

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<sup>182</sup> *State Worthies*, Vol. II. p. 109

<sup>183</sup> *Chief Justices*, Vol. I. p. 243

<sup>184</sup> Stow. 6th ed. Vol. I. p. 125

<sup>185</sup> Hist. MSS. Comm. 9th Rep. 255 a

<sup>186</sup> Fenn. *Paston Letters*, Vol. II. p. 158; *Extinct Baronetages*, p. 402

<sup>187</sup> *Worthies, Norfolk*, p. 250

- Treasurer of the Inner Temple, 1596.
- Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, 1606.
- Chief Justice of the King's Bench, 1613 and High Steward of the University of Cambridge, 1614.

He sat in the Parliament of 1589 as one of the burgesses of Aldborough in Suffolk. His readings at the Inner Temple were cut short by the plague of 1592. He had delivered five of his lectures on the Statute of Uses when he was forced to leave London for his house at Huntingfield in Suffolk, nine benchers, forty barristers, and other members of the Inn bearing him company as far as Romford. In 1592, he was returned as one of the Knights of the county of Norfolk. In the following year he was chosen speaker, an office invariably filled in Elizabeth's reign by a lawyer. The struggle between the Queen and the Parliament as to the right of the latter to meddle with ecclesiastical affairs was then at its height, and, standing between them, Coke occupied a very delicate position, in which he showed "much subtlety in avoiding a conflict. On the occasion of a bill relating to abuses practised by the Court of High Commission, whose powers were being used not against papists but against puritans, he dexterously succeeded in putting off discussion till he received the Queen's message prohibiting the House from entering on such matters a message which he conveyed to them in courtly and submissive language, and against which no protest was raised."<sup>188</sup>

His appointment, as Attorney-General in 1593, led to the first collision between him and Bacon, whose claims to the office were strongly pressed by Essex. Bacon failed even in becoming Solicitor-General, owing, as he believed, to Coke's interference;<sup>189</sup> and in fact no Solicitor-General was appointed till 1595, Coke performing the duties of both offices. His wife died on June 27, 1598, and on November 6 of the same year he married Lady Elizabeth Hatton, granddaughter of Burghley. "The seventh of this month," writes Chamberlain, "the Queen's Attorney married the Lady Hatton, to the great admiration of all men, that after so many large and likely offers she should decline to a man of his quality, and the will not believe it was without a mystery."<sup>190</sup> The fact that Bacon, again warmly supported by Essex, was also a suitor for the lady's hand, may explain Coke's unseemly haste. The marriage ceremony, moreover, was itself irregular, being celebrated in a private house, without banns or license; Coke and his bride and other persons present were prosecuted in the Archbishop's Court, for "they had all of them fallen under the greater excommunication and the consequent penalties";<sup>191</sup> but on making submission they were absolved. Most of Coke's biographers say that the irregularity was due to the fact that Whitgift had just before issued a circular forbidding private marriages; but this was no new

<sup>188</sup> (a) *Parliament History*. Vol. I. pp. 878-888 (b) Spedding. *Bacon*, Vol. I. p. 229

<sup>189</sup> Bacon's Letter to Coke, Spedding, *Works*, Vol. III. p. 4

<sup>190</sup> *Letters*, Camden Society, p. 29, & p. 63

<sup>191</sup> Collier. *Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. p. 662



provision of church law. The circular, in fact, is dated November 19<sup>192</sup> while the marriage was either on the 6th, Coke's own date, or on the 7th, Chamberlain's date, the irregularity of Coke's marriage may very well have called forth the circular. The marriage thus ominously celebrated proved one of the plagues of Coke's life, Lady Hatton's fortune and her own character proving fruitful causes of quarrel in his later years. Meanwhile his great learning and his energy were gaining for him a brilliant position. "There is a common tradition in Westminster Hall," says Barrington, "that Sir Edward Coke's gains at the latter end of this century equalled those of a modern Attorney-General."<sup>193</sup>

Coke had become so great a man that in 1601 he entertained Elizabeth in his house at Stoke Pogis the "ancient pile" in Gray's "Long Story" and is said to have presented her "with jewels and other gifts to the value of a thousand or twelve hundred pound."<sup>194</sup> From the time of his call to the bar he had taken careful notes of cases which he heard argued, and in 1600 he began their publication with the first volume of his *Reports*, afterwards bringing out the other ten volumes<sup>195</sup> at various dates up to 1615. In the same year there began a series of great state prosecutions, in which Coke, first as Attorney-General, and then as judge, was a chief actor.

At the bar he conducted the prosecution in the trials of the Earls of Essex and Southampton in 1600 (I. *State Trials*. 1333), of Sir Walter Raleigh in 1603 (II. *State Trials*, 1), and of the gunpowder plotters in 1605 (II *State Trials*. 159 *et seq.*) In all of these he exhibited a spirit of rancour, descending even to brutality, for which no one has attempted a defence, his biographers one and all agreeing that his conduct towards Raleigh was simply infamous. "Thy Machiavelian and devilish policy;" "thou hast a Spanish heart, and thyself art a spider of hell;" "I will now make it appear to the world that there never lived a viler viper upon the face of the earth than thou;" these are some of the flowers of his speech. "The extreme weakness of the evidence," says Sir James Stephen, "was made up for by the rancorous ferocity of Coke, who reviled and insulted Raleigh in a manner never imitated, so far as I know, before or since in any English Court of justice, except perhaps in those in which Jeffreys presided."<sup>196</sup> But there seems no reason to doubt that, with his excited ideas about Spain and the Jesuits, he honestly believed in Raleigh's guilt.

On the death of Gawdy in 1606 Coke was made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and his new office brought into light a new side of his character. Hitherto he had been engaged in the pushing of his own fortunes and in a strenuous defence of the crown; he was now to enter on an equally strenuous and more courageous defence of the law. He had immediately to face a determined attempt on the part of the church to shake off the control of the Courts of common law. In 1605 Archbishop Bancroft in the name of the whole clergy had presented to the Star Chamber his famous articles of complaint, styled in the judges' answer, after a statute of Edward

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<sup>192</sup> Steype & Works. *Whitgift's Life*, Vol. XVII. p. 400

<sup>193</sup> *Observations*, 4th ed. p. 508

<sup>194</sup> *Chamberlain*, Camden Society, p. 118

<sup>195</sup> Vols. XII., and XIII., were not published in his lifetime

<sup>196</sup> *History of Criminal Law*, Vol. I. p. 333

II., *articuli cleri*, concerning the issue of prohibitions against the decrees of the ecclesiastical Courts, arguing that these should have co-ordinate jurisdiction with the secular Courts, the powers of both being held by delegation from the King. The judges answered the clerical arguments one by one, and treated them with very little ceremony: in issuing prohibitions they had acted strictly according to law, and till the law was altered by Parliament they could not alter their mode of administering it.<sup>197</sup>

King James was flattered by the absolutist doctrines of the clergy, which were still more manifest in the unpublished canons of the convocation of 1606, and, eager to carry into practice his exaggerated notions of the prerogative, he gave his strong support to the Archbishop. The controversy with the judges was but one phase of the struggle for ecclesiastical independence, which tilts so large a part of the Parliamentary debates of the period. In other ways, Coke rendered great service in resisting James' exaggerations of the prerogative. Bate's case, which raised the question of the King's right to put impositions on imported merchandise, did not come before him judicially, but it was reviewed by him in a conference with Chief-Justice Popham. Probably the King had sought from them a confirmation of the judgment of the exchequer; but, if this was the case, he was disappointed. They do not seem to have questioned the actual decision, but they gave no support to Fleming's doctrine that in these matters the King's discretion was unconfined. "The King," they resolved, "cannot at his pleasure put any imposition upon any merchandise to be imported to this Kingdom, or exported, unless it be for advancement of trade and traffic, which is the life of every island, *pro bono publico*." (Coke, 12 *Reports* 33).

Among the other famous cases of this period was that of the post-nati, involving the question whether or not persons born in Scotland after the union were aliens in England. The judges were consulted on the general question, and the point was afterwards specifically raised in Calvin's case. On both occasions Coke, with the majority of the judges, decided in favour of the view which so alarmed the House of Commons, that a post-natis, being still under allegiance to King James, was a natural-born subject and no alien.<sup>198</sup> Fleming, the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, died in August 1613. Partly to secure his own advancement, partly to remove Coke to a position in which he would come less seldom into conflict with the King and his advisers, Bacon proposed that Coke should be transferred to the vacant place. The income was less than that of the other Chief Justiceship, but the dignity was higher.<sup>199</sup> "My Lord Coke," said Bacon, laying his reasons before the King, "will think himself near a Privy Councillor's place, and thereupon turn obsequious. Besides the remove of my Lord Coke to a place of less profit (though it be with his will) yet will be thought abroad a kind of discipline to him for opposing himself in the

<sup>197</sup> 2 *Inst.* 601 & II *State Trials*, 131

<sup>198</sup> Coke. 7 *Reports*. Vol. I., II. *State Trials*, 559

<sup>199</sup> See, however, *Somers Tracts*, Vol. II. p. 382, where Coke's annual fee as Chief Justice of the King's Bench is given as 224 (19. 9d., with 33/. 6. 8d. for circuits; while the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas had only 161/. 13s. Id., and 33/. 6s. 8d.

King's causes, the example whereof will contain others in more awe."<sup>200</sup> The advice was followed, and much against his will Coke was made Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Ben Jonson, in an epigram written about this date, pays an eloquent tribute to Coke's character as a judge, and such evidence as we possess confirms the praise of his integrity and public spirit.<sup>201</sup> Meeting Bacon soon after, Coke accosted him, very much as Lord Campbell did Bethell on a similar occasion: "Mr. Attorney! this is all your doing; it is you that have made this great stir." "Ah, my Lord," replied Bacon, "your Lordship all this while hath grown in breadth; you must needs grow in height, else you will prove a monster."<sup>202</sup> [Also see Part V: *Important Letters written by Bacon*].

So little weight, however, did the King attach to Bacon's first reason, that ten days later Coke was made a Privy Councillor. Had he become obsequious, or even conciliatory, he would certainly have risen still higher; but he remained as rigid as ever, and he was soon in trouble. His attitude on the subject of benevolences might seem to show a more yielding disposition; but in his opinion, given in the Star Chamber, he was careful to insist that a benevolence was legal, not as a compulsory tax, but as a free-will offering.<sup>203</sup> In Peacham's case, he made an unsuccessful attempt to check the practice of consulting the judges extrajudicially, and his conduct in the matter has been censured as obstructive. He had certainly to retreat from his first position, "that such auricular taking of opinions was not according to the custom of the realm," qualifying it afterwards by saying that "this auricular taking of opinions, single and apart, was new and dangerous;" and by agreeing at last to give an opinion he admitted that in strictness his objection could not be sustained. But in substance he was right. The practice against which he argued was not new. Ideas, in Coke's time undeveloped, of the necessity of keeping distinct the judicial function of government, have confirmed his opinion that the practice is dangerous. In objecting, moreover, to advise on the case without consulting his fellow-judges, he was making no claim that the judges should be treated as one whole body or class; he was making a natural protest against a compulsory separation of himself from the others, in which he saw a clear attempt to force them to give an opinion favourable to the prosecution. That was undoubtedly the King's intention, and the device which he adopted is the strongest evidence of the great influence possessed by Coke.<sup>204</sup>

Hallam's statement, that the other three judges were "tampered with," is far too strong. At any rate he was considered by the King and by Bacon to have again taken up a hostile position, and to have shown his determination on all occasions to claim for the common law judges an absolute and dangerous independence. According to Blackstone, Coke was clearly in the wrong (III. 54). This does not merely mean, as Hallam suggests, that the contrary opinion has prevailed, for the right of the Chancery to interfere by injunction had been long established. Yet we cannot judge Coke's

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200 Spedding. *Works*, Vol. IV. p. 381

201 Jonson Ben. *Underwoods*, LXV

202 Gardiner. Vol. II. p. 209, from Bacon's *Apophthegms*

203 II. *State Trials*. p. 904 & Coke. 12 *Reports*. 119

204 Spedding. *Works*, Vol. V. p. 114 & Gardiner. Vol. II. p. 279

conduct without considering that in his day the powers of the Chancellor were not clearly defined, and were therefore open to great abuse <sup>205</sup> evidently takes his story from Kennet, <sup>206</sup> but tells it inaccurately and makes bold additions. It affected the King's right of granting commendams, and James had through Bacon directed first Coke and then the other judges to stay the action until his Majesty's further pleasure should be known as to consulting with him. They agreed to disregard the injunction, and justified their conduct in a letter to the King, probably written by Coke, in which they declared Bacon's message to be contrary to law, and such as they could not yield to by their oath. They were at once summoned before the Council, and after an angry scene, in the course of which the King tore up their letter, and together with Bacon, the Attorney-General, lectured them severely, the question was put to them directly whether they would obey a similar order in the future. Eleven of the twelve promised obedience. Coke alone remained firm, saying merely that he would do that which an honest and just judge ought to do. <sup>207</sup>

In the trials arising out of the mysterious murder of Overbury, <sup>208</sup> though he drew high compliments even from Bacon "never man's person and his place were better met in a business than my Lord Coke and my Lord Chief Justice in the cause of Overbury, yet he was felt to have been over-zealous in his eagerness to discover the truth." [Also see Part III: *The Overbury Case of 1616*.]

During Sir Thomas Monson's trial he hinted darkly at some important secret affecting persons of high station; rumour connected his words with the death of Prince Henry; Weldon, indeed <sup>209</sup> quoting as Coke's actual words, "God knows what became of that sweet babe, Prince Henry, but I know somewhat;" and the staying of the trial by the King's intercession made people believe that the King feared the disclosure of awkward facts. "Sure," says Roger Coke, "the displacing Sir Edward Coke the next year gave reputation to these rumours." The words quoted by Weldon do not appear in the report in the *State Trials*. <sup>210</sup>

Another subject of offence was Coke's refusal to appoint Villiers' nominee to a post in the green wax office, which, says Roger Coke in his *Detection*, <sup>211</sup> who, however, is a very untrustworthy authority, "I have it from one, of Sir Edward's sons," was the cause of his removal. Doubtless there were many such influences at work, but of course the charges formally brought against him were of a more public nature. They were chiefly his attempts, some successful and others not, to weaken the "ecclesiastical commission, the Star Chamber," the Chancery and other Courts, the list of such grievances being set forth in a paper entitled *Innovations introduced into the Laws and Government*, written partly in Bacon's hand, and evidently submitted by him to the King. <sup>212</sup>

205 (a) Spedding. *Works*, Vol. V. pp. 252, 371, 380 (b) Gardiner. Vol. III. p. 11 (c) Campbell. *Chancellors*, 4th ed. Vol. II. p. 363

206 Vol. II. p. 704

207 Holkham MS. 726; 8. P.D. IXXXVII., 371

208 2 *State Trials*, 911 *et seq*

209 See *Court and Character of King James*, p. 123

210 On the Overbury scandals, see *Truth brought to Light by Time* in Somers' *Tracts*, Vol. II. p. 262 *et seq*

211 Vol. I. p. 19

212 Spedding. *Works*, Vol. VI. p. 90

Coke was occasionally consulted by the King on private matters, and in September 1617 he was recalled to the Council. The rumour ran that he was to be raised to the peerage; and the statement is made by so many different letter-writers that evidently some very marked recognition of his services was looked for. But it was only rumour. He had to submit to be “tossed up and down like a tennis-ball.” During the next years, however, he sat in the Star Chamber, and was a member of several commissions of inquiry concerning the enforcement of the laws against seminary priests, the disputes between the Dutch East India Company and English traders, various matters of finance, and other subjects.<sup>213</sup>

King James I., died March 27, 1625 and in Charles I’s initial Parliament, Coke sat for Norfolk. The King’s demand for money to carry on the war was the chief subject of debate. With their minds full of unredressed grievances, and ignorant of the purposes to which the money was to be devoted, the commons confined the grant of tonnage and poundage to one year, instead of following the old practice of granting it for the King’s life, and for the special needs of the time gave two subsidies, amounting to about £140,000. Charles had named no sum, but this was probably not a tenth part of what he wanted. He summoned the Parliament to meet again at Oxford, and demanded a new subsidy. Coke, in what has been described as one of his greatest speeches, argued strongly against concession, pointing to the depression of trade and the inability of the people to bear a greater load, refusing to acknowledge the alleged necessity for a larger grant, and saying that so long as the King was led by ill advisers there was no encouragement to give.<sup>214</sup>

The height of Coke’s legal fame has overshadowed his other claims to greatness. It is often forgotten how largely in the great struggle against personal government his courage and the extraordinary weight of his influence contributed to the final result. He had certainly many grave defects. It was a liberty of a restricted kind for which he fought, and in more placid times he would have been distinguished as a stout defender of authority. In matters of religion he was the most intolerant of men, regarding all forms of laxity as the chief of political dangers. During the debate on Dr. Montague’s book in 1625, he expressed a wish that “no man may put out any book of divinity not allowed by convocation.”<sup>215</sup> Of originality in his political ideas there is no trace; and he probably despised the vast political schemes of Bacon as much as he did the *Novum Organum*. Coke’s opinion of Bacon’s philosophical work has been curiously preserved in the copy of the *Novum Organum* which Bacon presented to him. It bears the inscription: “*Edw. C. ex dono auctoris. Auctori consilium. Instaurare paras veterum documenta sophorum: Instaura leges, justitiamque prius*, and a sketch of a ship, with the lines: *It deserveth not to be read in Schools, but to be freighted in the Ship of Fools*.”<sup>216</sup> [Also see Part III: *Ship of Fools*.]

Coke’s remaining years were spent at Stoke, among his much honoured allies and friends of Buckingham, as he says in the preface to his *Institutes*. We have few facts of his life during these

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213 Index to Rymer’s *Feadera*, Vol. XVII

214 Forster. *Eliot*, Vol. I. p. 373

215 *Common Journal*, Vol. I. p. 809

216 Spedding. *Works*, Vol. VI. p. 252, 1819

years. In 1630 one Jeftes was convicted of libelling him, having affirmed his judgment in the case of Magdalen College “to be treason, and calling him therein traitor, perjured judge”, and scandalising all the professors of the law. We hear of him again in 1631. A friend, learning that he was in ill-health, sent him two or three doctors; but he told them that he had never taken physic since he was born, and would not now begin; and that he had now upon him a disease which all the drugs of Asia, the gold of Africa, nor all the doctors of Europe could cure old age. He therefore both thanked them and his friend that sent them, and dismissed them nobly with a reward of twenty pieces to each man.

Coke died at Stoke Pogis, September 3, 1634 and was buried at Tittleshall in Norfolk, where his epitaph records in English the chief facts of his life, and in Latin his virtues and genius. Two days later, the Queen’s entrails, encased in a hexagonal container was brought to Westminster by her servants at 8:00pm, and deposited in the lower part of the chapel in which Queen Elizabeth I., lays buried to this day. “His [Coke’s] parts were admirable,” says Fuller, “he had a deep judgment, faithful memory, active fancy; and the jewel of his mind was put into a fair case, a beautiful body, with a comely countenance; a case which he did wipe and keep clean, delighting in good clothes, well worn, and being wont to say, that the outward neatness of our bodies might be a monitor of purity to our souls.”<sup>217</sup>

“I am in good hope, that when Sir Edward Coke’s *Reports*, and my *Rules and Decisions* shall come to posterity, there will be (whatsoever is now thought) question, who was the greater Lawyer.” (Bacon).

**Collier Payne John** (b. January 11, 1789) Born in London. Son of John Dyer Collier, a prominent journalist. After a brief flirtation with the Bar, John Payne Collier entered the writing trade as well and began writing for *The Times* and other periodicals. Collier was an accomplished Parliamentary reporter by the time he was twenty and earned enough income to feed his growing interest in books and literature. Although Collier continued to work as a political journalist, by his late twenties he was devoting more time to his literary interests and contributed numerous essays and poetry to literary periodicals. In 1820, Collier’s book *The Poetical Decameron, or Ten Conversations on English Poets and Poetry* was published. He became known as an authority on the history of the English stage and also began writing theatre reviews. In 1828, Collier obtained the position of librarian to the Duke of Devonshire, who possessed one of the finest private libraries in England. Here Collier refined his interest in the work of Shakespeare. In 1840, he founded the Shakespeare Society and by 1841 Collier’s reputation as a Shakespeare scholar had risen to such heights that he was solicited to edit a new edition of the works of Shakespeare which was published, in eight volumes, between 1841–1843. [See Part III: *Collier’s forgeries*].

**Condell Henry** (d. 1627) Actor and one of the two editors of the First Folio edition of Shakespeare’s plays, was one of the ten “principal comedians” performing in Ben Jonson’s *Every Man in his*

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217 Worthies. *Norfolk*, p. 251

*Humour*, 1598, and *Every Man out of his Humour*, 1599. The names only of the actors in these plays, and not the parts played by each, are supplied by the old lists; but Mr. J. P. Collier has suggested that Condell created the part of Captain Bobadil. In the plat, or program (dating before 1589), of Tarleton's Second Part of the *Seven Deadly Sins* the role of Ferrex is assigned to Harry, and Steevens identified the actor with Condell. Although this identification is highly doubtful, the fact of Condell's appearance in Jonson's comedies is proof that he had many years experience as an actor at the close of the sixteenth century. A statement made in 1729 that Condell was originally a printer is entirely unconfirmed by contemporary evidence. With Shakespeare and Burbage, Condell was a member of the company of players known as the Lord Chamberlain's men at the end of Elizabeth's reign; and when in May 1603 this company was formally enrolled as The King's Servants, Condell's name stood sixth on the list of members.

In 1599 Richard Burbage and his brother Cuthbert built the Globe Theatre. Condell became a partner in the profits of that theatre, and his prominence in the Lord Chamberlain's company also secured for him an important share in the profits of the Blackfriars Theatre. In 1604 Condell acted in Marston's *Malcontent*; in Webster's *Induction* to that play he is brought on the stage, together with Burbage, Lowin, and other actors, under his own name, and several speeches are assigned him. He acted in Ben Jonson's *Sejanus*, 1603, in his *Volpone*, 1605, in his *Alchemist*, 1610, and in his *Catiline*, 1611, and his name appears in the lists of actors who took leading parts in Shakespeare's and Beaumont and Fletcher's chief plays. In 1613 he was acting at the Globe in *All is True* (probably identical with *Henry VIII.*) when the playhouse caught fire. The role of the Cardinal in Webster's *Duchess of Main* was frequently filled by him before 1623. On 27 March 1618-19 a new patent to his company places his name third on the list, John Heminge and Richard Burbage (then just dead) alone preceding it. When Charles I., renewed the Company's privileges on his accession to the throne in 1625, Condell is the second actor named. Condell is traditionally associated with leading comic parts, but it is probable that he occasionally appeared in tragedy.

Condell's theatrical engagements brought him into close relations with Shakespeare. In the great dramatist's Will & Testament, dated 5 March 1615-16, 26s. 8d. is bequeathed to "my fellowes, John Hemynges, Richard Burbage, and Henry Cundell...to buy them ringes." In 1623 Heming and Condell combined to do their friend's memory the justice of publishing the first collected edition of his plays. They both sign the dedication to the brothers, William, Earl of Pembroke, and Philip, Earl of Montgomery.

Condell was prosperous in his profession, and while actively engaged in it lived in a house of his own in the parish of St. Mary Aldermanbury. He was sidesman there in 1606. About 1623 he retired from the stage. In 1625, while the plague was raging in London, Thomas Dekker issued a biting prose satire on those who had fled from the infection, entitled *A Rod for Run-aways*. An anonymous reply was issued immediately, entitled *The Run-aways Answer*, with a dedication "to our much respected and very worthy friend, Mr. H. Condell, at his country house at Fulham."

The writers, whose initials only are appended to the dedication, state that they are actors who have been assailed by Dekker with especial fury, that they left London on a professional tour, and not from fear of the plague, and that Condell, whom they beg to arbitrate between themselves and Dekker, entertained them royally before their departure. Condell remained at his country house at Fulham till his death, which took place in December 1627. He was buried in the church of St. Mary Aldermanbury on 29 Dec. According to his will, where he styles himself gentleman and spells his name Cundell, he owned, besides his shares in the Blackfriars and Globe theatres and his dwelling-houses at Fulham and Aldermanbury, land and tenements in Helmet Court, Strand, in the parish of St. Bride, Fleet Street, and in the parish of St. Mary Aldermanbury; John Heminge and Cuthbert Burbage were two of the overseers of his will. His widow was executrix and chief legatee. Condell married before 1599. Nothing is known of his wife except that her name was Elizabeth, and that she was buried at St. Mary Aldermanbury on 3 Oct. 1635. Entries in the registers of St. Mary's Church show that Condell had nine children baptized there between 27 Feb. 1598[9] and 22 Aug. 1614, but only three, Henry, William, and Elizabeth, survived their father. The daughter married Herbert Finch, and Henry died in March 1629–30.<sup>218</sup>

We first hear of Condell in 1598, playing in Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*. The tradition of the players was that the manuscript of this play had been seen by Shakespeare when Jonson was in very low water, and had by him been introduced to the theatre—as well as Ben to the public; an act always remembered with gratitude by Jonson. Shakespeare himself took part in the play, and so did Burbage. As Condell's wife had his shares after his death, he must have continued his connection with the theatre until the last. His, and Heminge's name stood at the head of the players in the patent granted by Charles I., to them in 1625. We know very little of either of them. The parish books show that they were respected, by the offices to which they were appointed. This is saying much, for players were held in low esteem in the City, which was very puritanic and inveighed strongly against the stage. We find that Condell played with Burbage in most of Beaumont and Fletcher's dramas, as doubtless Shakespeare did in their early plays. Condell lived in the parish of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, London, for upwards of thirty years;—he was a sidesman in 1606, he had nine children;—but was living in the country at Fulham in 1625. In that year the plague in the City was very bad in summer and autumn; the theatre was closed as usual in times of plague; and the clergyman, together with large numbers of parishioners were carried off by it. All that we have remaining of Condell is the signature to his will.<sup>219</sup> [Also see *Heminge John*]

**Consalvo Fernandez of Cordova** (d.1515) Commonly called the Great Captain, and certainly one of the most successful soldiers of the age in which he lived, was employed by the King of Spain in his Italian wars. He died at Granada in December 1515. Commented by Bacon in his work *De Aug.*, Bk. VII.

<sup>218</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol., XI, 1887

<sup>219</sup> Charles Clement Walker. *John Heminge and Henry Condell*, 1896



**Consentini Telessi** His principal work is his *De Rerum Naturâ*; the first two books were published in 1565 and the whole in 1586. Bacon derived more ideas from Telessi than from any other of the novelists, as he has somewhere called the philosophical innovators, and has written a separate treatise on three systems of philosophy, of which his is one. Commented by Bacon in his work *De Aug.*, Bk. III. <sup>220</sup>

**Constable John. Sir** Bacon's brother-in-law, had the honour to receive a dedication in the edition of Bacon's Essays imprinted at London by John Beale 1612; he was afterwards appointed one of Bacon's executors, receiving the valuable legacy of all his books.

**Corbet Richard** (1582–1635) Was quite friendly with the Duke of Buckingham, King James I's favourite. The last words he spoke on his death bed were, *Good night, Lushington*. (Aubrey).

**Cotton Robert Bruce. Sir** (1571–1631) English antiquarian, the founder of the Cottonian Library, and a prominent Parliamentarian in the reign of Charles I. The collection of historical documents that he amassed in his library eventually formed the basis of the manuscript collection of the British Museum (founded 1753); the library caught fire in 1731 that easily destroyed historical documents.

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**Dano Severino** (*d.*1602) Danish physician. Upon his death he left several works on medical and philosophical subjects, in which he followed the opinions of Paracelsus. Bacon's comments on him in his work *De Augmentis*, Bk. III.

**Davenant William. Sir** (1606–1668) Dramatist and servant to Sir Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, with whom he lived to his death.

**Davies John of Hereford** (*b.*1563 *or* 1565–*d.*1618) Born at Hereford. Poet and writing-master. Wood states that he was educated at Oxford University, and among the poems prefixed to *Microcosmos*, 1603, is a copy of Latin verses by Robert Burhill. From a poetical address *To my much honoured and entirely beloved patroness, the most famous University of Oxford*, published among the poems appended to *Microcosmos*, we learn that he resided for a time at Oxford, pursuing his occupation of writing-master, and two of his Sonnets are in praise of Magdalen College, where he seems to have had many pupils. But it is clear, both from the address to his patroness and from the Sonnets, that he was not a member of the University. Although he attained high fame as a writing-master, and his pupils were drawn from the noblest families in the land, Davies assures us that it was difficult for him to gain a comfortable livelihood. The Earl of Northumberland's book of household expenses for 1607 records the payment of 40s. "to Mr. Davyes, the writer." <sup>221</sup>

<sup>220</sup> Spedding. *Works*, Vol. V

<sup>221</sup> Hist. MSS. Comm., 6th Rep., 229

In 1608 Davies was living in the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-West, London (Hunter's *Chorus Vatitu*), and in January 1612–13 his first wife, Mary Croft, by whom he had a son Sylvanus, was buried in the church of St. Dunstan, where there is a monument to her with memorial verses by her husband. He took a second wife, Dame Juliana Preston, a widow, in 1613, and in the marriage license, dated July 19, 1613 he is stated to be "about forty-eight." On May 25, 1614 letters of administration were issued from the prerogative court of Canterbury to administer his second wife's estate. His own will (first printed by the Camden Society) is dated June 29, 1618 at which time he was residing at St. Martin's Lane. He desired in his will to be buried near his first wife, in the church of St. Dunstan, and there he was buried on July 6, 1618.

Mention is made of a third wife, Margaret, in the will. Arthur Wilson, who was one of his pupils, states that Davies was a Roman catholic.<sup>222</sup> Two of his brothers were also writing-masters. Davies was a very voluminous and somewhat tedious writer. His first work, published in 1602, was a philosophical poem, entitled *Mirum in Modum. A Glimpse of God's Glory and the Souls Shape*, 4to, dedicated to William, Earl of Pembroke, Sir Robert Sidney, Kt., and "the right worshipful Edward Herbert of Mountgomery, Esquire," afterwards Lord Herbert of Cherbury. In 1603 was published at Oxford his *Microcosmos*. Published in 1605 is *The Discovery of the Little World, with the Government thereof*, 4to, 2nd edit. Prefixed are dedicatory Sonnets to the King and Queen, A Request to the City of Hereford, and other matter, including several copies of Latin and English verse in commendation of the author; then follows a long preface in verse, addressed to the King, which is succeeded by a poetical address headed "Cambria, to the high and mighty, Henry by the grace of God Prince of Wales." The lengthy poem *Microcosmos* is a rambling treatise on physiological and psychological subjects. Appended to *Microcosmos* is a poem entitled *An Ecstasy*, several Sonnets (and short poems) dedicated to distinguished patrons, an English poem by Nicholas Deeble, "In love and affection of Maister John Davies, and admiration of his excellence in the Arte of Writing," and some commendatory verses by Ed. Lapworth.

*The Scourge of Folly* (1610) consisting of satirical epigrams and others in honour of many noble and worthy persons of our land came together with a pleasant (though discordant) descant upon most English Proverbs, and others, in 12mo. On the title-page is an illustration of Wit scourging Folly, who is mounted on the back of Time. The epigrams, which number three hundred, have little merit, but are interesting from the notices that they afford of contemporary writers. One is addressed *To our English Terence, Mr. Will. Shakespeare* (No. 159), and there are epigrams to Daniel (No. 155), Ben Jonson (No. 156), Marston (No. 217), Hall (No. 218), Fletcher (No. 206), Bacon, and others. The Sonnets in praise of worthy persons show that Davies was well acquainted with many of the most exalted personages of the age. At the end of the volume is a satire headed *Papers Complaint, compiled in ruthful Rimes Against the Paper-spoilers of these Times*, with dedicatory verses to Thomas Rant, counsellor-at-law. It is valuable as testifying to the popularity of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, and for its comments on Nashe, Gabriel Harvey,

<sup>222</sup> Peck. *Desiderata Curiosa*, p. 461

Ben Jonson, Dekker, and others, 1669. Peter Dawkins <sup>223</sup> tells us that he was “the chief penman of the contents page” and “has been identified as John Davis of Hereford, a poet, scrivener and teacher of penmanship who was employed by Francis Bacon as one of his “good pens”.

**Davies John. Sir** (1569–1626) philosophic poet and Attorney-General for Ireland. Expressed his sorrow in *The Muses of John Davies of Chisgrove in the parish of Tears for the loss of their Hope; Heroic Tisbury, Wiltshire*, by his wife Mary. In 1617, he published his last work, *Wit's Bedlam*, a collection of miscellaneous verses. Malone, Brydges, and others have quoted from this volume, but no copy can at present be traced. Commendatory verses by Davies are prefixed to the following works:

- William Parry's *A new and large Discourse of the Travels of Sir Anthony Sherley, Knight*, 1601.
- Joshua Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, 1605, 1633.
- John Melton's *A Sixe-fold Politician*, 1609.
- Dekker's *Lanthorne and Candlelight*, 1607.
- Rowland Vaughan's *Most approved and long experienced Water-Works*, 1610.
- John Guillim's *A Display of Heraldry*, 1610.
- John Speed's *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, 1611.
- Coryate's *Crudities*, 1611.
- J[ohn] D[ennys]'s *The Secrets of Angling*, 1613.
- Ravenscroft's *Brief Discourse*, 1614.
- Taylor's *Urania*, 1615.
- Captain John Smith's *Description of New England*, 1616.
- William Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*. In 1616 *The Second Booke*.
- Edward Wright's *A Description of the Admirable Table of Logarithmes*, 1616.

There is an inscription by Davies beneath a copperplate portrait of Queen Elizabeth: *Elizabetha Regina Nich. Hillyard delin. et excud.* A celebrated work of his *Writing Schoolmaster*, or the *Anatomy of Fair Writing*, which contains engraved specimen copies of various styles of handwriting, together with a set of practical directions for learners, the earliest known edition is dated 1633; later editions appeared in 1663.

**Dee John. Dr** (1527–1608) English mathematician, natural philosopher, and student of the occult. It is almost certain that Shakespeare (1564–1616) modelled the character of Prospero in *The Tempest* (1611) on the career of John Dee, the Elizabethan magus. *The Tempest* was derived from (a) Search for the Island of Lampedusa, from Harington's *Ariosto*, canto XLI; (b) The Origin of the Speech of Gonzalo from a passage in Florio's *Montaigne*, 1603, and founded on an Italian novel; and on Robert Greene's *Pandosto*. The commentator says “there is more invention in this piece than in any other that Shakespeare has left us.” Doubtless; but Shakespeare was no

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223 Dawkins. *Bacon's Shakespeare*, 2007

inventor, nor did he write this piece, though he may have had it among his “properties”. He used to distill egg-shells, and it was from hence that Ben Jonson had his hint of the *Alkismist* whom he meant. (Aubrey). There is no entry of events at all with the year 1599 in Dr. John Dee’s Diary in James O. Halliwell-Phillipps *The Private Diary of Dr. John Dee* (1842). There are entries for 1598 and 1600 but 1599 is skipped with a blank.

**Democritus** (c.460 BC–c.370) Physicist; Greek philosopher; a central figure in the development of the atomic theory of the universe. Attributed popular belief in the gods to a desire to explain extraordinary phenomena (thunder, lightning, earthquakes) by reference to superhuman agency; his ethical system, founded on a practical basis, posited an ultimate good (“cheerfulness”) that was “a state in which the soul lives peacefully and tranquilly, undisturbed by fear or superstition or any other feeling.”<sup>224</sup> Bacon speaks much more favourably of the systems of the earlier physicists, and especially of that of Democritus, than of the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle.

**D’Ewes Simonds. Sir** (b.18 December, 1602–d.18 April, 1650) was High Sheriff for Suffolk in 1639, and was elected member for Sudbury in 1640. In July 1641, he was created a Baronet by Charles the First; yet, upon the breaking out of the civil war, he adhered to the Parliament, and took the solemn league and covenant in 1643. He continued to sit in the House of Commons till 1648, when he was turned out by the army as one of those who were thought to retain some regard for the person of the King, or who were unwilling to proceed the whole length of the other democrats. From that time he seems to have given himself up to the prosecution of his literary studies, following his favourite maxim, *Melius mori quam sibi vivere*. He died on April the 18th, 1650 and was succeeded in his estate and titles by his son, Willoughby D’Ewes.<sup>225</sup>

**Dixon William Hepworth** Of the Inner Temple (1821–1879), historian and traveler, born near Manchester, went to London in 1846, and became connected with *The Daily News*, for which he wrote articles on social and prison reform. In 1850 he published *John Howard and the Prison World of Europe*, which had a wide circulation, and about the same time he wrote a *Life of Peace* (1851), in answer to Macaulay’s onslaught. Lives of *Admiral Blake* and *Lord Bacon* followed, which received somewhat severe criticisms at the hands of competent authorities. Dixon was editor of *The Athenæum*, 1853–69, and wrote many books of travel, including *The Holy Land* (1865), *New America* (1867), and *Free Russia* (1870). In 1861 he wrote a *Personal History of Lord Bacon* and his later historical works include *Her Majesty’s Tower*, and *The History of Two Queens* (Catherine of Arragon and Anne Boleyn). Though a diligent student of original authorities, and sometimes successful in throwing fresh light on his subjects, Dixon was not always accurate, and thus laid himself open to criticism; and his book, *Spiritual Wives*, treating of Mormonism, was so

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<sup>224</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica*

<sup>225</sup> James Orchard Halliwell: *The Autobiography of Sir Simonds D’Ewes*, Vol. I., 1845. The Autobiography is now MS. Harl. 646, and the letters are contained in MSS. Harl. 374 to 388. The whole of D’Ewes’s MSS., were purchased by Lord Harley

adversely criticized as to lead to an action. He wrote, however, in a fresh and interesting style. He was one of the founders of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and was a member of the first School Board for London (1870). He was called to the Bar in 1854, but never practiced.

**Donnelly Ignatius** His portentous volumes on the *Great Cryptogram* produced a reaction of acute revolt, and a conviction that if Bacon was the author of Shakespeare, all literary criticism was at an end: later vagaries and perversities of the Baconian sect did nothing to bring relief, but might be brought from the Sonnets themselves. According to the *Journal of the Bacon Society*, (No. 1) June 1886 in regards to Ignatius Donnelly states that he resided at his farm of about 1,000 acres, near Hastings, Minnesota, on the banks of the Mississippi. He was well-known and much respected in his own country, having been Lieutenant-Governor of the State for four years, and Governor during part of the civil war. He was subsequently a Member of Congress for six years, and State Senator for five years. He has published two books, which have passed through many editions, entitled: *Atlantis, the Antediluvian World*; and *Ragnarok, the Age of Fire and Gravel*. Mr. Donnelly, therefore, had a social position; a personal and literary reputation, which he could not afford to trifle with. He was not the man from whom to expect a literary jest, still less a literary fraud.

For many years Mr. Donnelly was a Baconian, and had taken especial interest in the Shakespearian department of the Bacon question, and in his acknowledged writings, as well as in Elizabethan history and literature generally. A chance glance at an article on Ciphers, in one of his son's books, a book of boyish sport, led him to ruminate on the Cipher as explained by Bacon; and putting together a number of facts and considerations, he was led to hunt for a Baconian Cipher. He noted such facts as these:

1. Cipher writing was not a mere toy in Bacon's time, but a serious study, pursued by statesmen, and constantly used in diplomatic and state service.
2. Bacon was especially interested in Cipher writing; invented some varieties for himself; described them in his serious philosophical works; and gave samples and rules for the use of them.
3. Bacon's conception of a Cipher was that of a writing which might be on any topic, and conceal anything you please; a method of writing, as he says *omnia per omnia*; [all in all;] the writing infolding being not less than a multiple of five of the writing infolded.
4. Bacon had the most compelling motives to use a Cipher, in order to secrete his claim to the authorship of Shakespeare, and probably other matters relating to his own history and character.

The way in which Bacon himself speaks of a Cipher, almost challenging those who "have wits of such sharpness and discernment as to pierce the veil," to track him into his secret retreat, convinced Mr. Donnelly that this game of hide and seek might be started somewhere, and the most likely ground seemed to be the Plays. Accordingly, as Donnelly himself says: "I proceeded,

deliberately, to re-read the plays, to find the evidences of a Cipher, and I found them in abundance. While the word Stratford (Shakspeare's residence) does not appear once in the plays, the words St. Albans occur a dozen times. I found, on one column alone, the name Francis repeated twenty times; on another, the name William twelve times. Close to the twenty repetitions of Francis, I found Bacon, Nicholas, Bacon's son, Master of the Exchequer, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, St. Albans. On the same column, in the *Merry Wives*, with the word William, I found Bacon, and near at hand the words, *Shakes* and *pier*, the words evidently being dragged into the text."

**Drayton Michael** (1563–1631) Enjoyed a high degree of popularity during his long life, and left a name still regarded with respect. His works are numerous, but the only volumes offering extracts suitable, written in the age of Elizabeth, are *Moses in his Map of Miracles*, and *The Harmonie of the Church*, containing, the spiritual songs and holy hymns of godly men, patriarchs and prophets; all sweetly sounding to the praise and glory of the Highest. This latter work was published in 1591, and is not included in the editions of Drayton's collected poems.<sup>226</sup>

**Droeshout Martin** An engraver, who was probably a Dutchman, resided in England about the year 1623. He was chiefly employed by the booksellers, and engraved some portraits, which, if they cannot be admired for the beauty of their execution, are valued for their scarcity. His best known portrait is that prefixed to the first folio edition of *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies*, published in 1623. He also engraved the head of John Fox, the Martyrologist, John Howson, Bishop of Durham.<sup>227</sup> Other portraits by Droeshout are: James, Marquis of Hamilton; Thomas, Lord Coventry; John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's; Helkiah Crooke, M.D., Lord Mountjoy Blount, afterwards Earl of Newport.<sup>228</sup>

**Du Bartas** See Part III: *French Writers*.

**Dudley Jane. Lady**<sup>229</sup> Titular Queen of England for nine days in 1553. Beautiful and intelligent, at the age of fifteen she reluctantly allowed herself to be put on the throne by unscrupulous politicians; her subsequent execution by Mary Tudor aroused universal sympathy. Lady Jane was the great, granddaughter of Henry VII., through her mother, Lady Frances Brandon, whose own mother was Mary, the younger of King Henry VIII's two sisters. Provided with excellent tutors, she spoke and wrote Greek and Latin at an early age; she was also proficient in French, Hebrew, and Italian. When Lady Jane was barely nine years old she went to live in the household of Queen Catherine Parr, and on the latter's death in September 1548 she was made a ward of Catherine's fourth husband, Thomas Seymour, Lord Seymour of Sudeley, who planned her marriage to his nephew and her cousin, the young King Edward VI. But Seymour was beheaded for treason in 1549, and Jane returned to her

<sup>226</sup> Farr. *Select Poetry*, Vol. I. 1845

<sup>227</sup> Strutt. *Dictionary of Engravers*, Vol. I. p. 264

<sup>228</sup> Bryan. *Dictionary of Painter and Engravers*, Vol. II. 1903

<sup>229</sup> So called from 1553

studies at Bradgate. After Lady Jane's father, hitherto Marquess of Dorset, was created Duke of Suffolk in October 1551, she was constantly at the Royal Court. On May 21, 1553 John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, who exercised considerable power at that point in the minority of King Edward VI., joined with Suffolk in marrying her to his son, Lord Guildford Dudley. Her Protestantism, which was extreme, made her the natural candidate for the throne of those who supported the Reformation, such as Northumberland. With the support of Northumberland, who had persuaded the dying Edward to set aside his half-sisters Mary and Elizabeth in favour of any male heirs who might be born to the Duchess of Suffolk and, failing them, to Lady Jane, she and her male heirs were designated successors to the throne. Edward died on July 6, 1553; on July 10, Lady Jane, who fainted when the idea was first broached to her, was proclaimed Queen. The rightful heir, Edward's sister Mary Tudor, had the support of the populace, and on July 19 even Suffolk, who by now despaired of success in the plans for his daughter, attempted to retrieve his position by proclaiming Mary Queen. Northumberland's supporters melted away, and the Duke of Suffolk easily persuaded his daughter to relinquish the unwanted crown. At the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, Lady Jane and her father were committed to the Tower of London, but he was soon pardoned. Lady Jane and her husband, however, were arraigned for high treason on November 14, 1553. She pleaded guilty and was sentenced to death. The execution of the sentence was suspended, but the participation of her father, in early February 1554, in Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion sealed her fate. She and her husband were beheaded on February 12, 1554; her father was executed eleven days later.<sup>230</sup> [Also see Part III: *Elizabethan age*.]

## E

**Ellis Leslie Robert** (*b.* August 25, 1817–*d.* May 12, 1859) An English polymath, remembered principally as a mathematician and editor of the *Works* of Francis Bacon. Ellis was the youngest of six children of Francis Ellis (1772–1842) of Bath. Educated privately, he entered Trinity College, Cambridge in 1836, graduating as Senior Wrangler in 1840 and elected Fellow of Trinity shortly afterwards. Although he had also entered Inner Temple in 1838, he was called to the Bar in 1840, and later helped William Whewell with jurisprudence. Ellis never practised law. He hoped unsuccessfully for the Cambridge chair of civil law. He inheriting substantial estates in Ireland on the death of his father, Ellis contemplated entering Parliament as a whig under the patronage of Sir William Napier (1785–1860): his courtship of one of Napier's daughters unfortunately ended in some confusion, and Ellis never married. As a mathematician, Ellis founded the Cambridge *Mathematical Journal* with D. F. Gregory in 1837. His own major mathematical contributions were on functional and differential equations, and the theory of probability: *On the foundations of the theory of probabilities*, 1849. Philosophically, Ellis, like George Boole and later John Venn, defended an objective rather than subjective theory of probability. He corresponded with Augustus De Morgan on the conjectured four-colour theorem.

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230 *Encyclopædia Britannica*

Ellis took on the editing of Francis Bacon's *Works* with two other Trinity fellows, Douglas Denon Heath and James Spedding. Unfortunately, dramatic deterioration of Ellis' health from 1847 left his work on the general prefaces to Bacon's philosophy unfinished. Spedding and Heath completed the *Works* in seven volumes, published 1857–1859. Continental travel failed to restore Ellis' health; an attack of rheumatic fever at San Remo in 1849 left him an invalid, and he returned to Cambridge, living at Anstey Hall, Trumpington, next to his friend John Grote, vicar of Trumpington. From his sickbed, he kept up contact with the young Trinity mathematician William Walton, and dictated his thoughts on a wide range of topics, including etymology, bees' cells, Roman money, the principles of a projected Chinese dictionary, and Boole's *Laws of Thought* (1854). He translated Dante, Roman law texts and Danish ballads; a gentle melancholia suffuses the lines of his own poetry, which he left in manuscript. William Walton edited a posthumous collection of both published and unpublished writings, in *The mathematical and other writings of R. L. Ellis*, 1863 and was prefaced by a biographical memoir by Harvey Goodwin. Correspondence and notebooks of Ellis are amongst the Mayor Papers and Whewell Papers at Trinity College, Cambridge. [Also see *Spedding James; Heath Douglas Denon*].

**Erasmus Desiderius** (1466–1536) Leader of the Northern Renaissance. His name was Gerard Gerard, which he translated into Desiderius Erasmus. Julius Scaliger contested with him, but got nothing by it, for, as Fuller says, he was like a badger, that never bit but he made his teeth meet. (Aubrey). [Also see *Rabelais Francois*]

**Essex Robert Devereux. 2nd Earl** (1566–1601) Queen Elizabeth I's favourite and personal friend to the Bacon brothers.

## F

**Fabyan Robert** (d.1512) An Alderman, and in 1493 was chosen one of the sheriffs of London. He is in some sort connected with our history of Henry VII., as in 1496 he was one of a deputation chosen to ride to the King "for redress of the new impositions raised and levied upon English cloth" in the lands of the Archduke Philip. This was an impost of a florin for every piece of English cloth imported into the Netherlands. The duty was withdrawn in 1497. Fabyan's work *The Concordance of Histories* which at first is a mere compilation from monkish chronicles, becomes towards its close a very important record of many events which, in London, came under the writer's immediate observation.

**Fernelius** Born near the close of the fifteenth century, and who died in 1558. Physician to Henry II. He was greatly distinguished both as a writer on medicine and as a physician. He was moreover well seen in mathematical and natural science, and was the first person who in modern times attempted to determine the magnitude of the earth. Bacon's reference to him in *Temporis Partus Masculus*.



**Florio John** (1545–1625) Author and translator of Montaigne's *Essays*, which was licensed to Edward Blount in 1599, but not published until 1603. He died of the plague at Fulham.

**Fludd Robert** (1574–1637) Author of *Philosophia Moysaica* published in 1638. His philosophy is built upon certain abstract notions of rarefaction and condensation; perpetual reference is made to the air thermometer, to which he gives the same name. He was the first to publish an account of the thermometer which the invention has been ascribed to Bacon but Galileo's invention was anterior to any publication of Fludd's. [Also see Part I: *Thermometer*.] A letter is preserved in the library of Nelli's library of his family *in copiat* which Castelli addressed to Cesarina in 1638. Castelli says that, more than thirty-five years before, Galileo had shown him an experiment, which he describes, namely, the rise of the water into an inverted tube with a bulb at one extremity, when the open end of the tube is put into a vessel of water. But this experiment had already been described in Porta's *Natural Magic*.<sup>231</sup> In 1616, Fludd commenced the publication of his works and became a voluminous writer, whose subject and style were equally dark and mysterious. The most important of his publications are:

- *Apologia Compendaria, Fraternitatem de Rosea Cruce, suspiciis es in amice maculis aspersum abluens* (Leyden, 1616).
- A Brief Apology, clearing the Fraternity of the Rosy Cross from the stigma of suspicion and infamy with which they have been aspersed; and *Tractatus Apologeticus integritatem Societatis de Rosea Cruce defendens contra Libanium et alios* (Leyden, 1617).
- A Apologetic Tract defending the purity of the Society of the Rosy Cross from the attacks of Abanious and others.
- *Summum bonum, quod est verum magifi, cabaloe, alchymice, fratrum Rosce Crucis verorum verce subjectum*.

Rosicrucianism was perhaps indebted more to Robert Fludd than to any other person for its introduction from Germany into England, and it may have had its influence in moulding the form of Speculative Freemasonry; a distinguished writer, however, in the London *Freemason's Magazine*, (April, 1858) says that "Fludd must be considered as the immediate father of Freemasonry as Andrea was its remote father." Nicolai more rationally remarks that Fludd, like Andrea, exerted a considerable and beneficial influence on the manners of his age. His explanation of the Rose Croix is worth quoting. He says that it symbolically signifies the cross dyed with the blood of the Saviour; a Christian idea which was in advance of the original Rosicrucians.<sup>232</sup> [Also see Part I: *Rosicrucianism*.] Fludd's Chronology:<sup>233</sup>

1574                      January: Born at Milgate House, Bearstead, Kent.  
                                  January 17: Baptized in Bearstead Parish Church

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231 Vol. XIX, Ch. 4

232 Albert G. Mackey. *Encyclopaedia of Freemasonry*, 1874

233 Edited from the Huffman text

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- 1592 January 25: Mother, Elizabeth Andrews Fludd, dies at Milgate House.  
November 10: Enters Saint John College, Oxford.
- 1596 February 3: Receives B.A. from St. John's.
- 1596–98 Studies for M.A. at St. John's. Writes Treatise on Music.
- 1598 July 8: Receives M.A. from St John's, says he is going overseas.
- 1598–1604 Travels in France, Spain, Italy, and Germany. Tutors Duke of Guisea and his brother. Writes a treatise on arithmetic, geometry, perspective military arts, art of memory, geomancy, motion and astrology.
- 1604 or 1605 Enters Christ Church Oxford.
- 1605 May 16: Receives M.B. and M.D., licensed to practice medicine.  
November 8: First exam by College physicians in London to practice medicine there.
- 1606 February 7: Given Permission to practice medicine.  
May 2: Questioned by College about allegations of arrogance concerning supremacy of chemical medicines over Galenical.  
July: Travels to France to confer with colleagues from Italy and France.
- 1607 May 30: Father, Sir Thomas Fludd, dies at Milgate House.  
August 1, October 9, December 22: further examined by College.
- 1608 March 21: Offends Censors of College Physicians by examination replies.  
Candidacy for Fellowship in College revoked.  
June 25: Readmitted as candidate for Fellowship in College of Physicians.
- 1609 September 20: Admitted as a Fellow of the College of Physicians of London.
- 1610 Completes MS., of history of the Macrocosmo. Read by John Seldon, medical colleague of Dr. Richard Andrews and others.
- 1614 John Seldon praises Fludd's medical skill in his Titles of Honour *Fama Fraternitatis* of the Order of the Rosy Cross published in Germany.
- 1615 *Confessio Fraternitatis* R.C. published in Germany. Andreas Libavius attacks the Fraternity in *Analysis Confessionis Fraterenitatis De Rosea Cruce*.
- 1616 Fludd replies to Libavius with *Apologia Compendiaria* an outline for longer work and letter to the fraternity.
- 1617 The longer defence, *Tractatus apologeticus integritatum Societatis de Rosea Cruce defendens*, published in Leyden. Also from De Bry press first part of Fludd's *magnum opus: Utriusque cosmi majoris scilicet et minoris metaphysica, physica, atque technica historia*.

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- 1618 *De Naturae Simia* printed by De Bry in Oppenheim. Tractate of the history of the *Macrocosmo* holders of monopoly patent for steel complain Fludd is making steel. Fludd is elected censor of the College of Physicians. Called before James I., to defend his *Apology* and *Macrocosmo* history. Gains King's favour, writes *Declaratio Brevis*, at suggestion of James I.
- 1619 Volume II, *History of the Macrocosmo* published. Fludd writes *A Philisophical Key* as sequel to *Declaratio Brevis*. Johans Kepler publishes *Harmonices mundi*, which attacks Fludd's Neoplatonic harmonies of the universe.
- 1620 May 30: King James I., charges Privy Council to consider Fludd's petition for a patent for making steel.  
June 27: Fludd lectures on anatomy at College of Physicians. Privy Council grants Fludd's petition for steel, after considering its superiority.
- 1621 Another section of *Microcosmo* of history published as *Tommi secundi tracatus secundus, dep praeternaturali utriusque mundi historia*. Also publishes *The Veratatis Proscenium*, replies to Kepler's attack.
- 1622 Kepler replies to Fludd in his *Pro suo opera harmonices mundi apologia*.
- 1623 *Anatomia Ampithaeterum*, Fludd's mystical anatomy. Fludd revises harmony theme and last reply to Kepler. Marin Mersanne, the French mechanist attacks Fludd's philosophy and Science in his *Quaestiones celeberrima in Genesim*.
- 1625 Death of King James I. Ascension of Charles I. Viewed a lightning strike site with Mr. Finch and Sir Thomas Thornborough.
- 1626 *Philosophia sacra et vere Christaina seu Meteorologica Cosmica* published.
- 1627 Elected a censor at the College of Physicians. Inspects alum works at the College with William Harvey [physician to Francis Bacon] on the order of the Privy Council.
- 1629 June 8: Grant by Charles I., to Fludd and heirs of "messuage of lands". Replies to attacks by Mersenne in *Sophie cum moria certamen*, bound with it is the *Summum Bonum*, dealing with Rosicrucians, by Joachum Frizius. First part of *Medicina Catholica* published by Fitzer.
- 1630 *Pulsus*, the second part of the *Medicina Catholica* is published. First printed work to agree with Harvey's theory of blood. Pierre Gassendi published *Epistolica*.
- 1631 Third and fourth Parts of the *Catholic Medicine* published. William Foster attacks Fludd's views on weapon salve; Fludd replies with Dr. Fludd's answer unto M. Foster.
- 1633 Elected a censor to cop. The *Clavis Philosophiae et Alchymiae Fluddane*, last refutation of Merssene and Gassendi, published.

- 1634 June 12: sworn in as a brother in the Barber-Surgeons Co. Elected a Censor of cop.
- 1637 September 8: Dies in London. Buried Bearsted Parish Church. Leaves MS., published as *Philosophia Moysaica* in Gouda 1638, and *Mosaicall Philosophy*, London 1695.

## G

**Galileo Galilei** (1564–1642) Italian natural philosopher, astronomer, and mathematician who made fundamental contributions to the sciences of motion, astronomy, and strength of materials and to the development of the scientific method. His formulation of (circular) inertia, the law of falling bodies, and parabolic trajectories marked the beginning of a fundamental change in the study of motion. [Also see Part III: *Galileo's Theory*.] By his experiment from the leaning tower of Pisa (before 1592), disproved the Aristotelian doctrine that bodies fall quickly or slowly in proportion to their weight. Rebuking the paper philosophers, who thought that philosophy could be studied like the *Æneid* or the *Odyssey*, he employs the same language as Campanella concerning the *Book of the Universe*: "Philosophy is written in that great book, I mean the Universe, which is constantly open before our eyes; but it cannot be understood except we first know the language and learn the characters in which it is written." But more effective than his sublimest denunciations of paper philosophy was his invention of the thermometer (before 1597), and the construction of his wonder-working telescope in 1609.

**Galloway Patrick** Followed King James I., from Scotland: he had assisted James in some of his religious writings, and was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1590 and 1602. He afterwards upheld the liberties of the Kirk against the attempts of James to restrict them, and warmly supported the *Five Articles of Perth* in 1618.

**Gallup Elizabeth Wells. Mrs** (1848–1934) American educator and exponent of the Baconian theory of Shakespearian authorship. She studied at Michigan State Normal College, the Sorbonne and the University of Marburg. She taught in Michigan for some twenty years and became a high school principal. Her interest in the life and work of Francis Bacon and, together with her sister Kate Wells, initially worked on the theories of Dr Orville Ward Owen. She subsequently became convinced of the use of the Bi-literal cipher in early Shakespeare printing to conceal messages concerning the authorship of the works and other statements about the secret history of the times. Her work was largely sponsored by Colonel George Fabyan at his Riverside Laboratories in Geneva, Illinois. Fabyan, who had also funded Owen's work, supported a research staff working on her theory, which initially included the cryptographers William Friedman and Elizebeth Friedman. The Friedmans later published a careful study of her theory showing that the range of type forms used in the printing of the works of Shakespeare conformed to the normal printing practices of the time. "The discovery of the existence of the Bi-literal Cipher of Francis Bacon,

found embodied in his works and the deciphering of what it tells, has been a work arduous, exhausting and prolonged.”<sup>234</sup>

**Garrick David** 1717–1779 English actor who baptized the actor Shaksper of Stratford as the author of the Plays and Sonnets.

**Gascoigne George** (d.1577) The time and place of the birth of this old English poet are unknown. His occupation was the profession of arms, and he was likewise a follower of the Court of Elizabeth: we find that he accompanied the Queen in one of her progresses. His poems are numerous, and of a miscellaneous character. In republishing his works Gascoigne thought proper to deprecate censure on the poetical levities of his youth, and the preface is thus addressed: “To the reverend divines unto whom these posies shall happen to be presented, George Gascoigne, Esquire, professing arms in defence of God’s trueth, wisheth quiet in conscience, and all consolation in Christ Jesus.” The religious poems of Gascoigne were evidently written in what he calls his “middle age”, when he saw and lamented the follies of his youth. The original editions of his poems are among the rarest books in the English language. Gascoigne died in a religious, calm, and happy flame of mind, in 1577.<sup>235</sup>

**Gilbert** or **Gylberde** (1544–1603) Pioneer researcher into magnetism who became the most distinguished man of science in England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. In 1601, Gilbert was appointed physician to Queen Elizabeth I., and upon her death in 1603 was appointed physician to King James I. Author of a treatise *On the Magnet* (1600), deserves special attention as being not only the contemporary but also the countryman, of Francis Bacon. Like Bacon, he strongly maintains the superiority of experimental knowledge; like Bacon he desires to see more fruit from philosophy; and like him he also inveighs against Aristotle and Galen as the two Lords of Philosophy, worshipped as false gods; but he differs from Bacon in consistently adhering to the Copernican system of astronomy, rejecting the Ptolemaic as absurd. Galileo writes of him, “I extremely admire and envy this author,” and Whewell (from whom this sketch is taken) declares that his work “contains all the fundamental facts of Magnetism so fully stated that we have at this day little to add to them.” Gilbert’s researches seemed petty and narrow; and for some faint praise of this original worker he takes ample compensation by declaring that Gilbert has so lost himself in his subject, that “he has himself become a magnet.”

**Gosson Stephen** (1555–1624) Author, a Kentish man, was admitted scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, April 4, 1572.<sup>236</sup> He graduated B.A., at the end of 1576. He complains in his *Playes Confuted* that he “was pulled from the University before he was ripe, and withered in the country for want of sap.” He soon, however, made his way to London, where, according

<sup>234</sup> Gallup. *Bi-literal Cipher of Sir Francis Bacon*, 3rd Ed., 1901

<sup>235</sup> Farr. *Select Poetry* Vol. I. 1845

<sup>236</sup> Oxford Univ. Reg., Oxford Hist. Soc. II. III. 62

to Wood, "he was noted for his admirable penning of pastorals." Francis Meres, in his *Palladis Tamia* of 1598, ranks Gosson along with Sidney, Chaloner, Spenser, Fraunce, and Barnfield as "the best for pastoral" of his day, but such little verse of Gosson as survives fails to justify the distinction. The theatre attracted him, and, according to his enemy Lodge, he became a player.

<sup>237</sup> Stephen Gosson published a pamphlet called *The School of Abuse*. It aroused considerable discussion in the little coterie of young literary men who were then at or near the circle of Queen Elizabeth's Court. Edmund Spenser, who had entered his *Shepherd's Calendar* at Stationers' Hall in the December of that year, wrote about it to Gabriel Harvey, who, by virtue of his few more years and of his considerably more pedantic erudition, ruled a group of aspiring "wits" in the University of Cambridge. Sir Philip Sidney, to whom, without his permission, *The School of Abuse* had been dedicated by Gosson, in a letter addressed in October 1580 to his brother Robert, afterwards Earl of Leicester, showed that his thoughts were partially preoccupied by the subject of poetic criticism, and in the following September he had completed the treatise entitled *An Apology for Poetry*. It is clear from various pieces of evidence that Sidney's defence of the art of poetry was circulated in MS., among his friends, though it was not actually published until 1595, nine years after his death.

Meanwhile in September 1586 a *Discourse of English Poetry* was entered at Stationers' Hall on behalf of William Webbe, and in November 1588 an entry was made by Thomas Orwyn of the printing of *The Art of English Poesy* in Three Books the First of Poets and Poesy, the Second of Proportion, and the Third of Ornament. [Also see Part III: *Arte of English Poesie*.] This volume, transferred in 1589 to Richard Field, by whom it was published in that year, with a dedication by Field to Lord Burghley, is ascribed on sufficient evidence to George Puttenham, who probably wrote it in or near the year 1585 a date which is determined on internal evidence. These, then, are the three treatises in close coincidence in time is clearly related to the Gosson publications. Before 1584 Gosson had entirely abandoned his old life, and had entered the church.

On February 28, 1584 he was appointed lecturer in the parish church of Stepney at a salary of 30*l*. On December 6, 1591, he was made by the Queen rector of Great Wigborough, Essex. On May 7, 1598, he preached for a second time at St. Paul's Cross, and his sermon, entitled *The Trumpet of Warre*, was afterwards published. On April 18, 1600 he exchanged his living of Great Wigborough for the rectory of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate. He died at St. Botolph's rectory house February 13, 1623 and was buried in the church "in the night" four days later. There are several letters extant at Dulwich from Gosson to Edward Alleyn the actor (dating from 1616 to 1621) in which Gosson recommends some parishioners of St. Botolph's to a share in the relief afforded by Alleyn's charities. <sup>238</sup> Thomas Gosson (1598), the publisher of *Playes Confuted*, was probably a brother of the author. A William Gosson was Queen Elizabeth's drum-player in 1599. <sup>239</sup>

<sup>237</sup> Lodge. *Defence of Plays*, 1580, ed. 1853, p. 7

<sup>238</sup> (a) Waenece, Cat. Of MSS., at Dulwich, 102, 107, 111 (b) Alleyn Papers, ed. Collier for Shakesp. Soc., 133, 135

<sup>239</sup> Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1598-1601, p. 346

**Greville Fulke. Lord Brooke** (1554–1628) Philosophic poet on whose monument it is inscribed that he was Servant to Queen Elizabeth, Counsellor to King James, and friend to Sir Philip Sidney. Author of several works, among which was one entitled *Celia*, containing 109 Sonnets, from whence those under his name are derived.<sup>240</sup> Greville was a late survival from the chivalry of the early Elizabethan age. He had left his ancestral house of Beauchamp Court, in Warwickshire, at the age of ten, to enter Shrewsbury School, and had met a fellow pupil arriving on the same day, the young Philip Sidney. They were not divided in affection until Sidney died, although when the latter went to Oxford, Greville became a fellow commoner at Jesus College, Cambridge. The friends met again at the Court of Elizabeth, and there was added to their close confraternity another poet, Sir Edward Dyer, who was to die in 1607. Greville adopted politics as a profession, and rose to high honours under Elizabeth, who greatly esteemed him. He was Secretary to the Principality of Wales for forty-five years, and in 1597 he was Knighted. He then rose to be Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1614, and was raised to the peerage, as Baron Brooke, in 1621. James I., gave him two magnificent and historic estates, Warwick Castle and Knoll Park. His end was mysterious; he was stabbed in the back by a footman, in his bed-chamber while he was dressing, in September 1628; the murderer committed suicide before any explanation of his crime could be extracted from him.

**Greene Robert** (b.1560) Born at Norwich. He entered St. John's College, Cambridge, as a sizar in November 1575, took the B.A. degree in 1578–79, and proceeded M.A. in 1583. The *Groatsworth of Wit* bought with a million of repentance (1592) gives a lurid description of the dissolute life led by Greene and those companions with whom he “consumed the flower of his youth.” Impiety and dissipation were, at this period, rampant in the Universities. Despite Ascham's tirade against the Italianate Englishman Greene seems to have made a tour of Italy and Spain, where, according to his own confession, he indulged in vices “abominable to declare.” He was back in London by 1580, in which year his first novel *Mamillia* was entered at Stationers' Hall. The tone of this book was entirely euphuistic, and the same may be said of the rest of the *Love-pamphlets* which appeared in rapid succession during the next few years. In 1585–86 Greene married, but deserted his wife at the end of a year. Being a boon companion of Peele and a profligate of the vilest type, quite the equal of Peele in evil courses, Grosart denominates him a cleric, and red nosed minister, asserting that he was Vicar of Lollesbury, records him as being “incorporated at Oxford 1588.”

The Queen chooses Robert Greene and invests in him as rector with aforesaid will and rights and privileges for the rectory of Walkington in the diocese of York. It should be mentioned that in Queen Elizabeth's household accounts for the period 1558 to 1569 mention is made of payments to one Robert Greene, the Court Fool.<sup>241</sup> He left an autobiographical sketch printed in 1596. In it, after describing some of his villainies he naively says: “Young yet in years, though

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<sup>240</sup> Farr. *Select Poetry* Vol. I. 1845

<sup>241</sup> Parker Woodward. *Tudor Problems*, 1912

old in wickedness, I began to resolve that there was nothing bad that was not profitable; where upon I grew so rooted in all mischief, that I had as great a delight in wickedness as sundry have in godliness, and as much felicity I took in villainy as others did in honesty.” Some biographer, following for the most part Greene’s own account, says: “That Greene was married is certain, Dyce thinks in 1586, and it is as certain, that although on his own authority his wife was a most amiable and loving woman, he ere long forsook her to indulge without restraint his passion for debauchery and every species of self-indulgence. After leaving his wife, he lived with a woman, the sister of an infamous character, well known then under the name of Cutting Ball, and by her he had a son who died in the year after his father.”<sup>242</sup>

After leading one of the maddest lives on record, he died a miserable death on September 3, 1592 his last illness being caused by a debauch. On his deathbed he was deserted by all his former boon companions except his mistress, and was indebted to the wife of a poor shoemaker for the last bed on which he laid his miserable body his dying injunction to his compassionate and admiring hostess being to crown his vain head after death with a garland of bays. This request, it seems, the poor woman attended to. Yet Grosart was influenced by a single passage in *Selimus* to accredit it to Greene. This is his remarkable confession: “One specific passage by itself would have determined me as signing *Selimus* to Greene.” He could have found scores to have warranted him equally in assigning it to Spenser. A number of works have been assigned him, the authorship of which even his biographers question. Professor Brown declares that “in style, Greene is father of Shakespeare”; that “James IV., is the first Elizabethan historical play outside Shakespeare, and is worthy to be placed on a level with Shakespeare’s earlier style”; and he thinks “Shakespeare followed Greene’s example in the *Taming of the Shrew* and *Midsummer Night’s Dream*; Tieck, who translated the *Pinner of Wakefield* declares it to be “one of Shakespeare’s juvenile productions.”

Donnelly’s opinion:<sup>243</sup> “No suggestion has ever been made, before this discovery, that Francis Bacon had anything to do with the plays which go by the name of Robert Greene. He was born at Ipswich, in 1560; one year before Francis Bacon saw the light in London. Both were students at the University of Cambridge, and probably at the same time. Bacon left there in 1575, and Greene took his degree in 1578; when he was entered there we do not know. Bacon travelled in Europe from about 1576 until the death of his father in 1579. In 1578 Greene was also travelling abroad. Greene returned, ruined by the dissipations he had learned upon the continent; and thereafter earned a precarious living by his pen, around the play-houses, writing novels and plays. He died in great poverty and degradation in 1592, the very year in which, on March 3, appeared, according to Halliwell-Phillipps, the first Shakespeare play; and one year before Christopher Marlowe passed away, slain in a drunken brawl. Shakspeare and Greene are connected by the fact that the *Winter’s Tale* of the former is simply an amplified, poetical copy of Greene’s prose novel,

242 A. B. Grosart. *The Life and Complete Works of Robert Greene*. London, 1887

243 Ignatius Donnelly. *The Cipher In The Plays, And On The Tombstone*, 1900



*Pandosta*; the identity descending even to the minutest details. The geographical blunder, so often referred to, in *The Winter's Tale*, of giving Bohemia a sea-coast, is taken from *Pandosta*. It is somewhat remarkable that a dramatist, like Shakspeare, should make a play out of a novel, written by another man, his contemporary, so popular that it had passed through fourteen editions during the life of its author. We could not imagine Kipling re-writing and enlarging *She*. But if the writings of both Greene and Shakspeare emanated from the brain of a third party, that party would feel free to work over his own material as often as he pleased. Among Greene's writings were *The History of Orlando Furioso*, which has been described as a stepping stone to *Lear* and *Hamlet*; and *Alphonsus King of Arragon*, which is very much in the style of Marlowe. There was also *The History of Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*; which the Encyclopaedia Britannica refers to as "a comedy brimful of amusing action and genial fun, and at the same time containing a domestic love story of unsurpassed freshness and brightness."

**Greene Thomas** Was residing under some unknown conditions at New Place (Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines*). Greene was Shakspeare's solicitor.

## H

**Hall Edward** (d.1547) Solicitor. Became one of the judges of the Sheriff's Court. His History of the *Union of the Two Noble and Illustre families of Lancastre and Yorke* brings the history down to the year 1532. It was not published till 1548, the year after the death of the author, and had been completed by Grafton.

**Hall. Dr** (1575–1635) Celebrated writer in the age of Elizabeth on matters of anatomy and chirurgy. He was also well known, in his day also as a poet. His chief work, copies of which are extremely rare, was published in 1565, under the title of *The Court of Virtue: containing many Holy or Spritual Songs, Sonnettes, Psalms, Ballets, and short sentences, as well of Holy Scripture as others, with Musical Notes*.<sup>244</sup>

**Harington John. Sir** (1561–1612) One of the most noted characters in the reign of Elizabeth, as a Courtier and a man of wit. His poems are chiefly of a secular character; but some few of his minor pieces have a moral and religious tendency, and among them are a few versions of selected psalms.<sup>245</sup> He published *An Apologie of Poetrie* in 1591.

**Harvey William. Dr** (1578–1657) Physician to King James I., and discoverer of the circulation of the blood at this period; a discovery which serves to explain the whole animal œconomy. Sir Thomas Browne, who well knew the importance of it, refers it to the discovery of the New World. Harvey was educated at Caius College, Cambridge, and the University of Padua. Charles I., gave

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<sup>244</sup> Farr. *Select Poetry*, Vol. I. 1845

<sup>245</sup> Farr. *Select Poetry*, Vol. I. 1845

him the Wardenship of Merton College in Oxford as a reward for his service, but the times suffered him not to receive or enjoy any benefit by it. He was also physician to Francis Bacon, then Lord Chancellor, “whom he esteemed much for his wit and style, but would not allow him to be a great Philosopher. Said he to me, *He writes Philosophy like a Lord Chancellor*, speaking in derision; *I have cured him.*” (Aubrey). Harvey also had the Earl of Arundel among his patients.

**Hayward John. Sir** (1564–1627) Born at Felixstowe and was educated at Pembroke College, Cambridge. “The First Part of the Life and Reign of King Henry the IV., extending to the end of the first year of his reign. Imprinted at London by John Wolfe, and are to be sold at his shop in Pope’s head Alley, near to the Exchange. 1599.” 4to. pp. 149, besides title page, dedication, and preface. Copies of this work differ in the ornaments upon the title page, and in the dedication. It would seem that part of the impression was worked off when a mistake of *fronti* instead of *fronte* was discovered in the dedication. The title page and dedication were then again set up, with different typographical ornaments, and the mistake corrected. It was reprinted London 1642, 8vo. with Sir Robert Cotton’s Short View of the reign of Henry III., prefixed. Lowndes, in his *Bibliographer’s Manual*, makes mention of an edition in 1627, 4to., of which there is no trace. The work itself, and the principal events upon which it dwells are the misgovernment of a sovereign and his advisers; the unauthorised return to England of Henry of Lancaster; and the unbounded popularity by force of which he was borne onwards to the throne, it will be seen that the book was justly calculated to irritate, if not to alarm, Queen Elizabeth I. [See Part III: *Hayward’s Pamphlet*].

**Heath Douglas Denon** (1811–1859) Born in Chancery Lane. So named after his godfather Mons. Denon, a noted French savant, Director of the Louvre, and Master of the Mint under Napoleon. He attended a private school at Greenwich, kept by Dr Burney, but left before he was sixteen, owing to indifferent health, and spent the best part of 1826–27 in Paris, with his father’s friend Monsieur Guyet, a strong Liberal, whose house was the frequent meeting place of the more eminent members of the opposition to the Government of Chas. X. Guizot, Casimir Périer and the Duc de Broglie, were all friends of the Guyets. Here he learnt French, and heard and saw much of interest. He was a spectator of the famous review of the *National Guard* in 1827, when the men, in place of the expected *Vive le Roi*, shouted to the King *A bas Villèle*, the name of the reactionary Premier, who had attempted to destroy the liberty of the Press. Madame de la Ferrière, of Paris and St Cloud, was Mlle. Guyet, she states that her father was a friend and associate of Monsieur Thiers. Returning from France about May 1827, he went up to Cambridge with his elder brother John for the *Long Vacation*, and read for two *Long Vacations* with Henry Malden, ex-fellow of Trinity, with whom he resided. Malden was a great classical scholar, and no bad mathematician, but Heath specially read classics with him, and mathematics with Challis, of Trinity. In October 1828, he went into residence at Trinity, and obtained his scholarship April 23, 1830. His degree in 1832 was very remarkable. He graduated as senior Wrangler, and took the first Smith’s Prize.

In the Classical Tripos of the same year he was placed ninth in the first class. Above him were Lushington, Shilleto, Thompson, Venables, and Alford. Looking at the competition, his classical was little lower than his mathematical degree, yet he used to say that he had never learnt Greek grammar, except by extensive reading, and that he never could do Latin verses, having never been taught that accomplishment at school. In short, he was a great scholar over a very extensive field of learning, and ought, it appears, to have become a fine literary critic. He was elected Fellow of Trinity in the same year as his degree, other distinguished men of this year, such as Thompson, Alford, Dobson, and even Lushington, having to wait till 1834. He collaborated in a complete edition of Bacon's *Works*, in which Ellis undertook the philosophical, Heath the professional, and Spedding the literary and miscellaneous, to which he afterwards added the life and letters. In 1849 Mr. Ellis had a severe attack of rheumatic fever, which entirely disabled him for the work he had undertaken: he died in 1859. Spedding therefore, had to take his place, and edit as best he could, Bacon's *Philosophical Works*. The book was published between 1857 and 1859. [Also see *Spedding James; Ellis Leslie Robert.*]

**Heminge John** Old Hemmings, as he was called, though he signed his name Heminge, was probably an actor before Shakespeare. In his will he describes himself "Citizen and Grocer." He also lived in the parish of St. Mary for forty-two years. His business was doubtless managed by his wife, as was customary. It was unusual for players to live far off the theatres. Aldermanbury was a convenient distance from the Theatre at Shoreditch, where they acted before the theatre was removed to Southwark, after the Globe was built in 1599. Heminge, like Condell, had been sidesman, and was also trustee of parish property in 1608. He had a family of fourteen children, and died in 1630. Of him we have nothing left, for, unlike Condell, although his will was drawn up while he was ill, it was not even signed, which evidently shows that he died before he was able to execute it. It was a plague year. Heminge's name was at the head of the King's Players in 1619, Condell coming next, and Burbage being dead. Heminge took a more personal interest in the finances of the theatre, for his name appears as the receiver of payments in the warrants granted for sums of money for performances before the Court.

Whether Heminge and Condell offered the MSS., to the printers, or the printers asked to be permitted to print them, is altogether unknown. It was natural to think that while printers had eagerly seized every opportunity by stealth or otherwise, to print single plays, but were prevented, it would be to their advantage to have the whole, selected by his personal friends, whose property they were. Doubtless the publishers expected to make a legitimate profit by their enterprise. While it is quite clear that Heminge and Condell did not take the risk of publication, it is equally certain that they looked for no profit by it, for they—personal friends of long standing—distinctly state that their only object in what they did was "to keep the memory of so worthy a friend and fellow alive as was their Shakespeare."

We are not able to say the number of copies that were printed. It was not quick of sale; a second edition was not called for until nine years afterwards, when Heminge and Condell

were both dead. There is the highest degree of probability that the First Folio was produced in the small parish of St. Mary, Aldermanbury; for wherever the manuscript plays were kept, the collectors would most probably arrange them for publication at their homes, as they lived so near each other. But it is remarkable that there is absolutely no record or memorial whatever of these two English worthies themselves, except the following two lines, each embedded and hidden among many others in the register of burials of: St. Mary, Aldermanbury: 1627. Dec. 29th. Mr. Condell. 1630. Oct. 1 2th. John Hemmings, player. [Also see *Condell Henry*] <sup>246</sup>

**Herbert George** (1593–1633) Born at Montgomery Castle. Herbert had the benefit of a high moral training at the hands of a good mother, and he early in life showed a marked inclination towards the study of divinity. After leaving Westminster School he proceeded to Cambridge, graduating there in 1612. He became an accomplished scholar and good musician, and his contributions to poetry very soon placed him in the foremost rank among the literary circles of his day. Soon after his appointment as Deputy Orator at Cambridge, he was advanced, chiefly through the influence of Sir Francis Nethersole, to the full Oratorship at the University, a post he had long coveted. In this capacity he was necessarily brought into contact with Court officials, and others of distinction. It was then that he made the acquaintance of Bacon, and we find him expressing a tribute of gratitude to his new friend in one of his orations, on the bestowal of the *Instauratio* to the University of Cambridge. Herbert, as a man and a poet, was as much appreciated in his own day as he is at the present time. He counted as his admirers and friends such writers as Crashaw, Vaughan, and Donne; and the revered Izaak Walton not only delighted to quote his poetry, but bequeathed to us a description of his *Life* for which we shall ever be grateful. Speaking of his *Temple*, Walton says: "It is a Book in which by declaring his own spiritual conflicts, he hath comforted and raised many a dejected soul, and charmed them with sweet and quiet thoughts." Bacon, in referring to the translations into Latin of his *Henry the Seventh* and the *Essays*, says that the work was performed "by some good pens that do not forsake me," and by this he is supposed to refer to the assistance rendered by Herbert, Selden, and Ben Jonson.

### The Dedication of his Psalms into Verse

To my very good Friend Mr. George Herbert.

The pains that it pleased you to take about some of my writings I cannot forget, which did put me in mind to dedicate to you this poor exercise of my sickness. Besides, it being my manner for dedications, to choose those that I hold most fit for the argument, I thought, that in respect of divinity and poesy met, whereof the one is the matter, and the other the style of this little writing, I could not make better choice: so, with signification of my love and acknowledgment, I ever rest your affectionate friend.

Fr. St. Alban.

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<sup>246</sup> Charles Clement Walker. *John Heminge and Henry Condell*, 1896

**Herbert Mary. Countess Of Pembroke** (1561–1621) To the most illustrious heroine, decked with all gifts of mind and of body, Mary Countess of Pembroke. Descended from laurel-crowned ancestors, Delia; true-born sister of Sidney, the Bard of Apollo; nourishing parent of literature, to whose spotless embrace virtue, defiled by the assault of barbarism and ignorance, flees for refuge as Philomela from the Thracian tyrant [Tereus] in times past; Muse of the poets of our time and of all most happily budding wits; descendant of the gods, you now infuse into my rough pen the spirit of an exalted madness, whereby my poor self seems to me able to surpass that which my raw natural talent is wont to bring forth. Deign to be protectress to this posthumous Amyntas, as to an adopted son of yours; and more so in that the dying father [Watson] in all humility named you as its guardian.

And although your illustrious name, not only among us but also foreign nations, is propagated too widely ever to be destroyed by the rusty antiquity of time or augmented by the praise of mortals (for how can anything be more than infinite?), crowned with the verse of many as Ariadne with a diadem of stars, refuse even so to despise this pure priest of Phœbus [Apollo] if he bestow another star upon your crown; but accept and watch over it with that purity of mind which the father of men and of gods, Jupiter, has linked with your noble family as its inheritance. So shall I, whose most slender resources are but the seashore myrtle of Venus and the evergreen tresses [laurel] of the Pineian nymph [Daphne], on the first page of every poem call upon you, Mistress of the Muses, for aid: In short, your virtue, which exceeds virtue itself, itself will likewise exceed eternity. Most eager to do you honour. (Marlowe). <sup>247</sup>

**Hilliard** (1547–1619) Engraver. The miniature portrait of Bacon in his eighteenth year, 1578, bares the inscription *si tabula daretur digna, animum malle*; [if one could but paint his mind]; says Spedding, “of the artist’s own emotion”. Hilliard was the most celebrated of English miniaturists. Son of an Exeter goldsmith, he was trained as a jeweller. In about 1570, he was appointed Court Miniaturist and Goldsmith by Elizabeth I., and also worked for King James I., but after the turn of the century his position as the leading miniaturist in the country was challenged by his former pupil Isaac Oliver. These two were head and shoulders above their contemporaries and dominated the limning of their era. Hilliard’s reputation extended to France, which he visited c.1577–78. In his treatise *The Arte of Limning*, written in about 1600 but not published until 1912, Hilliard declared himself as a follower of Holbein’s manner <sup>248</sup> of limning. In particular, he avoided the use of shadow for modelling and in his treatise he records that this was in agreement with Queen Elizabeth’s taste, “for the lyne without shadows showeth all to good jugment, but the shadowe without lyne showeth nothing”.

But while for Holbein a miniature was always a painting reduced to a small scale, Hilliard developed in the miniature an intimacy and subtlety peculiar to that art. He combined his unerring use of line with a jeweller’s exquisiteness in detail, an engraver’s elegance in calligraphy,

<sup>247</sup> Thomas Watson. *Amintæ Gaudia*, 1592

<sup>248</sup> Holbein, *Hans the Younger* (b.1497 Augsburg, d.1543 London)

and a unique realization of the individuality of each sitter. His miniatures are often freighted with enigmatic inscription and intrusive allegory (*e.g.* a hand reaching from a cloud); yet this literary burden usually manages to heighten the vividness with which the sitter's face is impressed.

Apart from the Queen herself, many others of the great Elizabethans sat for him, including Sir Francis Drake, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Sir Philip Sidney. The finest collection of his miniatures is in the Victoria and Albert Museum. He is known also to have worked on a large scale and among the paintings attributed to him are portraits of Elizabeth I., in the National Portrait Gallery, London, and in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool. In spite of his success, Hilliard had considerable financial problems and in 1617 was briefly imprisoned for debt. His son Lawrence was also a miniaturist. That Hilliard's works were greatly admired at the time appears from his being celebrated by Dr. Donne, in the poem of the *Storm*, in which he says: "An hand or eye by Hilliard drawn, is worth a history by a worse painter made."

**Hobbes Thomas** (1588–1679) The philosopher of Malmosbury, as it used to be the fashion to call him, was born at that town on April 5, 1588, and was the son of the vicar of Charlton, a village in the immediate neighbourhood, then a seat of the Knyvets, which early in Hobbes life went by marriage to the Howards, and before his death was connected with John Dryden (1631–1700). He went early to Magdalen Hall at Oxford, and took his degree. Somewhat before his majority he was recommended to the Cavendish family, as tutor to the future (second) Earl of Devonshire, and for the greater part of a century he remained a client of the house, and not infrequently a member of the household. He made the grand tour with his pupil in 1610, and returning to London became acquainted with most of the literary society of James I's time, being closely associated with Bacon. His own first literary effort was late and not original, being a translation of Thucydides which he published in 1628, his fortieth year. It is, though not rigidly exact, a very good translation as good as his subsequent attempt on Homer is bad.

In the same year his pupil died. He returned to his old business, and conducted the son of Sir Gervase Clifton over the Continent, but he soon resorted again to the Devonshire family, making his third journey abroad as tutor in charge of his first pupils son. Now, in the middle of the fourth decade of the century, was introduced to the strongly mathematical and philosophical group of Parisian men of letters. He plunged, not with happy results, into mathematics; he attacked philosophy with results, in part at least, very happy. On his return to England he took the Royalist side, and, being always a very timid person, fled abroad again, lest the Parliament should take notice of his published or MS., works. Of these *De Cive* appeared in 1642; *Leviathan* in 1651. The wonderful little *Human Nature* had been written as early as 1640, but was not published till much later. As he had fled from England to France, so he fled from France to England, owing to some slight from Charles II., to whom he had been tutor for a time. But after the Restoration Charles gave him a pension. He enjoyed it for nearly twenty years and died at Hardwick Hall, on December 4, 1679 in his ninety-second year. His works are chiefly known in the edition (16 vols.) of Molesworth, which, though the print and

paper are excellent, is simply not edited at all. A Danish scholar, Dr. Tunnies, has given some careful recessions of particular works from MS.

**Holbein** (*d.*1543) German painter, draftsman, and designer renowned for the precise rendering of his drawings and the compelling realism of his portraits, particularly those recording the Court of King Henry VIII., of England. Holbein was a member of a family of important artists. His father, Hans Holbein the Elder, and his uncle Sigmund were renowned for their somewhat conservative examples of late Gothic painting in Germany. One of Holbein's brothers, Ambrosius, became a painter as well, but he apparently died about 1519 before reaching maturity as an artist. The Holbein brothers no doubt first studied with their father in Augsburg; they both also began independent work about 1515 in Basle, Switzerland. It should be noted that this chronology places Holbein firmly in the second generation of sixteenth century German artists.

Albrecht Dürer, Matthias Grünewald, and Lucas Cranach the Elder all were born between 1470 and 1480 and were producing their mature masterpieces by the time Holbein was just beginning his career. Holbein is, in fact, the only truly outstanding German artist of his generation. Holbein's work in Basle during the decade of 1515–25 was extremely varied, if also sometimes derivative. Trips to northern Italy (*c.*1517) and France (1524) certainly affected the development of his religious subjects and portraiture, respectively. Holbein entered the painters' corporation in 1519, married a tanner's widow, and became a burgher of Basle in 1520. By 1521 he was executing important mural decorations in the Great Council Chamber of Basle's town hall. Unfortunately, none of Holbein's many great frescoes executed here and in England and Germany have survived intact. Their beauty must be judged, instead, from his sketches and copies of the frescoes made by later artists. Holbein was associated early on with the Basle publishers and their humanist circle of acquaintances. There he found portrait commissions such as that of the humanist scholar Bonifacius Amerbach (1519, Kunstmuseum, Basle). In this and other early portraits Holbein showed himself a master of the current German portrait idiom, using robust characterization and accessories, strong gaze, and dramatic silhouette.

In Basle, Holbein was also active in designing woodcuts for title pages and book illustrations. He increased his reputation as a book illustrator by a series of woodcuts for the German translation of the Bible by Martin Luther. The artist's most famous work in this area, a series of 41 scenes illustrating the medieval allegorical concept of the Dance of Death, was designed by him and cut by another artist as early as about 1523 to 1526 but was not published until 1538. Its scenes display an immaculate sense of order, packing much information about the lifestyles and habits of Death's victims into a very small format. He completed also a series of pen-and-ink sketches for *The Praise of Folie* by the Dutch scholar Desiderius Erasmus. In portraiture, too, Holbein's minute sense of observation was soon evident. His first major portrait of Desiderius Erasmus (1523, Louvre, Paris) portrays the Dutch humanist scholar as physically withdrawn from the world, sitting at his desk engaged in his voluminous European correspondence; his hands are as sensitively rendered as his carefully controlled profile.

Protestantism, which had been introduced into Basle as early as 1522, grew considerably in strength and importance there during the ensuing four years. By 1526 severe iconoclastic riots and strict censorship of the press swept over the city. In the face of what, for the moment at least, amounted to a freezing of the arts, Holbein left Basle late in 1526, with a letter of introduction from Erasmus, to travel by way of The Netherlands to England. Though only about twenty-eight years old, he would achieve remarkable success in England. His most impressive works of this time were executed for the statesman and author Sir Thomas More and included a magnificent single portrait of the humanist (1527, Frick Collection, New York City). In this image, the painter's close observation extends to the tiny stubble of More's beard, the iridescent glow of his velvet sleeves, and the abstract decorative effects of the gold chain that he wears. Holbein also completed a life-size group portrait of More's family; this work is now lost, though its appearance is preserved in copies and in preparatory drawing in the Kunstmuseum, Basle. This painting was the first example in northern European art of a large group portrait in which the figures are not shown kneeling, the effect of which is to suggest the individuality of the sitters rather than impiety.

Before Holbein journeyed to England in 1526, he had apparently designed works that were both pro and anti Lutheran in character. On returning to Basle in 1528, he was admitted, after some hesitation, to the new faith. It would be difficult to interpret this as a very decisive change, for Holbein's most impressive religious works, like his portraits, are brilliant observations of physical reality but seem never to have been inspired by Christian spirituality. This is evident in both the claustrophobic, rotting body of the Dead Christ in the Tomb (1521, Kunstmuseum, Basle) and in the beautifully composed Family of Burgomaster Meyer Adoring the Virgin (1526, Schlossmuseum, Darmstadt). In this latter painting Holbein skilfully combined a late medieval German compositional format with precise Flemish realism and a monumental Italian treatment of form. Holbein apparently quite voluntarily gave up almost all religious painting after about 1530.

In Basle, from 1528 to 1532, Holbein continued his important work for the town council. He also painted what is perhaps his only psychologically penetrating portrait, that of his wife and two children (*c.*1528, Kunstmuseum, Basle). This picture no doubt conveys some of the unhappiness of that abandoned family. In spite of generous offers from Basle, Holbein left his wife and children in that city for a second time, to spend the last eleven years of his life primarily in England. By 1533 Holbein was already painting court personalities. His portrait of the statesman Thomas Cromwell brought the artist recognition at Court, and by 1536 he was established as Court painter to Henry VIII., of England. It is estimated that during the last 10 years of his life Holbein executed approximately 150 portraits, life-size and miniature, of royalty and nobility alike. These portraits ranged from a magnificent series depicting German merchants who were working in London to a double portrait of the French Ambassadors to Henry VIII's Court (1533, National Gallery, London) two portraits of the King himself (1536, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Madrid) and his different wives, Jane Seymour (1536, Kunsthistorisches



Museum, Vienna) and Anne of Cleves (Louvre, Paris). In these and other examples, the artist revealed his fascination with plant, animal, and decorative accessories.

Holbein's preliminary drawings of his sitters contain detailed notations concerning jewellery and other costume decorations as well. Sometimes such objects point to specific events or concerns in the sitter's life, or act as attributes referring to a sitter's occupation or character. The relation between accessories and face is a charged and stimulating one, avoiding simple correspondence. In an analogous fashion, Holbein's mature portraits present an intriguing play between surface and depth. The sitter's outlines and position within the frame are carefully calculated, while inscriptions applied on the surface in gold leaf lock the sitter's head into place. Juxtaposed with this finely tuned two-dimensional design are illusionistic miracles of velvet, fur, feathers, needlework, and leather. Holbein acted not only as a portraitist but also as a fashion designer for the Court. The artist made designs for all the state robes of the King; he left, in addition, more than 250 delicate drawings for everything from buttons and buckles to pageant weapons, horse outfitting, and bookbinding for the royal household. This choice of work indicates Holbein's Mannerist concentration on surface texture and detail of design, a concern that in some ways precluded the incorporation of great psychological depth in his portraits. The artist's record of the Court of King Henry VIII., of England, as well as the taste that he virtually imposed upon that Court, was his most remarkable achievement. The fact that Holbein's portraits do not reveal the character or spiritual inclinations of his sitters is perfectly paralleled by knowledge of the artist's life.

His biography is basically a recounting of disparate facts; about his personality practically nothing is known. Not one note or letter from his own hand survives. Other men's opinions of him are often equally inscrutable. Erasmus, one of Holbein's most renowned sitters, praised and recommended him on one occasion but scorned the artist as opportunistic at another time. Henry VIII., who sent Holbein to the European continent to help select a bride by providing a dependable portrait for his scrutiny, was perhaps the only person who had absolute confidence in Holbein. The artist's detachment and his refusal to submit to an authority that might inhibit his own creative (but very worldly) powers enabled him to produce paintings whose beauty and brilliance have never been questioned. Had he been a more devout Christian or more subject to the turmoil of his times, his artistic achievement might have been quite different. In recent times, the lack of spiritual involvement in his work has been consistently noted, especially inasmuch as the sixteenth century was a time when few artists managed to remain above the religious conflict sweeping Europe. Thus, the effect of Holbein's art has often been felt to be more artistic and external than expressionistic or emotional. Only in that sense, however, is his achievement finally limited. He usually marked his prints with ciphers HB or BI, or signed them HANS. HOLB. He died of the plague in London.

**Holinshed Raphael** (1515–1580) Born within the first thirty years of the sixteenth century. Appears to have been the son of Ralph Holinshed or Hollingshead of Cophurst in Cheshire. He is said to have been educated at Cambridge, but the evidence is incomplete. He came

to London early in the reign of Elizabeth and obtained employment as a translator in the printing office of Reginald Wolfe. Wolfe had inherited Leland's notes, and for many years had projected a universal history with maps. He set Holinshed to this vast piece of work, which he directed until his death in 1573. At that time no part of the undertaking was fit to see the light. But Wolfe's successors adopted the plan with limitations, deciding to confine themselves to a *Chronicle of Great Britain* with descriptions. They desired Holinshed to finish the *Chronicle of England and Scotland*, which he had already begun, and gave him the assistance of William Harrison in the description; while they engaged Richard Stanihurst to complete the *Chronicle of Ireland*, compiled by Holinshed up to the year 1509, chiefly from a manuscript by Edmund Campian. The great work was finished in 1578, and met with an immediate popularity. Holinshed did not long survive its publication. He made his will on October 1, 1578, describing himself as steward to Thomas Burdet of Bramcote, Warwickshire, to whom he bequeathed all his "notes, collections, books, and manuscripts." Wood tells us that he died at Bramcote in 1580 and in fact, we have no further record of him.

**Holmes Nathaniel. Judge** "When Bacon's *Essay of Gardens* and the Shakespeare play, *Winter's Tale* are read together, written as they both are, in that singular style of elegance, brevity, and beauty, and depth of science, which is so markedly characteristic of this author, whether in verse or prose, it becomes next to impossible to doubt of his identity." (*The Authorship of Shakespeare*.) A note also well taken and observed by Spedding: "The scene in *Winter's Tale*, where Perdita presents the guests with flowers suited to their ages, has some expressions which, if this *Essay* had been contained in the earlier edition, would have made me suspect that Shakespeare had been reading it." <sup>249</sup> And then in his *Works*, <sup>250</sup> after introducing Bacon's points in the *Adv.*, Bk. II., "can it be doubted but that there are some who take more pleasure in enjoying pleasures than some other, and yet nevertheless are less troubled with the loss of leaving of them?" Spedding notes the reader to compare Shakespeare's Sonnet: *I cannot chuse but weep to have that which I fear to lose.*

**Holland** Author of *Baziliologia* published in 1618 containing a portrait of Francis Bacon. It has a border, bearing the words "HONORATISS: D<sup>s</sup>. FRANCISCUS BACON: EQUES AU: MAG: SIGILL: ANGL: CUST<sup>os</sup>." Below the Chancellor's bag, on which the left hand rests. The inscription underneath: "The righte Honourable S<sup>r</sup> Frauncis Bacon knight, Lorde highe Chancellour of Englande and one of his Mat<sup>ies</sup> most hon<sup>ble</sup> privie Counsell." Below this inscription are engraved in small letters the words "Simon Passœus sculpsit L. Are to be sould by John Sudbury and George Humble at the signe of the white horse in Pope's head Alley." The plate appears to have been used afterwards for a frontispiece to the *Sylva Sylvarum*, which was published in 1627, the year after Bacon's death. A copy of *Baziliologia* in the British Museum has no portrait.

<sup>249</sup> Spedding. *Works*, Vol. XII. p. 235

<sup>250</sup> Vol. VI. p. 322

**Hollandus Isaac** Very little is known of him; he is said by Suertius in the *Athenæ Belgicæ* to have been a native of the Netherlands, and to have published in 1582 a work entitled *Abdita quædam de Opere Animalis et Vegetabili*. Bacon comments on him in his *Temporis Partus Masculus*.

**Houbraken Arnold** (b.1660, Dordrecht–d.1719, Amsterdam) Engraver. Dutch painter, etcher and writer, part of a family of artists. Although a competent artist, Houbraken is best known as a writer. His three-volume *Groote Schouburgh*,<sup>251</sup> the last volume of which was published posthumously, is generally regarded as one of the most important sources on the lives of seventeenth century Dutch artists despite its many omissions and errors. As an artist, he was taught by Jacobus Levecq and Samuel van Hoogstraten in Dordrecht and went on to have a relatively successful studio in Dordrecht and Amsterdam. He specialized in small scale, precise history paintings, portraits, and gentile genre scenes. Houbraken's son Jacobus Houbraken (1698–1780) was a reproductive engraver, specializing in portraiture. Jacobus' sister Antonyna Houbraken (1686–1736) made topographical and portrait drawings, as well as designs for vignettes and a title-page.

**Howard Henry. Earl of Northampton** (1540–1614) Second son of the Earl of Surrey, beheaded in Henry VIII's reign. After a long period of political intrigue, he rose to power on King James' accession, having long been in correspondence with him. He was an avowed enemy of Raleigh. He maintained a position of great influence until the end of his life, generally using his influence in support of the King's prerogative and the Catholics. After his death, he was accused of complicity in the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury in the Tower: not altogether without reason. He built Northumberland House. Howard was a Roman Catholic intriguer during the reigns of Elizabeth I., and James I., of England, known for his unscrupulousness and treachery. He was one of the judges at the trials of Raleigh and Lord Cobham in 1603, of Guy Fawkes in 1605, and of Garnet in 1606, in each case pressing for a conviction. The climax of his career was reached when he assisted his grandniece, Frances Howard, Lady Essex, in obtaining her divorce from her husband in order to marry the favourite Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, whose mistress she already was and whose alliance Northampton was eager to secure for himself. He obtained the divorce by the decree of a special commission, and when Sir Thomas Overbury's influence seemed likely to prevent Somerset from completing the marriage project, he caused Overbury to be imprisoned in the Tower of London. Shortly afterward Overbury died from the effects of poison administered according to the wishes of Lady Essex; and the close intimacy which existed between Lady Essex and Northampton leaves his name tarnished with suspicion. He advised against the summoning of Parliament in 1614 and then fomented disputes to compel James to dissolve it. He died unmarried, a Roman Catholic, in 1614, at which time his title became extinct. (*Encyclopædia Britannica*).

In 1572, Lady Anne Bacon sends a letter to her son Anthony: "Beware in any wise of the Lord H! [Howard] He is a dangerous intelligencing man; no doubt a subtle Papist inwardly, and lieth in wait. Peradventure he hath some close working with Standen and the Spaniard Perez.

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251 *The Great Theatre of Dutch Painters*, 1718-1721

Be not too open; he will betray you to divers, and to your Aunt Russell among others. Avoid his familiarity as you love the truth and yourself. A very instrument of the Spanish Papists. I pray you no creature know or see this I write; but burn it with your own hands.”

**Howard Thomas. Earl of Suffolk** (1561–1626) Second son of the Duke of Norfolk beheaded by Elizabeth in 1572. He gained considerable distinction as a sailor, taking part in the defeat of the Armada and the attack on the Spanish treasure-ship in which Sir Richard Grenville was killed. He rose to a position of influence under Elizabeth, was made an Earl on King James’ accession, and after filling many high offices became Lord High Treasurer in 1614, which office Salishe held till 1619. In that year he was dismissed, fined £30,000 and imprisoned in the Tower, for serious embezzlements and other frauds. He was afterwards received back into favour: it was generally supposed that his wife was chiefly to blame for his defalcations. He was grandfather to the second Lord Howard of Escrick, the witness against Lord Russell’s trial.

**Huddler** Nickname for Sir Edward Coke coined by the Bacon brothers. [Also see *Coke Edward. Sir*].

## I

**Ireland William-Henry** (1777–1835) A boy of nineteen who pulled off the greatest Shakespearean forgery of the times to win the respect of his father, Samuel Ireland who died in 1800. This young boy was the first Shakespearean forger whose works appeared in 1794 to 1796.

## J

**James VI., of Scotland and I., of England** (1566–1625) From his fourth till at least his twelfth year James was educated at Stirling Castle with several youths of noble family, under the care of George Buchanan and Peter Young. He was naturally clever, and made rapid progress in his studies, which included Latin, Greek, French, history, logic, and rhetoric. We are told by Killigrew that at the age of ten he “translated a chapter of the Bible from Latin into French, and from French into English, extempore”, and James Melville, speaking of a visit he paid the King, says, that “it was the sweetest sight in Europe that clay for strange and extraordinary gifts of mime, judgment, memory, and language.” At twelve years of age he had nominally to take the government into his own hands. His tender age was, as his tutor laments, “engrossed by the attentions of flatterers,” and distracted by the “fetching and flyting” of those whom Melville terms “bot factious, fasschious, ambitious, greedy, vengeable, warldly, wretchit creatours.” James’ juvenile production, *Essays of a Prentice in the Divine Art of Poetry* (1584), was probably written as themes for his tutors. *Two Meditations on the Revelations* (1588–89) are indicative of his theological bent. *Demonology* (1597). *Basilikon Doron* (1599). *A Counterblast to Tobacco* (1604), all are his best known *Essays*. The remainder, and much the larger portion, of his writings

deals with political and theological questions, which have for their centre his cherished tenet of the “divine right of Kings.” The most important of these are: *The True Law of Free Monarchy* (1603); *An Apology for the Oath of Allegiance* (1607); *A Defence of the Right of Kings* (1615). The Bishop of Winton published in 1616 an edition of his prose works, which included his speeches and some occasional tracts.<sup>252</sup> The *Basilicon Doron* was re-printed in London in 1603, and turned into Latin quatrains by Henry Peacham, and ornamented with emblematical figures. It was partly translated in Latin and English verse also by William Willymot, under the title of “Speculum Principis; a Prince’s Looking-glasse, or a Prince’s Direction. Printed at Cambridge, 1603.” A Translation into French was also published soon after. The manuscript copy presented to Prince Henry,<sup>253</sup> “In this book,” says Camden, “is most elegantly pourtrayed and set forth the pattern of a most excellent and every way accomplished King. Incredible it is how many hearts and affections he won unto him by his correcting of it, and what an expectation of himself he raised amongst all men, even to admiration.” Archbishop Spotswood also regards it as having contributed more to facilitate the accession of James to the Throne of England, than all the discourses published by other writers in his favour. Bacon considered it as excellently written, and Locke pronounced its author, “that learned King who well understood the nature of things.” Hume says, “whoever will read the *Basilicon Doron*, particularly the two last books, will confess James to have possessed no mean genius; and Andrews terms it a “well-written treatise on the arts of government, clothed in as pure a style as the age would admit; and not more, chargeable with pedantry than contemporary books of a serious kind.”

**Janssen Cornelius** (1593–1664) Engraver. Also known as Cornelis Johnson Van Ceulen, or Van Keulen, Johnson, Jonson, or Janson. Cornelius’ parents were Flemish refugees. He was considered the most important native English, Baroque portraitist of the early seventeenth century. He lived in Amsterdam after he left England. He painted in Middelburg, The Hague, and finally Utrecht. After his return to Holland he improved greatly under Rembrandt’s influence.

**Jodelle** The first person, according to Pasquier, who produced a French hexameter and pentameter. Bacon refers to him in his *De Aug.*, Bk. VI.

**Jonson Benjamin** (1573–1637) Actor, poet, and playwright. He was one of Francis Bacon’s good pens, and wrote two merital dedications to him. Ben Jonson lies buried in the north aisle in the path of square stone opposite to the Scutcheon of Robertus de Ros, with this Inscription on him, in a pavement square of blue marble about fourteen inches, which was done at the charge of Jack Young, afterwards Knighted, who, walking there when the grave was covering, gave the fellow eighteen pence to cut it: O Rare Benn Johnson.

252 M’Cormick. *English Prose*, Henry Craik, Vol. II, 1920

253 Reg. MS., 12 A. LXVI.

**Johnson Samuel. Dr** (1709–1784) English critic, biographer, essayist, poet, and lexicographer, regarded as one of the greatest figures of eighteenth century life and letters. It has been recorded, that he once said to a student of his: “What! Sir, a fellow who claps a hump upon his back and a lump on his leg and cries, “I am Richard III.”? Nay, Sir, a ballad-singer is a higher man, for he does two things: he repeats and he sings; there is both recitation and music in his performance; the player only recites.” His famous comment is: “A Dictionary of the English language might be compiled from Bacon’s works alone.”

**Jones Inigo** (1573–1652). Among the number of architects, was the celebrated Inigo Jones, son of Inigo Jones, a citizen of London, who was put apprentice to a joiner, and had a natural taste for the art of designing. He was first renowned for his skill in landscape painting, and was patronized by the learned William Herbert, afterward Earl of Pembroke. He made the tour of Italy at his Lordship’s expense, and improved under some of the best disciples of the famous Andrea Palladio. On his return to England, having laid aside the pencil and confined his study to architecture, he became the Vitruvius of Britain, and the rival of Palladio.

This celebrated artist was appointed general surveyor to King James I., under whose auspices the science of Masonry flourished. He was nominated Grand Master of England, and was deputed by his sovereign to preside over the Lodges. During his administration, several learned men were initiated into Masonry, and the Society considerably increased in reputation and consequence. Ingenious artists daily resorted to England, where they met with great encouragement. Lodges were constituted as seminaries of instruction in the sciences and polite arts, after the model of the Italian schools; the communications of the fraternity were established, and the annual festivals regularly observed. Many curious and magnificent structures were finished under the direction of this accomplished architect; and, among the rest, he was employed, by command of the sovereign, to plan a new palace at Whitehall, worthy the residence of the Kings of England, which he accordingly executed; but for want of a Parliamentary fund, no more of the plan than the present Banqueting-house was ever finished.

Inigo Jones continued in the office of Grand Master till the year 1618, when he was succeeded by the Earl of Pembroke; under whose auspices many eminent, wealthy, and learned men were initiated, and the Mysteries of the Order held in high estimation. On the death of King James in 1625, Charles ascended the throne. The Earl of Pembroke presided over the fraternity till 1630, when he resigned in favour of Henry Danvers, Earl of Danby; who was succeeded in 1633 by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, the progenitor of the Norfolk family. In 1635, Francis Russel, Earl of Bedford, accepted the government of the Society; but Inigo Jones having, with indefatigable assiduity, continued to patronize the Lodges during his Lordship’s administration, he was re-elected the following year and continued in office till his death in 1646.

**Jones Robert** There is much excellent verse hidden away in the Song-Books of Robert Jones, a famous performer on the lute. Between 1601 and 1611 Robert Jones issued six musical works.

Two of these *The First Set of Madrigals*, 1607, and *The Muses' Garden for Delight*, 1611, cannot be discovered in their present resting-place. An incomplete set of the Part-Book of the *Madrigals* can be found in the British Museum Library but *The Muses' Garden* has eluded every attempt to discover it. Of Robert Jones, the composer of the music of these songs, very little is known. It is said in volume 30 of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, that he was a poet a well-known musician, but for this claim there seems to be no good evidence, though unfortunately it has been followed by several modern musicians who have re-set some of the verses in his song-book. It is possible that the statement was made on the strength of the following passage in the dedication of *Musical Dream*: "It is not unknown unto your well deserving self, Right Worshipful, that not long since I took my *Ultimum Vale*, with a resolving in myself, never to publish any works of the same Nature and Fashion, whereupon I betook me to the ease of my Pillow, where Somnus having taken possession of my eyes and Morpheus the charge of my senses; it happened me to fall into a Musical Dream wherein I chanced to have many opinions and extravagant humours of divers Natures and Conditions some of modest mirth some of amorous Love, and some of most divine contemplation, all these I hope shall not give any distaste to the ears or dislike to the mind, either in their words, or in their several sounds, although it is not necessary to relate or divulge all Dreams or Phantasies that opinion begets in sleep, or happeneth to the minds' apparition."

The authentic details of Robert Jones's career are most meagre. On April 19, 1597 a grace was passed for his degree of Mus. Bac., at Oxford in which it is stated that he had studied music for sixteen years and was a member of St. Edmund's Hall. Almost the only other facts known about him are derived from Collier's *Annals of the Stage* (1879), in which it is said that in a Privy Seal for Patent was granted to Philip Rosseter, Philip Kingman, Robert Jones and Ralph Reeve, who had bought ground and buildings near Puddle-Wharf Blackfriars, on which to erect a Theatre.

Rosseter was a musician of some repute and had been (1609–10) Master of the Children of the Queen's Revels. The new house was to be occupied by this company, by the Prince of Wales and the Lady Elizabeth players, to which later Rosseter had recently joined himself. Collier prints the original document in full, and from this it seems that the building the partners had acquired was called by the name of the Lady Saunders' House or otherwise Porter's Hall, and was then in the occupation of Robert Jones. The grant of the patent is dated Greenwich 13 Jas I, and in the following autumn a beginning was made in pulling down the house and erecting the new theatre. The scheme, however, met with great opposition from the Lord Mayor and Aldermen and the Privy Council, and in the following January, when the building was nearly finished, the Lord Mayor was ordered by the King's authority to make it unfit for use as a theatre, which was done within three days' time. These are practically the only facts known about Robert Jones, though it can be gathered from the dedications of his various musical worlds that he enjoyed at one period of his career the patronage of Robert Sidney, first Earl of Leicester. To him he dedicated his *First Book of Ayres* (1600) and not the Second Book as stated by Mr. Sidney Lee in his life of Leicester in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, styling them "the unworthy labours

of my musical travels.” In 1601 he published a Second Book, dedicated to Sir Henry Lennard, afterwards twelfth Baron Dacre of the South, whose house at Chevening was not far from that of the Sydney’s at Penshurst. In the same year Jones contributed a Madrigal to the celebrated *Triumphs of Oriana*, and in 1607 he brought out a set of Madrigals (no complete copy of which is known to exist) dedicated to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury. His next work was *Ultimum Vale*, another book of his, dedicated to Henry, Prince of Wales, a unique copy of which is preserved in the Library of the Royal College of Music. This was followed in 1609 by a fourth book of first entitled *Musical Dream* dedicated to Sir John Leventhorpe, of Sawbridgeworth, Herts. *The Muses’ Garden*, 1610 and three pieces in Sir William Leighton’s *Tears or Lamentations of a Sorrowful Soul*, 1614 complete the list of his compositions. The former is dedicated to Lady Mary Wroth, a daughter of Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester by his first wife Barbara Gamage. She married September 27, 1602 Sir Robert Wroth, of Durance, Middlesex, and in 1621 published a romance called *Urania*. The esteem in which she was held by the literary circles of the day is shown by the two epigrams addressed to her by Ben Jonson in 1616 and by a passage in Henry Peacham’s *Compleat Gentleman*, 1623, to the effigy that she “seemeth by her late published *Urania* inheritrix of the Divine wit of her immortal Uncle.”<sup>254</sup>

## K

**Kemp William** (d.1603?) Was a comic actor of high reputation. Like Tarlton, whom he succeeded “as well in the favour of her Majesty as in the opinion and good thoughts of the general audience”<sup>255</sup> he usually played the Clown, and was greatly applauded for his buffoonery, his extemporal wit, and his performance of the Jig. That at one time, perhaps from about 1589 to 1593 or later, he belonged to a Company under the management of the celebrated Edward Alleyn is proved by the title-page of a drama which will be afterwards cited. At a subsequent period he was a member of the Company called the Lord Chamberlain’s Servants who played during summer at the Globe and during winter at the Blackfriars. In 1596, while the last-mentioned house was undergoing considerable repair and enlargement, a petition was presented to the Privy Council by the principal inhabitants of the liberty, praying that the work might proceed no further, and that theatrical exhibitions might be abolished in that district. A counter petition, which appears to have been successful, was presented by the Lord Chamberlain’s Servants; and, according to Collier’s *Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poet.* Vol I, pp. 297-298, at its commencement, the names of the chief petitioners are thus arranged: Thomas Pope, Richard Burbadge, John Hemings, Augustine Phillips, William Shakespeare, William Kempe, William Slye, and Nicholas Tooley. In Kemp’s work *Kemps Nine Daies Wonder* there is mention of a piece anterior to Shakespeare’s tragedy

<sup>254</sup> William Barclay. *Robert Jones’ The Muses Garden for Delights*, 1901

<sup>255</sup> Heywood’s *Apology for Actors*, Sig. E. 2, 1612, 4to. Tarlton died in Sept. 1588. A tract by Nashe, entitled *An Almond for a Parrot*, n.d. but published about 1589, is dedicated “To that most Comical and conceited Cavaleire Monsieur du Kempe, Jestmonger and Vice-gerent general to the Ghost of Dicke Tarlton.”



*Macbeth*: “Still the search continuing, I met a proper upright youth, only for a little stooping in the shoulders, all heart to the heel, a penny Poet, whose first making was the miserable stolen story of Macdoel, or Macdobeth, or Macsomewhat, for I am sure a Mac it was, though I never had the maw to see it; and he told me there was a fat filthy ballet-maker, that should have once been his Journeyman to the trade, who lived about the town, and ten to one but he had thus terribly abused me and my Taberer, for that he was able to do such a thing in print.”

When *Romeo and Juliet* and *Much ado about Nothing* were originally brought upon the stage, Kemp acted Peter and Dogberry; and it has been supposed that in other Shakespearean plays *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*; *As you like it*; *Hamlet*; *The Second Part of Henry the Fourth*; and *The Merchant of Venice*, he performed Launce, Touchstone, the Grave-digger, Justice Shallow, and Launcelot. On the first production of Ben Jonson’s *Every Man in his Humour*, a character was assigned to him; and there is good reason to believe that in *Every Man out of his Humour*, by the same dramatist, he represented Carlo Buffone. In 1599 Kemp attracted much attention by dancing the morris from London to Norwich; and as well to refute the lying ballads put forth concerning this exploit, as to testify his gratitude for the favours he had received during his “gambols,” he published in the following year the curious pamphlet *A Nine Daies Wonder* and entered in the Stationers’ Books on April 22, 1600. Ben Jonson alludes to this remarkable journey in *Every Man out of his Humour*, originally acted in 1599.

The date of Kemp’s death has not been determined. Malone, in the uncertainty on this point, could only adduce the following passage of Dekker’s *Guls Horne-booke*, 1609, from which, he says, “it may be presumed” that Kemp was then deceased: “Tush, tush, Tarleton, Kemp, nor Singer, nor all the litter of fools that now come drawling behind them, never played the Clowns more naturally then the arrantest Sot of you all.” George Chalmers, however, discovered an entry in the burial register of St. Saviour’s, Southwark: “1603, November 2, William Kempe, a man,” and since the name of Kemp does not occur in the license granted by King James, May 19, 1603 to the Lord Chamberlain’s Company (who in consequence of that instrument were afterwards denominated his Majesty’s Servants) there is great probability that the said entry relates to the comedian, and that he had been carried off by the plague of that year.

**Knight Charles** (b.1791) His *Biography of Shakspeare* was first published in 1842, shortly after the Stratford original gravestone had been removed.

**Kyd Thomas** (1558–1594) One of the most lawless assumptions in literary criticism of recent years is the introduction to a patient public of the author of the Shakespeare Works in the role of an understudy to Thomas Kyd. It is an offense that ought to be actionable in any Court of good-breeding; yet Lee thrusts “the sportive Kyd” upon our attention with a persistence that finally excites amusement, though our English kinsmen prefer to adjust their monocles and regard the deft showman, as he springs his favourite jack-in-the-box upon them, as they do the perennial suffragette, with evident admiration. Who is Thomas Kyd? Nobody knew, but, to get

him into line, a genealogy was fashioned for him which would surprise a trained genealogist like Fitz Waters, or Colonel Chester. It is easy to find a name repeated at any period within a comparatively short range of time. We know that in Warwickshire the Stratford actor had several contemporaries bearing his name, and in Scotland the same may be said of Walter Scott.

## L

**Leibnitz** His remark that the restorers of philosophy, namely the Cartesians, Verulam, Hobbes, &c., all held the principle that the properties of bodies are to be explained by means of magnitude, figure, and motion, a statement which envelopes every such theory of matter as that of Descartes, together with the old atomic doctrine, which is certainly also true of Bacon's thoughts.

**Lok Henry** Of this author little is known, though he appears to have been connected with the court of Elizabeth, to whom he dedicated some of his pieces, comprising two hundred Sonnets, treating of meditation, humiliation, prayer, comfort, joy, and thanksgiving. His name occurs in a small book in the Bodleian Library, entitled *Sundry Psalms of David translated into verse, as briefly and significantly as the scope of the text will suffer*. These Psalms are included in the very rare work which he published in 1597, entitled *Ecclesiastes*, and otherwise called the *Preacher*, containing Saloman's *Sermons or Commentaries*, it may probably be collected upon the 49 Psalm of David his father. In the whole there are 320 Sonnets in the volume; those on *Sundry Christian Passions* comprising 200 of that number.<sup>256</sup>

**Lopez Roderigo. Dr** or **Lopez Ruy** This Lopez was a celebrated Jewish physician, and was honoured by being elected house surgeon to St. Bartholomew's Hospital; afterwards he became physician to Elizabeth. After many years' residence in this country he was arrested on suspicion of being implicated in a plot to poison the Queen in 1594 uncovered by Essex; he was duly tried, convicted and sentenced to be hanged, which sentence a few months later was carried out at Tyburn. According to Camden, the learned antiquarian, Lopez's last words on the scaffold were that he loved the Queen as much as he did Jesus Christ, which naturally leads one to the assumption that he must have been a converted Jew and have forsaken the faith of his fathers, or else Camden may have invented this dying confession in order to show that some Jews believed in the Christian religion.

Dr. Rodrigo, though a professed Protestant, was one of those Iberian Jews through whom the medical lore of the ancient Orient filtered to the Western world. The persecution of this race in the Peninsula had driven them forth with their learning and traditions to seek safety in other lands; and in the sixteenth century no Court in Europe lacked a physician of this sort, who was reported to possess secrets of science unattainable to the Gentile practitioners in their profession. Such men naturally attracted the dislike and jealousy of their medical rivals, both on account

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<sup>256</sup> Farr. *Select Poetry*, Vol. I. 1845

of their mysterious skill and their outcast race. They were generally self-seeking intriguers, who often wormed themselves into the confidence of high personages, and added to their wealth and importance by making themselves useful as intermediaries in affairs of state, where their knowledge of tongues and their confidential position gave them an advantage over others.

Lopez had lived in London since the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, first in Broad Street in the city of London, then in Wood Street, and finally in Mountjoy's Inn, Holborn. Gradually he became a leading physician, and obtained the patronage of Leicester, whose household doctor he was. Leicester was accused by his enemies, and notably by Father Persons, of a propensity for removing inconvenient friends or rivals by poison, and naturally his household physician shared his evil repute in this respect. The English medical men of the time shrugged their shoulders and turned up their eyes when Lopez was mentioned, and it became an accepted fact that the Portuguese Jew had more skill in intrigue and self-advertisement than in medicine, and knew more about poisoning than healing. But with the patronage of Leicester and Walsingham, both members of the Puritan party, Lopez continued to prosper greatly in spite of frowns and sneers.

In 1586 he was appointed principal physician to the Queen, he was house-physician of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and was to all appearance a person of wealth, though he was really impecunious. In the pursuit of profit he was certainly indefatigable. He had a monopoly for a term of years of the importation of shumac and aniseed into England; his son was being educated at Winchester College, Oxford, by means of the revenues of a parsonage granted to him by the Queen; one of his wealthy patients gave him a house; and when Don Antonio, the Portuguese Pretender, came to England to crave the assistance of Elizabeth, Dr. Lopez at once became his advocate at Court, his interpreter, and his inseparable friend, doubtless for very handsome consideration, for the Pretender, at his first coming, had brought with him from Portugal some of the finest jewels in the world, and whilst they lasted he was a welcome guest both to Elizabeth and to Catharine de Medici.

Lopez had acted for his patrons, Leicester and Walsingham, in presenting Antonio's cause to the Queen in the most glowing colours; and, influenced by his representations, Elizabeth had been induced to consent to the joint-stock company invasion of Portugal by an English force in 1589, which ended in a dismal fiasco. Elizabeth was very angry with Antonio for the failure of his hopes, and Lopez was extremely apologetic for his share in the transaction. Thenceforward the Pretender was under a cloud, the jewels were soon gone, and the crowd of Portuguese adherents who had surrounded him whilst his hopes lasted began to fall away from him. Many of them had already prepared a path for their political salvation by serving as spies in England for Philip, and as early as 1586 one of them had sent proposals to Mendoza in Paris, and to Philip himself, to have Don Antonio poisoned.<sup>257</sup> To these proposals Idiaquez, the King's secretary, replied to Mendoza that "the deed might be done without scruple as Don Antonio is a rebel, and has been condemned to death by law." The murderer was to have 25,000 or 30,000 ducats, and

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257 MSS. Siraancas and Paris, Spanish Calendar, Vols. III., IV.

Idiaquez, by order of the King, urged that no time should be lost in performing the service.<sup>258</sup> The proposed assassin, however, was a windbag, and the attempt came to nothing; but in the following year (1587) the same spy, Vega, mentioned a plan that he had for persuading Dr. Lopez to poison Don Antonio, by purging the latter with Indian acacia, instead of with his customary fortnightly purge. This was merely mentioned, together with a number of similar vague ideas proposed with the same object by Vega, and does not in any way commit Lopez yet. But shortly afterwards, Vega wrote that he had succeeded in gaining over Dr. Lopez, whom he had “converted to his Majesty’s service with good promises, and he has already done wonders in trying to get him, Antonio, turned out of here.” Mendoza, in a marginal note to this letter, scornfully asks why Vega, “if he is so sure of Dr. Lopez, does not have Don Antonio put out of the way altogether.” On a mere hint which Don Gerau de Spes gave him (Lopez), he offered to purge a Portuguese pilot who was busy about some expeditions from England to the Indies. He took the recipe to the apothecary himself, and on his way he let it fall out of his breeches pocket, in consequence of which he was kept for six months in the Tower, “I (Mendoza) will say that this other business will be well paid for, as the doctor knows, and it may be settled without hesitation.”<sup>259</sup> But Lopez would do nothing on Vega’s word alone, and wanted a distinct pledge in writing from Philip or his Ministers. Distrust prevented this from being sent, and the matter for the time again fell through.

After the wreck of the Armada, Lopez busied himself greatly in favour of the Spanish prisoners of the poorer sort from one of the captured galleons, and claimed to have rescued 300 of them from the gallows and secured their liberation. One of the most daring and effective of the Portuguese spies was Manuel de Andrada,<sup>260</sup> who sent to Mendoza in Paris absolutely correct and full advice of English naval affairs, and of the movements of Don Antonio. He spoke French and Flemish, and was frequently sent by Don Antonio on missions abroad, but was already, in 1590, suspected, and with good reason, of playing false to his master. During his absence in France on Don Antonio’s business, he had left as his substitute in England another spy, one Rodrigo Marques, and on Andrada’s arrival in London from Dieppe at the beginning of 1590, he had met his substitute there, and had learnt of Don Antonio’s intention to fly from England to seek the aid of the Dutch, the Huguenots, or even of the Turks, since Elizabeth was unwilling to help him further.

Andrada was secretly instructed by the Pretender to freight a ship for this purpose to carry him to Dieppe, and treacherously stipulated with the Flemish skipper, for 10,000 crowns, to

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<sup>258</sup> Spanish Calendar, Vol. IV., P. 12.

<sup>259</sup> Spanish Calendar, Vol. IV., P. 78. I cannot find any confirmation of Mendoza’s statement that Lopez was imprisoned, as he says, though it is no doubt true that he agreed to poison the Portuguese pilot, Bartolome Bayon, in 1571

<sup>260</sup> Every writer on the subject lavishes upon this man vituperative epithets, which, so far, are absolutely unjustified, except that, like all the *dramatis personæ*, he was a double spy. Motley calls him “the famous Portuguese poisoner,” which he certainly was not. Mr. Diniock says he “was a ruffian pure and simple.” The papers from Simancas and Paris will prove that at all events he told the truth

alter his course when he was out at sea and run the vessel into Dunkirk, where Antonio would be at the mercy of the Spaniards. This pretty arrangement was conveyed in a letter written by Andrada to Mendoza in Paris, but the letter was intercepted, and, although written with sensitive ink, was promptly deciphered by Phellips, and Andrada was clapped into jail, Marques flying into hiding until the hue and cry was over, and then escaping into France. By the strenuous intervention of Dr. Lopez, Andrada was released, instead of being hanged by Don Antonio; and when he arrived in France, the spy had a strange story to tell the Spanish Ambassador. He had, he said, made great efforts to win over Dr. Lopez, "who is a person of great influence with the Queen and Council." "When Andrada was about to leave England, the Doctor said that as he had saved Andrada's life, which he certainly did, for if he had not interceded for him nothing else could have rescued him, he would confide in him that he had already been approached by Mendoza for the purpose of putting Don Antonio out of the way; <sup>261</sup> but he had refused, as he was distrustful. He had been the means, he said, of saving from the gallows over three hundred Spaniards from Don Pedro's ship, who had been sentenced to be hanged; and yet, for all this, he had never received any favour whatever from his Majesty (Philip). He said that God had ordained his imprisonment, and made him the instrument of his release, in order that he might be able implicitly to trust him; and since he displayed so much zeal in the service of his Majesty, he might tell Don Bernardino (Mendoza) that if he, Dr. Lopez, received his Majesty's orders to negotiate an arrangement, this was the time. He was sure that the Queen would concede any terms that were demanded of her, as she was in great alarm. It was not necessary to write about this, but that he should go to Calais, and write to him from there to the effect that, bearing in mind the clemency the Queen had extended to him, he was discussing with Mendoza subjects which would redound greatly to the advantage of her country; <sup>262</sup> and that if a passport were sent to, enabling him to go backwards and forwards freely, which passport Lopez promised should be sent at once, he could come secretly and stay in his house in London, where Secretary Walsingham could come and speak with him. He, Lopez, had no doubt that the Queen would come to terms with his Majesty, and would force Don Antonio to do the same, on the conditions that his Majesty might think just. She would also cause the Netherlands to agree, and he, Lopez, on his part, would endeavour that everything should be done to his Majesty's satisfaction. No one was to know that he had discussed this matter with him. He would continue to let him know the decisions arrived at by the Queen's Council; and when things were sufficiently advanced towards a conclusion to his Majesty's satisfaction, personages might be sent to make the formal contracts. He hopes that everything may thus be settled speedily and advantageously for his Majesty; and he promises, if the matter be kept secret, that he will inform him of everything that happens of interest to his Majesty. If an arrangement be not arrived at, he promises that Don Antonio shall

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<sup>261</sup> It is fair to observe that on a former occasion when Lopez said this to Vega, Mendoza said it was a lie; but there was nothing improbable in it

<sup>262</sup> Letters to a similar effect to this were written by Andrada to Lopez in 1591 from Calais. See *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, for that year, where translations of them will be found

be sent away from England, or detained as his Majesty may desire, and if the present suggestion fell through he would continue to protect his Majesty's interests in England. In very truth no person can report so well as he can, in consequence of his great influence with the Queen and Council: but energy and liberality are necessary.<sup>263</sup>

It is evident that Walsingham was behind Lopez in this suggestion, and having in view the party to which he belonged, we shall be safe in assuming that the suggestion of peace negotiations was only a screen behind which agents might go backwards and forwards to Spain, and obtain information of armaments. But two parties can play at such a game as this; and when Andrada, with Marques in his company, proceeded to Spain, apparently themselves in all sincerity, Mendoza suggested to the King, and the latter approved of the suggestion, that Andrada shall be "sent backwards and forwards to England under cover of the negotiation, so that he may be able to report what is going on there."<sup>264</sup>

Standen, one of Essex's Catholic spies, went to Hampton Court on the 24th January, and wrote to Bacon on the 30th an account of Lopez's first examination in London on the 21st, and the Queen's rage with Essex. He then says that "Lopez had been detected of a design to poison the Queen." The following day Faunt, another of Essex's hangers-on, wrote from London to Bacon, saying that "it was most true that Dr. Lopez was most deeply touched in the particular working of the Queen's destruction, and was discovered to have been the King of Spain's pensioner for seven years past. The Queen had forbidden all access to her, except only of four persons, besides Councillors and ladies." The day before this was written Lopez was taken to the Tower, and Essex himself wrote to his spy-master, Antony Bacon: "In haste this morning. I have discovered a most dangerous and desperate treason. The point of conspiracy was her Majesty's death. The executioner should have been Dr. Lopez; the manner poison. This I have so followed as I will make it appear as clear as noonday."<sup>265, 266</sup>

**Loyola Ignatius** (1491–1556) Belonged to a noble Biscayan family; was page to Ferdinand and Isabella in his youth. He was severely wounded in 1521 whilst fighting the French, and during his convalescence he read himself into a state of mystical devotion, in which he renounced the world.

**Lyly John** (1554–1601) Dramatic poet, and author of *Euphues*.

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<sup>263</sup> MSS. Paris Archives, Spanish Calendar, Vol. IV

<sup>264</sup> *Ibis*.,

<sup>265</sup> Birch, Vol. I., P. 152. It is not plain whence came the original hint about Lopez killing the Queen, but it seems probable that it arose out of an important exclamation which Ferreira afterwards confessed he had made to his guard, the young Portuguese called Pedro, to the effect that he had no doubt that Lopez would poison either the Queen or Don Antonio if he was paid sufficiently for it

<sup>266</sup> Martin A.S. Hume. *Treason and Plot*, 1901

## M

**Macaulay Babington Thomas** (1800–1859) Known for his famous article on Bacon in 1837, which is well known and talked about though “deficient in spiritual insight.”<sup>267</sup> Macaulay was an English Whig [members of two opposing political parties or factions in England, particularly during the eighteenth century] politician, essayist, poet, and historian best known for his *History of England*, 5 Vol. (1849–61); this work, which covers the period 1688–1702, secured his place as one of the founders of what has been called the Whig interpretation of history. He was raised to the peerage in 1857.

**Malone Edmond** (1704–1812) Born in Dublin. Edmond Malone was descended from an Irish family of the highest antiquity:<sup>268</sup> and all his immediate predecessors were distinguished men. His grandfather, Richard Malone, while he was yet only a student at the Temple, was entrusted with a negotiation in Holland; and so successfully acquitted himself, that he was honoured and rewarded by King William for his services. Having been called to the Irish bar about 1700, he became one of the most eminent barristers that have ever appeared in that country. His professional fame has only been eclipsed by that of his eldest son, the still more celebrated Anthony Malone, whose superiority to him has not, however, been universally acknowledged. To anyone, who is even slightly acquainted with the history of Ireland, it would be superfluous to point out the extraordinary qualities which adorned the character of Anthony Malone. [See Part III: *Malone's Inquiry*].

**Marlowe Christopher** (1563–1585) Nicknamed *Kit* from the *Grk: Kitsos*. He was, if possible, a greater reprobate than his pot-companions, for to his evil accomplishments was added the temper of the bravo. Even less is known about him than of Peele or of Greene. He is said to have been the son of a shoemaker, John Marlowe, born at Canterbury, February, 1563–64, and granted the degree of B.A. in 1585, and M.A. in 1587, at Benet College, Cambridge; went to London shortly after he became an actor, but, it is said, had to resign, having broken his leg “in a lewd scene.” His career was brief, as he died June 1593, a few months after Greene.<sup>269</sup>

**Marprelate Martin** The unquenchable energy of Puritanism burst forth and expressed its opinions in a flood of secretly-printed pamphlets. The first champion was one Penry, a Welchman, who, under the nom de plume of Martin Marprelate, provoked the Bishop of Winchester to religious controversy. Penry subsequently enjoyed the distinction of being hanged, which was a reflection upon the Bishop's controversial powers. Cruel, indeed, would have fortune been to Bacon, if, in the midst of financial embarrassments and his lack of briefs, she had not cheered him with

<sup>267</sup> Lord. *Beacon Lights of History*, Vol. XIII. 1902

<sup>268</sup> This is not the place to enlarge upon Mr. Malone's family; but a detailed account of it is to be found in the seventh volume of Archdall's *Peerage of Ireland*, which, it is believed, was drawn up by Mr. Malone himself, and which contains a full and interesting delineation of his grandfather and uncle

<sup>269</sup> *The Works of the British Dramatists*, p. 77. New York

a single smile. The fact is that he was consoled by the consideration which he received at the Queen's hands. It put no money in his purse; it brought no lucrative preferment. She accepted his services, which were valuable and untiring; she fed his hopes, and he was happy. Elizabeth was appeased by a consistent course of subserviency; she admitted him into her presence, and graciously accepted his gifts, one of which was a "petticoat of white satin, embroidered all over like feathers and billets, with three broad borders, fair embroidered with snakes and fruitage, emblems of wisdom and bounty." [Also see Part I: *Marprelate Controversy*.]

**Mathews Nieves** (1917–2003) An author of Scottish and Spanish parentage. Her father was the distinguished Spanish diplomat and scholar Salvador de Madariaga. Her mother was the distinguished economic historian Constance Archibald. Nieves was the older of two daughters. She was not allowed to be baptized because of her father's anti-clericalism. She is the mother of two sons, Luis Solana, a former Spanish telephone executive who opposed Franco's dictatorship and was imprisoned for his political activities. Her younger son, Javier Solana, is a well-known Spanish politician, who was the former head of NATO, and is now the European Union foreign policy chief. She was employed for upwards of twenty years by the Food and Agriculture Organization, a United Nations agency headquartered in Rome. Her Yale University-published book on the life of Sir Francis Bacon was released in 1996. The 606 page volume is called *Francis Bacon: The History of a Character Assassination*. She claimed in her acknowledgments that the book was suggested and blessed by "my teacher, Osho" (Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh), "who thought highly of Sir Francis Bacon and gave the book his blessing." She was also deeply influenced by the works of Immanuel Velikovsky.

**Matthews Tobie** (1589–1655) Eldest son of Dr. Tobie Matthews, Archbishop of York, a native of Bristol, studied first at Wells, afterwards at Oxford, where he was made Dean of Christ Church in 1576. After hearing of the antiquities and other curiosities of Italy, Sir Tobie conceived a strong desire of making a tour in that country; but sometimes his studies, sometimes affairs or amusements at Court, sometimes suits of law, sometimes idle entertainments intervened. Whilst he remained at Florence some of the English Catholic gentlemen, who then resided in that city, sometimes began to speak to him about religion: but he would never so much as hear them. In that interim a little incident gave home some serious thoughts. Sir Tobie's principal study was a desire to make himself perfectly master of the Italian tongue, in these dispositions he returned to Florence, where, in order to disengage himself from the company of the English, he lodged in a little house in a retired remote part of the town. About half a year after he became a Catholic he returned to England through France and Flanders. At Canterbury, in company with a Catholic gentleman and others, he visited the cathedral. They were there shown the chair in which St. Thomas of Canterbury, among other Archbishops, had been consecrated. In London he took up his lodging at a French ordinary in the east part of the town near the Tower. He had made a great secret of his conversion even in Italy, and much more in France, and now in England.



On October 10, 1623 Sir Tobie received the honour of Knighthood from his Majesty then at Royston, for his zeal in promoting the project of the Spanish match with Prince Charles, at which time not only the King, but the chief of the nobility and other at Court had a high value for him, and so continued for several years after. In his old age, Sir Tobie renounced the world, and was ordained priest; he died in the house of the third probation at Ghent in Flanders, on October 13, 1655, and buried in a vault under their church there, with this inscription on a leaden plate upon his coffin: “Hic jacet D. Tobias Matthæi.” <sup>270</sup>

**Maurier Daphne du** (1907–1989) Well-known author of *Rebecca*, and the daughter of a famous actor, Sir Gerald du Maurier. In 1969 she was awarded a DBE. Her two works on Bacon *The Winding Staircase* and *The Golden Lads* made her well known to the modern reader of Baconianism.

**Mayerne Théodore Turquet de** (1573–1655) Physician, MD 1597 Montpellier, whose Paraclesian medical views were violently attacked by the College of Physicians in Paris, but found favour in England where in 1611 he was appointed physician to James I., and later to his son Charles I. He was one of the most famous physicians of his time, with a thriving practice among the elite, as can be seen by the intended recipients of his recipes in work-diaries. He publishes a treaty on insects, *Theatrum Insectorum* where the introduction is by himself but the true author of the treaty is unknown. Jean Petitot (1607–1691), a Swiss miniature painter, with the help of his compatriot, the physician and chemist Théodore Turquet de Mayerne, he perfected the technique, using new colours, notably for the flesh tones, and achieving an unprecedented virtuosity in his attempts to emulate the brilliance of Baroque portraiture. It was probably Charles I., himself who set him to copy in miniature the portraits of the Royal Family by Anthony van Dyck. Three of these, dated 1638, survive: *Charles I*, *Charles II*, *when Prince of Wales* (both Welbeck Abbey, Notts) and *Queen Henrietta Maria* (The Hague, Willem V Mus.). All are of astonishing finesse and delicacy of tonal nuance. It was at the English Court that Petitot met Jacques Bordier (1616–84), who became his collaborator and is generally reputed to have painted the hair, draperies and backgrounds of his miniatures, while Petitot himself concentrated on the demanding areas of the face and hands. <sup>271</sup> Raleigh ends his first volume of the *History of the World* with, “my lyre is changed into the sound of mourning; and my song into the voices of people weeping.” On the night Prince Henry died, Raleigh sends a great cordial that he made since he was allowed the use of a shed for his chemical experiments: a compound of pearl, musk, hart’s horn (ammonia), bezoar stone (a concretion found in the intestine of ruminants), mint, borage, gentian, mace, aloes, sugar, sassafras, sprits of wine. It is recorded that Prince Henry opened his eyes when being given this cordial, spoke a little, but failed to remain conscious; he died at the age of eighteen on Friday evening, November 6, 1612. We may only reason that by Prince Henry’s death bed was Sir Theodore Turquet de

<sup>270</sup> Wood. *Athen. Oxon*, t. 2. p.121

<sup>271</sup> *Wikimedia Org*

Mayerne, the senior Court doctor at the age of thirty-nine, who thought it right to remedy young Henry by shaving the boy's head and applying warm cocks and pigeons newly killed, but with no success. Bacon at the time would have been fifty-one as Sir Edward Coke would have been pulsing into his ailing age of sixty. The Prince's parents, King James I., forty-six and Anne of Denmark thirty-eight, would have been attending these ridiculous remedy ceremonies as would John Erskine,<sup>272</sup> at the age of fifty-four.

**Meautys Thomas. Sir** (1592–1649) Secretary to Francis Bacon. Meautys, occasionally spelt Mewtas, Mewtys, or Meawtas, was Clerk of the Council and Secretary to Francis Bacon and who was knighted 16th February, 1641 and who married Anne Bacon, daughter of Nathaniel Bacon, son of Bacon's half brother, Nicholas. April 25, 1608 was admitted into the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, London. 1616, he became Secretary to Bacon and was a distant cousin of Bacon. March 5, 1619 he was made Clerk to His Majesty's Council. in January 10, 1621 entered Parliament and sat for Cambridge Borough, also in 1625, and in 1626, 1628 and 1640 all new Parliaments. In 1621, Francis Bacon was degraded and in 1622 Meautys tried to get the reversion of a Clerkship in the Star Chamber. In February, 1626 Charles I., was crowned and April 9, 1626, Francis Bacon died, leaving Gorhambury estate under trustees for the use of Thomas Meautys. In April 1626 a letter from Thomas Meautys to Jane, Lady Bacon, saying, "My lo: St. Alban is dead and buried." (He never mentions Gorhambury in any letter extant;) May 1626 Meautys elected on the "New Council of War" and also secured the office in the Chamber of Writs and Processes. June 14, 1626 Meautys was admitted a member of Gray's Inn, and took possession of Bacon's chambers there. In 1684 these chambers burnt down reducing all manuscripts to cinder. In 1633, his brother, Henry Meautys, sold the site of Stratford Abbey in Essex to Sir John Nutts. On March 26, 1636 Thomas Meautys was elected to the post of Muster Master-General of England. In December 1638 he was appointed Life Treasurer of the Company of Starchmakers of London. April 21, 1639 Meautys was ordered to administer the oath to the Lords present at York. Lords Say and Brook refused to take it. April 24, 1639 he was ordered to enter a declaration to the Lords' satisfaction. He had to draw up articles for the Claims of Vintners and Coopers, also for the tobacco trade. In 1639 he started with Charles I., on his expedition to Scotland, but took ill in York and probably went no further, but returned to London. 1639 or 1640 he married Miss Anne Bacon, of Culford and Broome Hall, daughter of Sir Nathaniel Bacon and Jane, Lady Cornwallis or Bacon. It was probably after his marriage that he erected the monument to Bacon in St. Michael's Church, St. Albans, Hertfordshire and in 1640 he took his seat in the Parliament. On February 16, 1641 he was knighted (Knight Bachelor) by Charles I. April 13, 1641 his only child, Jane, was baptised. In 1646 the office Meautys held of Clerk to his Majesty's Council Extraordinary became extinct. In October 1649 Meautys died, nine months after his King was beheaded, and he was buried in St. Michael's Church, St. Albans, in Bacon's vault there, below the altar. On April 7, 1662 his daughter died.

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<sup>272</sup> Was made guardian to Prince Henry since his birth by King James

On the death of Sir Thomas Meautys, Gorhambury estate was inherited by his daughter Jane, who died in April 1662. The Estates then in 1652 passed to his eldest brother, Henry Meautys. Shortly after Sir Thomas Meautys died, his widow married Sir Harbottle Grimston. Sir Harbottle Grimston bought Gorhambury estate back from Henry Meautys, and resided in it with his wife. His son George lived in the smaller house on the estate called Verulam House, which was afterwards pulled down. "Thomas Meautys one of the noblest of the noble order of loyal servants loyal to the full extent of his means and abilities, in adversity as in prosperity, in disgrace as in honour loyal through life, and beyond it, the creditor who never ceased to be a friend, he well deserves to be introduced in person to those who take any interest in Bacon." (Spedding).

**Meres Francis** (1565–1646) Son of Thomas Meres of Kirton in Holland, in the county of Lincoln, and educated at Pembroke College, Cambridge, where he took the degree of B.A. in 1587 and of M.A. in 1591. He was briefly an author and commentator on the London literary scene; primarily a rural minister and schoolmaster. Brother-in-law of John Florio (tutor of the Earl of Southampton); friend and protegee of Lord Burghley. Author of *Palladis Tamia: Wits Treasury* (1598) giving public notice that a number of plays that had long been played and acted anonymously were the work of a man named William Shakespeare, and one of the first to give notice to Edward De Vere, Earl of Oxford as an outstanding playwright. Thus in the authorship controversy Meres gave fuel to both the supporters of William Shaksper of Stratford and the supporters of Edward De Vere. In July 10, 1593 he was incorporated at Oxford, and was near that time a minister and schoolmaster. Perhaps in this double character was published the Sermon called, "Gods Arithmeticke, written by Francis Meres, Maister of Arte of both Universities, and Student in Divinity, 1507 oct. 25 leaves." The dedication "to the right worshipfull M. John Meres, Esquire, High Sheriffe of Lincolnshier:" illustrates his subject in the following curious manner. "There be foure parts of Arithmeticke: addition, multiplication, subtraction, and division, whereof the first two take their beginning from the right hand, and do multiply and increase; and these be God's numbers: the other two begin from the left, and do subtract and divide, and these be the Devil's. When God had married Adam and Eva together, God said to them both, increase, multiply and replenish the earth: this is God's Arithmeticke. But when the ill subtracted Dalila from Sampson, the Levit's wife from her husband, and divided Micholl from David: this was the Devil's Arithmeticke." He also tells his patron of "having a longing desire to make known your worship's courtesies extended to me at your house at Auborne, your forwardness in preferring my successelesse suite to Maister Laurence Meres of Yorke, sometimes of her Majesty's Counsel established for the North, and your willingness and readiness for my longer abode and stay at Cambridge." This is Dated "From my Chamber in Saint Marie Buttolph-lane near London-stone this 10th of October 1597." [See Part III: *Palladis Tamia Wir's Treasury*].

**Monamy Peter** (c.1683–1749) Engraver. Praised for his understanding in the forms and buildings of shipping with all the tackles ropes and sails and for his neatness and clean pencilling

of sky and water. The shallow waves that rolled under his window taught Monamy what his master could not teach him, and fitted him to imitate the turbulence of the ocean. This is going too far; he imitated the mannerisms of the Van de Veldes too pedantically, so that there is a faint air of calico about much of his water. Like his senior Isaac Sailmaker, remarkable more for the appropriateness of his name than the distinction of his work, he was a longshoreman, [dock worker] and the category remained in the hands of the longshoremen until the era of the expeditionary painters headed by William Hodges. The innovations are chiefly to be noted in their *plein-air* sketches, a deservedly famous example being Monamy's water-colour study for a studio oil painting of the *Old East India Wharf* in the Victoria and Albert Museum. In its sure combination of sensitive outline and broad wash the former forecasts the future development of the English water-colour school.

**Montagu Basil. Esq** Editor of *The Works of Francis Bacon* published in London 1825–34. This same edition was translated from the Latin for an American edition in 1850. [Also see Part IV: *Bacon's Works*.]

**More Thomas. Sir** (1478–1535) Statesman and the famous author of the *Utopia*, and the friend of Colet and Erasmus. He was made Lord Chancellor, and was put to death for his religious opinions along with Bishop Fisher. Sir Thomas More, at the very instant of death, when he had already laid his head on the fatal block, lifted it up a little and, gently raising aside his beard which was somewhat long, said, "This at least has not offended the King." (Bacon, *De Aug.*, 1622). Bacon pronounces the demeanor of Sir Thomas More on the scaffold as a miracle of human nature, because More died with a jest in his mouth, or threw away:

The dearest thing he ow'd,  
As 't were a careless trifle. <sup>273</sup>

Spedding's want of discrimination is shown by his comment on the above passage from *Macbeth*: "If Shaksper had not died two years before the death of Sir Walter Raleigh, we must have thought these lines referred to him." And yet Spedding's own account of Sir Walter Raleigh's behavior on the scaffold, that he met his death "with the most unaffected and cheerful composure, the finest humanity, the most courtly grace and good humor, and yet with no unseemly levity" entirely negatives his opinion on this subject.

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273 *Macbeth*, Act. I. Sc. 4 (1623)

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N

**Napier John** (1550–1615) By the publication (1614) of his *Logarithmic Tables* on which he was busied before 1594, but of which Francis Bacon never appears to have had any knowledge bestowed on astronomy a benefit which has been described by Laplace as “doubling the life of astronomers by reducing to a few days the labour of many months.”

**Napier Richard. Dr** (1559–1634) Astrologer under the guidance of Simon Forman, an astrologer and charlatan physician.

**Nashe Thomas** (1567–1600) Dramatist and pamphleteer. After the death of Greene, when his memory was assailed by Gabriel Harvey (1550–1630) and others whom he had offended, his friend Nashe who attempted to defend him, finding it difficult to do so, makes up for the lameness of his defence by the bitterness of his attack on Harvey. Nashe, in fact, resents being regarded as an intimate of Greene’s, yet his, and Greene’s, spiteful and ill-bred reflections upon Shakespeare’s social quality, education, and personal appearance, between 1589 and 1592, were received sympathetically by the remainder of the “gentlemen poets,” as they styled themselves in contradistinction to the stage poets, and used thereafter for years as a keynote to their own jealous abuse of him.

**Nine Muses** In Greek myth, were the daughters of Memory, and presided over various arts and sciences. They were Clio, the Muse of History; Euterpe, Lyric Poetry; Thalia, Comedy; Melpomene, Tragedy; Terpsichore, Dancing; Erato, Love Poetry; Polyhymnia, Psalmody; Urania, Astronomy and Calliope, Epic Poetry.

**Nova Villa de Arnoldus** Lived towards the end of the thirteenth century. He was an alchemist, and was accused of being a magician. He professed medicine at Montpellier; and probably he took his name from Villeneuve, which is not far from it. Brantô makes Raymond Lully his disciple. Villa Nova’s best-known work is the commentary on the *Regimen Sanitatis Scholæ Salernitanæ*. Bacon comments on him in his work *Temporis Partus Masculus*.

## O

**Only** Was used as an adjective in Bacon’s time. By her *only* aspect she turned men into stones. (Bacon, *Adv.*, L. 274).

**Osorii Lusitani** (d.1580) Osorius, Bishop of Sylves in Algarve. One of his principal works is his *De rebus gestis Emanuelis*, 1574, in twelve books. It contains an account of the Portuguese discoveries and conquests, which took place in the reign of Emanuel the Great (1495–1521). Bacon comments on him in his *De Aug.*, Bk. I.

## P

**Palissy Bernard** (1510–1589) A distinguished French potter who discovered, through experimentalism, white enamel; he set up a porcelain factory in Paris which was patronised by Royalty. Bacon studied mineralogy from Palissy's works.

**Pass Simon** Engraver of the times and one of the first English engravers who achieved distinction. His work is found on a first edition title-page of Bacon's *Instauratio Magna*, 1620. Another engraving of his is on *The Works of James I.*, printed by Robert Barker and John Bill, London 1616.

**Patricius** (1529–1597) Born at Cherso. He wrote a treatise on philosophy, *Nova de Universis Philosophia*, published in 1591. It is an attempt, of no great value, to conciliate Plato and Aristotle. In the last book, entitled *Pancosmia*, [universal] there is some interesting information touching theories of the tides. Bacon comments on him in his *Descriptio Globi Intellectualis*.

**Paulet Amyas. Sir** (1532–1588) A Puritan. He acted as the jailer to Mary Queen of Scots (1542–1587), who was imprisoned in a series of castles and manors after her flee from Scotland in 1568; Paulet is known to have been immune to Mary's cunning and sugared character and treated her with increasing harshness.

Paulet landed at Calais on September 25, 1576, and succeeded Dr. Dale as Ambassador in France in the following February. He accompanied Francis Bacon in France from 1576 to 1579. He was the son of Hugh Paulet and Philippa Pollard. His name is sometimes spelt *Amias*. In 1559 he was made Lieutenant Governor of the Island of Jersey one of the Channel Islands, his father being Governor. He kept this post until 1573. His father Hugh died in that year, and Paulet was then raised to his position as Governor, a post he held until his death. In 1576 Queen Elizabeth raised him to Knighthood, appointed him Ambassador to Paris and at the same time put the young Francis Bacon under his charge. Paulet was in this Embassy until he was recalled November 1579. In 1579, he took into his household, the young Jean Hotman, son of Francis Hotman, to tutor his two sons Anthony and George. When the family returned to England, the tutor and his two charges settled at Oxford. Paulet died in London on September 26, 1588, and was buried in the church of St Martin's-in-the-Fields. When that church was rebuilt, his remains were removed, together with the monument, to the parish church of Hinton St. George.

**Peacham Henry** (1576–1644) Born at Northmimms in Hertfordshire, near St. Albans, the place, as he tells us, where a merrie John Heywood wrote his epigrams and Sir Thos. More his *Utopia*. He was the son of a clergyman, sometime rector of Leveiton in Lincolnshire, and his school days were passed between St. Albans and London, under a variety of masters (if we are to believe his own account) of every shade of eccentricity. Above all his early and incorrigible love of drawing brought him into constant trouble with his teachers: "yet," he assures us "could they never beate it out of me." But it is the way with forward pupils that their reminiscences nearly always take the form of complaints; and he had at any rate profited so far as to become at seventeen a Scholar

of Trinity College, Cambridge, where he spent the next five years, graduating B.A. in 1595 and M.A. three years later. Here his favourite studies seem to have been History and Cosmography, and he spent much of his time, like Hobbes at Oxford, hanging over maps; but the lighter accomplishments then fashionable, the devising of Emblems, Impresas, and Anagrams, occupied some of his leisure.

Some time before 1600 he began his teaching as Master of the Free School at Wymondham in Norfolk but it was not till six years later that he became an author, with the publication of *Graphice* a treatise on drawing with the pen and limning in water-colours, republished as *The Gentleman's Exercise* in 1612 and 1634, and subsequently included in the 1661 edition. The treatise itself, which was evidently popular, may perhaps be neglected; though the Third Book, *A Dialogue on the Blazonry of Arms* between an enlightened merchant, Cosmopolites, and a scholar, Eudaemon, who represents Peacham himself, is interesting both on account of its literary form (sanctified for such gentlemanly subjects by the example of *The Courtier*), and because, as is the way with dialogue, it is always straying from the main topic and giving us excellent things on the manners of the time. But to readers of the *Compleat Gentleman* it is the Preface that will provide most interest. It is a kind of Declaration of Independence in favour of the honest writing of textbooks. His principles, he declares, are his own, "not borrowed out of the shops, but the very same Nature acquainted me withal from a child, and such as in practise I have ever found most easy and true. As for the malice of rival artists, the worst hurt they can do me," he says, "is to draw my Picture illfavouredly."

It is the same man who set himself later to denounce the educational errors of his time, and who, in his Preface to the *Compleat Gentleman* could throw in the face of his critics the brave words "I care not; I have pleased myself." In 1611, we find him contributing three pieces, one in "the Utopian tongue," to Thomas Coryat's *Crudities*; and a year later he settled for a time in London in the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. He seems to have lived at this time partly by his pen, partly by tutoring young men for the University; and he testifies to the happiness which he found in the friendship both of the fathers and their sons. He tried also, in the fashion of the time, to recommend himself at Court. In 1606 he had presented to young Prince Henry, the avowed patron of the arts, a rendering into Latin verse, with Emblems, of his father's *Basilicon Doron*. Seven years later, on this Prince's untimely death, he published an elegy, in six visions, entitled *The Period of Mourning*. His efforts seem to have met with some success. He was offered and accepted a commission to travel on the Continent as tutor to the sons of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, of Hannibal Baskerville, and others; and until the end of 1614 his time was spent in visiting the chief cities of Holland, France, and Italy. His longest stay seems to have been in the Low Countries, where he learned much and made many friends. His book is full of references to this visit; he was a keen observer, and was interested in every form of life and art. Practical pedagogy and military formations, Dutch painting and the armorial eccentricities

of “mine old host at Arnhem” the number of lancers in the armies of Spinola and the Prince of Orange, everything was noted and remembered for future use.

But it was at the table of Sir John Ogle, the Governor of Utrecht that he learned most. Here resorted scholars and soldiers from all the northern nations, English, Scots, French, and Dutch and their disputations (all the better for their being strangers to one another) ranged so freely over every topic of warfare and the arts that, as Peacham says, “his table seemed many times a little Academy.” It is a pity he did not keep a journal of his travels instead of bothering about the Affaire of Cleve and Gulick, of which he wrote a most true relation on his return to London in 1615. He did not find things very pleasant for him there a charge of having libelled the King was trumped up against him by a namesake, Edmund Peacham, rector of Hinton St. George. It was proved to be false; but the episode cannot have tended to sweeten his view of life. How he lived at this time in London we do not know; probably much as before. He still retained some considerable friends, among them the Earl of Arundel and his son, to the latter of whom the *Compleat Gentleman* is dedicated to others, of whom the best known are Thomas Dowland the musician and Inigo Jones, he had been recommended by common tastes.

His early inclination to verse, and the precious pastime of Emblems and Impresas, had never left him. His last published *Essay* in this sort of fashionable verse was a collection of 127 Epigrams, called *Thalia's Banquet*, which appeared in 1620; and he then expressed his intention of abandoning poetry for more serious and profitable studies. He was now forty-four, and freer than most people from the delusions of his age. He was widely and intelligently read, and master of a strong and forcible English which he knew how to alleviate with the saving grace of humour. His experiences abroad had widened his views, and forced upon him a comparison of the gentlemen of his own with those of other countries. It hurt him, both as an Englishman and as a firm believer in the merits of gentle birth, to see them come so ignominiously out of the balance. The story of the young English gentleman in Aitoise is so well related by Peacham in his *Preface* that it will not bear a second telling; it should be read as well for its own sake as for the influence which it had on Peacham's mind. The result was the publication in 1622 of the *Compleat Gentleman*. It is, of course, primarily a guide to the gentlemanly arts and accomplishments, but a considerable motive in its composition was the desire to protest against slovenliness in the education of his time, and, by precept and example, to supply a remedy. The book became as popular as it deserved. It was issued again in 1626 and 1627; a second and enlarged edition was published in 1634, and a third, with additions on the art of Blazonry “by a very good hand”, possibly Thomas Blount, appeared in 1661, seventeen years after the author's death. If we believe the *Preface* of manuscript to this posthumous edition, the book had to struggle against a powerful force of malice and censure, over which it was finally triumphant. The reference is no doubt to Puritan opposition, which ceased with the Restoration. Here, so far as the *Compleat Gentleman* is concerned, the story of his life might very well come to an end. But what remained of it was neither uninteresting nor unproductive. The times grew hard, and he must have been sometimes



very poor. But the harder life became with him, the greater interest he seems to have taken in affairs about him; and indeed hunger is a fine quickener of the wits.

He was affected, or at any rate profited, by the current frenzy of disputation. A number of tracts from his pen, of whimsical title, fill the years from 1636, when he published, anonymously, his *Coach and Sedan* to 1641, the probable date of the most popular of all his works, *The Worth of a Penny or a caution to keep money*. It was republished after his death in 1664, and seven editions appeared in the next forty years, the last in 1703. As a tract on the shifts of the indigent and the shady side of contemporary life it would be hard to find its equal for wit, vigour, and keenness of observation. It may now be read in Arber's *English Garner*.<sup>274</sup> *The Art of Living in London*, which appeared in the next year, deals with the same topics. There seemed to be no place for the old man any longer. His former patrons, if they were not dead, had other things to do than attend to decayed scholars nobody wanted his Emblems, and his *Thalia's banquets* were as far as possible from having a relish for Puritan palates. Nothing but that mixture of artistic feeling with a naturally robust sense of the realities of life (the peculiar compound which made the Renaissance gentleman so much of a novelty) could have kept his wit so keen and his observation so fresh. Low life, it would seem, loses half its terrors for the man who can grasp its crude and subterranean philosophy: a philosophy to be found in its purity nowhere in English save in the works of Fielding. He was never married and died, we cannot doubt it, in poverty, about 1644. [Also see Part III: *Minerva Britannia*, 1612.]

**Peele George** (1552–1596) Dramatic poet. His father, James Peele, a clerk of Christ's Hospital, appears from entries in the Court Book to have been very poor. By the help of the hospital he received his degree of B.A. at Oxford in 1577. Two years later his father was ordered "to discharge his house of his son and all other his household." Bullen says that "no doubt he had been carrying on high jinks at the Hospital with his roistering companions, and the Court was scandalized." He went to London, where he was living in 1581, and was married in 1583. At College he was regarded as a writer of some merit, and on several occasions assisted in dramatic exhibitions at Christ Church. He was a degenerate, and in a vile book of jests which he wrote, he "figures," says Bullen, "as a shifty, cozening companion, ever on the alert to bilk hostesses and tapsters; and reversing Martial's *lasciva est pagina vita proba*," Bullen concludes, "his verse was honest, but his life wanton." Chambers more mildly remarks that he was not over scrupulous as to the means of relieving his necessities, and places him among dramatists, but not poets of his time. His career was, of course, short, for Meres thus records the end, which might have occurred some years earlier: "As Anacreon died by the pot, so George Peele by the pox"; and Bullen adds, "A sad death for one who had sung *The Praise of Chastitie*." The two plays claimed for Bacon must have been very early productions. *The Arraignment of Paris* was a pastoral published several years after the death of Peele, and was played before the Queen by the Children of the Chapel.

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274 Vol. VI., 1883

The *dramatis persona* comprise the Gods, Goddesses, Cupids, Cyclops, Shepherds, Knights, and others, among whom are the characters with which we are familiar in the *Shepherd's Calendar*, Hobbinol, Thenot, Diggon, and Colin Clout.

**Peele James** See Part III: *Northumberland Crannies*.

**Penzance, James Plaisted Wilde Baron** (b. July 12, 1816—d. December 19, 1899) Born in Lincoln. English lawyer of Trinity College, Cambridge. Called to the Bar in 1839; and made a Baron of the Exchequer in 1860 and Knighted. From 1862 he was Judge Ordinary of the Divorce Court. In 1864 he was made Privy Councillor and in 1869 created a citizen of the United Kingdom. In Penzance's *Bacon-Shakespeare Controversy* a few interesting elements: The following list of forty-two plays shows (says Mr. Appleton Morgan) the plays which were passing in London as William Shakespeare's in the years when he was residing there and was concerned in the management of the Globe and Blackfriars theatres:

- Locrine, 1595.
- Titus Andronicus (F), 1598.
- Love's Labour Lost (F), 1598.
- Comedy of Errors (F), 1598.
- Taming of a Shrew (F), 1598.
- Love's Labour Won, 1598.
- The Two Gentlemen of Verona (F), 1598.
- Richard III. (F), 1597.
- Midsummer Night's Dream (F), 1598.
- The Merchant of Venice (F), 1598.
- Richard II. (F), 1598.
- Romeo and Juliet (F), 1597.
- King John (F), 1598.
- Henry IV. Part I. (F), 1598.
- Henry IV. Part II. (F), 1598.
- Sir John Oldcastle, 1600.
- Thomas, Lord Cromwell, 1600.
- Much Ado about Nothing (F), 1600.
- Twelfth Night (F), 1601.
- King Henry V. (F), 1600.
- The London Prodigal, 1605.
- As You Like It (F), 1600.
- Hamlet (First Quarto) (F), 1603.
- Pericles, 1609.
- Puritan Widow of Watling Street, 1607.

- Yorkshire Tragedy, 1608.
- Arraignment of Paris.
- The Merry Wives of Windsor (F), 1608.
- Measure for Measure (F), 1604.
- King Lear (F), 1607.
- Arden of Feversham, 1608.
- Macbeth (F), 1610.
- Comedy of George a Greene, 1607.
- Troilus and Cressida (F) 1609.
- Antony and Cleopatra (F), 1608.
- The Winter's Tale (F), 1611.
- The Tempest (F), 1611.
- Two Noble Kinsmen, 1600.
- Edward III. 1600.
- The Birth of Merlin, 1600.
- Mucedorus, 1600.
- Merry Devil of Edmonton, 1600.

The above dates are given on the authority of Grant White, and the letter F means inserted in the Folio. Out of this list of forty-two plays, then, all known to the public as attributed to William Shakespeare, Heminge and Condell only selected twenty-six for their Folio, leaving out sixteen. But the Folio contained not twenty-six, but thirty-six plays. Here, therefore, were produced ten more plays which had never before been printed and published, and were consequently unknown to the public, save so far as any of them may have been put on the stage and seen acted before public audiences. And of these ten extra plays, whatever may have been the case with four of them, of six it is stated by Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, that they had never been heard of until their publication in the Folio of 1623. It must be borne in mind that actors then occupied an inferior position in society, and that even the vocation of a dramatic writer was considered scarcely respectable.<sup>275</sup>

**Playfer** Translator to the *De Augmentis Scientiarum*. "Proceeding with the translation my book of *Advancement of Learning*, hearkening to some other if Playfer should fail, "shows that at that time it was still in Playfer's hands; and he died at the beginning of the next year."<sup>276</sup>

**Pontificium Pii Quinti vel Sixti Quinti** The former of these Popes was a Dominican, the latter a Franciscan friar. The most remarkable event of the Pontificate of Pius V., was the battle of Lepanto in 1571, in which his fleet was engaged in conjunction with those of Venice and of

<sup>275</sup> Halliwell-Phillipps. *Outlines*, Preface, p. 6

<sup>276</sup> *Commentarius Solutus* July 26, 1608

Spain. Sixtus V., was the founder of the Vatican library. Bacon comments on him in his work *De Aug.*, Bk. I. The genius of Sixtus the Fifth burst from the gloom of a Franciscan cloister.<sup>277</sup>

**Popham John** (1531–1607) Born of a good family in Somersetshire. He was reported to have been stolen by gypsies in his youth, but was educated at Balliol. He began life in London as a law-student and a highwayman; but soon became, according to Campbell, a consummate lawyer, practising chiefly as a special pleader. He became a Serjeant and Solicitor-General in 1578. Speaker in 1580. Attorney-General in 1581. Lord Chief-Justice in 1592. He presided at the trial of Guy Fawkes and his fellow-conspirators. He enjoyed the reputation of being a sound lawyer and a severe judge. He left the greatest estate that had ever been amassed by a lawyer; but it is probably untrue that he acquired Littlecot Hall by fraudulently acquitting “Wild Darrell” of the murder of its newly born heir. He was, however, reported to have saved money while he was a highwayman.

**Porta Giambattista della or John Baptist Porta** (1535–1615) Italian natural philosopher whose experimental research in optics and other fields was undermined by his credulous preoccupation with magic and the miraculous. Della Porta founded the *Accademia dei Segreti*, which was later suppressed by the Inquisition, and in 1610 he took part in the reconstitution of the *Accademia dei Lincei*. He travelled widely in Italy, France, and Spain.

**Postellus** Bacon’s description of Postellus seems to show that while he was in France he had met with that singular and unhappy man. What is said of this great age rests probably on no better authority than his own: there seems no good reason to believe that he was much more than seventy when he died, though Bacon affirms that he was nearly a hundred and twenty. It would be quite in accordance with what we know of Postellus to suppose that he made himself much older than he really was in order to increase the wonder with which he was regarded. This kind of deception is not unfrequent, and it will, generally speaking, be more or less successful. The love of marvels and the sweetness of life incline men to believe in stories of extreme longevity, and when a man has grown old he meets but few who know when he was born. (Bacon, *The History of Life and Death*).

**Pott Constance Mary Fearon. Mrs** (1862–1957) Mrs. Pott started the Francis Bacon Society with its first meeting in December of 1885. The next year it officially became a Society. She is the author of *Francis Bacon and His Secret Society* and arranged the publication of Bacon’s private notebook *The Promus of Formularies and Elegancies; Private Notes, c.1594–96*; it contained 1,655 hand written proverbs, metaphors, aphorisms, salutations and other miscellany. Although some entries appear original, many have been drawn from the Latin and Greek writers Seneca, Horace, Virgil, Ovid; John Heywood’s *Proverbs* (1562); Marcel de Montaigne’s *Essays* (1575), and various other French, Italian and Spanish sources. Apart from a section at the end, Sir Edward

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<sup>277</sup> Gibson. *Decline and Fall*, c. 76

Maunde-Thompson declared the writing to be in Bacon's hand, and in fact his signature appears on folio 115 verso. Only two folios of the waste book were dated, the third sheet (December 5, 1594), and the thirty-second sheet (January 27, 1595–96). Many of these entries also occur in Shakespeare's First Folio. The name *Promus* is derived from the Latin for *offices*, that is, *larder*. The word *offices* in Sonnet 77 have always seemed a strange word. Its significance appears to have been overlooked. The German translations omit it.

**Powell Thomas** To the true nobility and tryde learning beholden to no mountain for Eminence, nor supportment for height, Francis Lord Verulam, and Viscount St. Albanes. O give me leave to pull the curtaine by that clouds thy worth in such obscurity good Seneca, stay but a while thy bleeding t'accept what I received at thy reading here I present it in a solemne strayne. And thus I pluck't the curtayne back again.

**Preston Amyas. Sir** Came of a good family settled at Crichet in Somerset. He was Lieutenant of the Ark in the attack on the Armada: and afterwards ravaged the West Indies, in company of Somers, in 1596. He was knighted by Howard during his Cadiz expedition. He seems to have been a friend of Essex; a challenge to Raleigh took place in 1601, but did not lead to a meeting.

**Prince of Orange** Assassinated July 9, 1584.

**Puttenham George** (1529–1590) Alleged author of *The Arte of English Poesie* published in 1589. Educated at Oxford and at the age of eighteen he addressed an eclogue entitled *Elpine* to Edward VI. In his youth he visited Spain, France, and Italy, and was better acquainted with foreign Courts than with his own. In 1579 he presented to Elizabeth I., his *Partheniades*, printed in a collection of manuscript *Ballads* by F. J. Furnivall, and he wrote the treatise in question especially for the delectation of the Queen and her Ladies. He mentions nine other works of his, none of which are extant. [Also see Part I: *Anchora spei*.] *The Arte of English Poesie* was entered at Stationers' Hall in 1588, and published in the following year with a dedicatory letter to Lord Burghley written by the printer Richard Field, who professed ignorance of the writer's name and position. There is no contemporary evidence for the authorship, and the name of Puttenham is first definitely associated with it in the *Hypercritica* of Edmund Bolton, published in 1722, but written in the beginning of the seventeenth century, perhaps as early as 1605. The writer of *The Arte of English Poesie* supplies certain biographical details. [See Part III: *Arte of English Poesie*].

## Q

**Quarles Francis** (b.1592?) Numerous publications consisting principally of poetical paraphrases of the Scriptures enable us to form a just estimate of his religious character and tenets; but otherwise they afford us no insight whatever, either into his own personal history, or that of the stirring period in which it was his lot to be cast. He appears to have taken no decided part in that great political struggle, which divided the British Kingdom in the seventeenth century, and

which completed his own ruin, as well as that of his Sovereign, until a few months only preceding his death. His naturally studious and peaceful temper of mind was ill calculated to sympathize, much less to cope, with the daring and fanatical spirits of his age. His loyalty, however, in the end, proved stronger than all the temptations of domestic security and wealth. It was not until the arms of the rebellious Parliament had signally triumphed, first in the North, and subsequently in the West of England, and the cause of the unfortunate Charles had become, in consequence, almost utterly hopeless, that Quarles abandoned his peaceful seclusion, and declared for the tottering monarchy. But if he perceived the impending danger at all, he saw it too late. His loyal declaration and efforts were alike unavailing; and although about the last individual of note who threw his talents into the scale of the King, he was among the first of those whose fortunes were completely inundated by the revolutionary tide. His adhesion to Charles, and the humble services which he rendered with his pen to the cause of that ill fated monarch, not only brought down upon himself the extremest hatred and vengeance of the dominant power, but likewise cost him all that popularity which he had long previously enjoyed as an author.

At the same time that his property was confiscated, his name was proscribed by the Parliament, and almost immediately afterwards he ceased to be, as Phillips expresses it, "the darling of our plebeian judgments." To this circumstance in particular (namely, his proscription by the victorious party, in consequence of a publication to which we shall presently refer) may be attributed the ungenerous contempt with which he was treated by his literary contemporaries. Most probably they feared giving umbrage to their new republican masters by honouring his memory or noticing his works; both, therefore, were abandoned to a precarious existence or rather, undeserved fate. Upon the restoration of the monarchy in England, it might have been expected that the memory, at least, of so notable and zealous a royalist as Quarles, would not only be rescued from unmerited oblivion, but, also, be revered by the party with whom he had acted. The unscrupulous generation, however, that immediately succeeded the Commonwealth, being naturally unable to sympathize with one, whose whole life and writings constituted a standing rebuke to their practical infidelity, unhesitatingly transferred his name to the black catalogue of their common enemies, from whom he had already suffered much more than themselves. Thus, by a singular mutation of fortune, he who before the Revolution had been held "in wonderful veneration among the vulgar," came to be considered after it, as "an old Puritanical poet."

The exact date of Francis Quarles' birth is unknown; but, according to the parish register of Romford, in Essex, which contains several entries relating to his family, he was baptized on May 8, 1592. His widow, Ursula, informs us that her husband "was descended from an ancient family, and yet (which is rare in these last times) he was an ornament to his ancestors." Quarles, too, in his quaint *Memorials* composed upon the death of Sir Robert Quarles, in 1642, avails himself of the opportunity of expatiating as well upon the antiquity of his family as upon the virtues of his kinsman. His father was James Quarles, of Stewards (where Francis Quarles was born), a gentleman who was possessed of considerable landed estates in the county of Essex, and

discharged for some time the combined offices of Clerk of the Green Cloth and Purveyor of the Navy to the last sovereign of the Tudor dynasty. His liberal fortune and close connection with the government of Queen Elizabeth I., must have made him a person of no mean note in his time. Francis Quarles' widow, indeed, intimates that her husband (had he been so inclined) might have obtained, and doubtless through his father's influence, considerable preferment at Court, but his tastes carried him in an opposite direction. We are told that the young Quarles' education was suitable to his birth, and that he gave early promise of distinguishing himself in the various branches of polite knowledge cultivated in his age.

From "a school in the country," where it was frankly admitted "he surpassed all his equals" (*i.e.* competitors), he was transferred in due time to Christ's College, Cambridge. It is not known, however, how long he continued with his Alma Mater, nor what literary honours (if any) she conferred upon him. In reference to his academical course, his widow merely observes: "How he profited there (Cambridge) I am not able to judge; but am fully assured, by men of much learning and judgment, that his works in very many places do sufficiently testify more than ordinary fruits of his University studies." It was during his residence at Cambridge that he first became acquainted (and the acquaintance soon ripened into a friendship, which was only determined by his death) with Phineas Fletcher, the author of that singular poem, *The Purple Island*. To this early friendship with the poetical anatomist, may possibly be attributed much of the eccentricity of thought and expression which characterizes the majority of his works. It is worthy of record, also, and the simple fact bespeaks the genuine amiability of his nature, better than the most laboured panegyric that all his earliest-formed attachments proved as durable as they were sound.

Upon the completion of his College career, he removed to London, and entered himself of Lincoln's Inn, having determined to prosecute the study of the law, "not so much out of desire to benefit himself thereby as his friends and neighbours (showing therein his continued inclination to peace), by composing suits and differences amongst them." His widow states that he prosecuted his legal studies for some years; but no record exists of his professional success, unless his appointment to the office of Chronologer to the City of London may be taken as an indication of it. The duties of this office were probably similar to those which were performed by the City Remembrancer; the position, therefore, was both honourable and lucrative. That he gave the fullest satisfaction to the Corporation employing him, may be inferred from the fact that his enemies, powerful and unscrupulous as they were, failed to lessen their respect for him; and he continued, in consequence, to hold that piece of preferment up to the last hour of his life. Previously to his connexion with the City of London, he had been preferred to the office of cupbearer to the unfortunate Electress Palatine, Queen of Bohemia (Elizabeth, daughter of King James the First of England). From this it has been inferred by many that his destination, like that of his father, was originally to public life. His widow, however, as we have before partially intimated, states that, "after he came to maturity, he was not desirous to put himself into the

world, otherwise he might have had greater preferment than he had;" and, she continues, "he was neither so unfit for Court preferment, nor so ill-behaved there, but that he might have raised his fortune thereby, if he had had any inclination that way. But his mind was chiefly set upon his devotion and study."

Unlike the generality of authors, Quarles did not publish his works in the same order as he composed them. His rule of publication, indeed, was no less irregular than the style of his compositions. His earliest attempt at authorship was *The Virgin Widow*, a comedy, which was written, and privately acted with success, about the year 1620, or shortly after his removal from Cambridge to Lincoln's Inn; but not published till five years after his decease. Seven other pieces likewise (including the best specimens of his prose efforts) were posthumously printed, but whose order of composition is doubtful.

## R

**Rabelais François** Extractor of the Quintessence and High Priest of the Sacred Isles, was born as the fifteenth century was tottering to its close. The year of his birth is uncertain, and while tradition sets it down as 1483, some commentators would advance it as far as 1495. On either side the arguments are sound and irrelevant. Says one: "he could not have begun the masterpiece of his life at forty-nine"; says another: "his friends and he must surely have been of the same age." His father, it is said, dwelt at the sign of the Lamprey, and is variously described by rumour as an apothecary and as an innkeeper. That he should have been called an innkeeper accords with the legend, and the same confusion, no doubt, persuaded De Thou to declare that in his day the house of Rabelais was a tavern. Did Rabelais ever meet Erasmus in the flesh? Erasmus, whom above all men he might call his master? The question has been asked many times, and never found a satisfactory answer. Yet one would like to think that he who wrote the *Moria* once encountered his greatest disciple. Of all the heroes who fought the fight of freedom in the sixteenth century, Rabelais and Erasmus present the strongest resemblance. Each had suffered the terrors of monkish discipline; each had come forth into the world armed with vengeance and resentment. Erasmus, no doubt, was the finer scholar; and while Rabelais had no reason to fear his rival, they were both brilliant in satire, as they were pitiless in contempt. It is significant that as early as Bacon the legendary Rabelais was familiar on the British side of the Channel, and the influence of Rabelais steadily increased in the seventeenth century. [Also see Part I: *Ant-hill of Arts*; Part II: *Erasmus Desiderius*.]

**Raleigh Walter. Sir** (1552–1618) Military and naval commander and author. If England can produce men of such a mould like Raleigh, nowadays, she will continue to be a mighty world power. Sir Walter Raleigh was born in the year 1552, the year in which the Duke of Somerset was executed, while Mary at St. Edmondsbury sat in doubt and gloom, watching the progress of her young brother's disease, which, if it terminated fatally as she probably hoped, would leave her



mistress of England. Elizabeth and Leicester were then nineteen years of age; <sup>278</sup> Mary Queen of Scots was eleven, while many of the men with whom Raleigh was afterwards associated were yet to be born. Sir Philip Sidney would be born two years later and Francis Bacon nine years later. Shaksper the actor in twelve years and Essex in fifteen years. From the month of March, 1592, till his return from Cadiz, 1596, Raleigh was never admitted into Elizabeth's presence; and was in so much disgrace, that instead of bestowing on him castles and manors, she suspended him from his office of Captain of the Guard. It must therefore have been during the winter of 1591–92, that he became master of Sherbourne, which was thenceforward rendered celebrated by its connexion with his name. What Bacon did for Gorhambury, Raleigh did in a still more remarkable degree for Sherbourne; repairing the castle, erecting a magnificent mansion close at hand, and laying out grounds with the greatest refinement of taste. <sup>279</sup>

History abounds with frivolous apologies for Princes who have suffered themselves to be led astray by evil Counsellors; the same excuse is pleaded for Essex's crimes: Cuffe, Meyrick, Blount, Father Wright, and others, suggested to him, we are told, his desperate enterprises. This is false. He had entered upon the guilty course which led to his overthrow more than eleven years before, when he began his correspondence with Scotland, in which he designated himself the "Weary Knight." His enmity to Raleigh dated as early as the defeat of the Armada, and the incidents of every service in which they were engaged together only tended to deepen his resentment. Cecil, Cobham, Raleigh, and Stanhope never doubted that their necks would be soon on the block if they relented for a moment towards their remorseless enemy, Essex. They accordingly laid before Elizabeth a startling outline of the position she occupied; they showed her that Hayward's false chronicle of Henry IV., with the deposition and death of Richard II., only typified the contest between her and Essex; they may also have suggested that Shakespeare's tragedy on the same subject had been inspired by Southampton, and aimed at familiarizing the public mind with the deposition and murder of Princes a conviction to which she alluded when she inquired of Lambard, "Know you not that I am Richard?" Essex had long made it evident what fate he would assign to Raleigh should he ever acquire over him the power of life and death; and therefore Raleigh acted as a man who instinctively acts towards the assassin whose dagger is at his breast. This must be his defence if he need any. Raleigh, as we are told by Bacon, used to say that the women about the Queen were like witches, who could do a great deal of harm but no good, and his own wife furnishes us, in a letter, with an illustration of this truth. Elizabeth, though she had taken Raleigh himself into favour, had never forgiven poor Bessy Throgmorton, who was incessantly made the butt at which calumny shot its arrows.

We hear much of the Queen's discernment and knowledge of mankind, which, however, by no means included a knowledge of women, since she allowed some of the worst of her sex

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<sup>278</sup> Camden's *Annals of Elizabeth*, and Collins' *Sidney State Papers*, Vol I. p. 44, suggest that Elizabeth and Leicester were born on the same day and hour

<sup>279</sup> James Augustus St. John. *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh (1552–1618)*, Vol I. 1868

to hover about her, and libel the best. Thus we find Lady Kildare, an audacious intrigante, not only in high favour, but able, by malicious slanders, to inflict pain and injury on others. Some French historian alluded to, but not named by Camden, relates certain startling particulars respecting a visit from Marshal Biron. Elizabeth, according to that writer, carried about with her, by way of a keepsake, Essex's skull, which she exhibited to Biron, indulging at the same time in violent denunciations of his offences. She likewise entrusted him with a message of harsh counsel to Henri, pressing upon him the necessity of eschewing clemency in his treatment of rebels. In Biron's case Henri certainly displayed no clemency. He was executed July 21, 1602, in the court of the Bastille, where he fought with the executioner, and was at length cut down when in a state of extreme fury. To palliate this barbarity, Henri accused his victim of having slain five hundred persons in cold blood, and other enormities.<sup>280</sup> Nowhere in history has the truth made itself more apparent, that greatness is often found to be no match for crafty littleness. Cecil, who soared over Bacon's head, likewise soared over Raleigh's, because there was no moral repugnance in his nature to employ any means which promised to attain the end he aimed at. His power was built on Elizabeth's weakness, of which he skilfully took advantage in those innumerable conferences which he enjoyed through the necessities of his place.

One day upon Blackheath, while Cecil was driving with the Queen in her carriage, a courier rode up to the window with a packet containing secret letters from Scotland. Elizabeth asked to see them. Cecil felt a choking sensation as of the tightening of a rope about his neck; he would, however, make an effort to save his life: "There may, please your Majesty, be infection in these papers," he said. "Permit me to step out and purify them in the open air before they touch your Majesty's hands." Elizabeth's eagle eye was upon him; still, with the dexterity of one who had performed a thousand acts of guilt and cunning, he contrived to extract the treasonable missive, after which the packet was submitted to the Queen. Raleigh, Bacon, and many others, instead of denouncing James I., as an infringer of the privileges of Parliament, laboured to conciliate him by fulsome adulation, and met with ruin in the one case and death in the other for their pains. Among the conversations with Wilson in the Tower, September 26, 1618 in the State Paper Office, is this short conversation: Bacon, we are told, observed, "Then, Sir Walter, you would have been a pirate," to which he replied, "Did you ever know of any one being a pirate for millions? I would have silenced all objections by a lavish distribution of treasure." No trustworthy narrative of what took place between Raleigh's departure from the West Indies and his arrival at Plymouth has been hitherto discovered.

For some particulars of what took place in the four hours during which Raleigh pleaded for his life, we are indebted to a foreign witness Ulloa that was written in the *Carta Original de Julian Sanchez de Ulloa*, 16th Nov. 1618, who however has omitted others which we should have been glad to learn. He tells us that it was Bacon's ill-fortune to be under the necessity, as Lord Chancellor, not only of acquiescing in Raleigh's execution, but of sprinkling over his spirit those bitter waters of

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280 Winwood. Vol I. p. 427

reproach and contumely by which James thought proper in his case to herald the pangs of death. "I have been told," says Ulloa, "that the Lord Chancellor of England [Francis Bacon] censured him greatly for the injuries he had done to the vassals and territories of your Majesty, and dwelt on the manner in which he had abused the permission to put to sea, granted him by this King, when his professed object was to discover a gold-mine, which he had affirmed he knew where to find. In conclusion, he informed him that he must die." Ulloa may have been ill informed respecting the part played by Bacon, upon whom however, by virtue of his office, devolved the unpleasant duty of drawing up and forwarding to the Lieutenant the warrant commanding Raleigh's removal from the Tower to the King's Bench, preliminary to his execution.<sup>281</sup>

**Ramus Petrus or Pierre De La Ramée** (1515–1572) French philosopher, logician, and rhetorician. His identifying logic with dialectic, neglected the traditional role that logic played as a method of inquiry and emphasized instead the equally traditional view that logic is the method of disputation, its two parts being invention, the process of discovering proofs in support of the thesis, and disposition, which taught how the materials of invention should be arranged. [See Part III: *Dead faith in Aristotle* & Part I: *Axiomata*.]

In many passages of his works he condemns Aristotle for having violated three rules which he had himself propounded. To these rules, Ramus gives somewhat fanciful names:

The first is the rule of truth.

The second the rule of justice.

The third the rule of wisdom.

These three rules are all to be fulfilled by the principles of every science (*axiomata artium*). The first requires the proposition to be in all cases true, the second requires its subject and predicate to be essentially connected together, and the third requires the converse of the proposition to be true as well as the proposition itself. The whole of this theory, to which Ramus and the Ramistæ seem to have ascribed much importance, is founded on the fourth chapter of the first book of the *Posterior Analytics*. He maintained as his thesis, when proceeding to his degree of Master of Arts in Paris (1535), that "all that Aristotle has said is not true." In 1543 he published his *System of Logic*, with animadversions upon Aristotle. After being deprived of his Professorship and restored, he was put to death in 1572, during the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day.

**Rawley Gulielmus** (1588–1667) Born at Norwich. *Sacrae theologiae professor*. Learned Chaplain of the celebrated Francis Bacon, and editor of his works. He was of Benet College in Cambridge. Took a Bachelor of Arts Degree in 1604. A Master's in 1608. A Bachelor of Divinity in 1615. A Doctor's in 1621. In 1609 he was chosen fellow of his College. He took Holy Orders in 1611, and was instituted to the rectory of Landbeach near Cambridge in January 1616. Landbeach is a living in the gift of Benet College; nevertheless, he was presented to it "per hon. virum

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281 James Augustus St. John. *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh (1552–1618)*, Vol II. 1868

Franciscum Baconum Mil. Reg. Maj. Advocatum Generalem, ejusdem Rectoriæ, pro hac unica vice, ratione concessionis Magistri et Sociorum Coll. C.C. (uti afferebatur) patroni.” He held this living till his death, which happened on June 18, 1667; nor does it appear that he had any other preferment, which may seem somewhat marvelous, when it is considered, that he was not only domestic Chaplain to Lord Verulam, who had the highest opinion of his abilities, as well as the most affectionate regard for his person, but Chaplain also to the Kings Charles I., and II. On a flat marble near the communion table, in the church of Landbeach, there is the following inscription over him: “Hic jacet Gulielmus Rawley, S.T. Doctor, vir Gratiis et Mufis ex æquo charus, fereniss. Regibus Car. I. & II. a facris, D. Fran. Verulamio facellanus primus atque ultimus, cujus opera fumma cum fide edita ei debent literæ. Uxorem habuit Barbaram, ad latus mariti positam, Jo. Wixted aldermanni nuper Cantabr. filiam: ex ea filium suscepit unicum Gulielmum, in cujus cineribus falis haud parum latet. Ecclesiam hanc per annos quinquaginta prudens administravit. Tandem placide, ut vixit, in Domino obdormivit, A.D. 1667, Jun 18; ætat. 79.”<sup>282</sup>

**Richelieu Cardinal de** (b. September 5, 1585) The youngest son of an ancient family of Poitou, was at first destined to be a soldier. But one of his brothers who was appointed to the bishopric of Lucon having made himself a Carthusian monk, Richelieu was obliged to take the cassock rather than let the bishopric escape his family. Henri IV., named him for it, and negotiated the appointment through his Ambassador in Rome. Richelieu was at that time only a few months over twenty years of age; he was forced to make many appeals before he received the Pope’s sanction, and went in person to Rome, where he was consecrated April 17, 1607. After his return we find him in his diocese, which had long been without a Bishop; for Richelieu’s brother had never resided there, and, in fact, had never been consecrated, nor had his predecessor resided there. We see dawning in Richelieu’s Letters the first gleams of his favour at Court, without, however, learning much more about it than he tells us in his *Memoirs*. His first political act, properly so-called, was the harangue he pronounced in presenting the report of his Order at the closure of the States-General, February 2, 1615. He was chosen as orator, and acquitted himself with honour and applause. A tone of high authority and reason makes itself felt through the pomposity of the speech in certain places. He knew the Queen, Marie de Medicis personally, and had already insinuated himself into her confidence. It was about this time that he first saw the Maréchal d’ Ancre. France, after the death of Henri IV., had fallen from the most flourishing and prosperous condition and government into a miserable state of things. Richelieu, in his *Memoirs*, has admirably pictured the misery of this period anterior to his coming into office, and what he calls the cowardice and corruption of hearts: “The times were so miserable,” he says, “that the ablest among the nobles were those who were most industrious in causing quarrels; and the quarrels were such, and there was so little safety in establishing anything, that the ministers were

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282 *Biographical Dictionary*, 1784

more occupied in finding the necessary means to preserve themselves than the means that were necessary to govern the State.”<sup>283</sup> [Also see Part III: *French Academy*.]

**Rutland** There is a series of letters to Roger Manners, fifth Earl of Rutland (1576–1612), who travelled immensely to Europe during the years 1595, 96, 97. These letters are given by Spedding, *Works*, ix. pp. 6-20 copied from the Lambeth Palace Library MS., 936, no. 218 from the British Library MSS., Lansdowne 238, fos. 158-159; MS 37232, of. 97. Spedding attributed the letters to Bacon on the grounds of many similarities of style yet expressed doubts to authenticity of other letters in these folios. The Hutton Papers, auctioned at Sotheby's include a MS., of such letters and catalogued *Elizabeth and Essex* in their December edition of 1992 on page 26. If Spedding had taken into account the forgeries still circulating from Ireland's hands, he does not mention. It only remains to say that whatever circulated during the 1700's and 1800's must be read with caution to the style of Bacon, and by honourable scholars who are competent to take this task under their wing.

## S

**Sackville Thomas. Lord Buckhurst, and Earl of Dorset** (1536–1608) Dramatic poet.

**Sandys George** (1577–1663) The following extract from Richard Baxter's preface to his *Poetical Fragments* (London, 1681) may interest the reader, as the criticism is probably comparatively unknown: "But I must confess after all that next the Scripture poems, there are none so savoury to me as Mr. George Herbert's and Mr. George Sandys'. I know that Cowley and others far exceed Herbert in wit and accurate composure; but (as Seneca takes with me above all his contemporaries, because he speaketh things by words feelingly and seriously like a man that is past jest, so) Herbert speaks to God like one that really believeth a God. Mr. G. Sandys after his travels over the world, retired himself for his poetry and contemplations, and none are fitter to retire to God than such as are tired with seeing all the vanities on earth." [See the remaining extract in Part III: *Poetical Fragments*].

**Scotus Duns** (c.1266–1308) Perhaps no other great medieval thinker whose life is as little known as that of Duns Scotus. Early 14th century manuscripts, for instance, state explicitly that John Duns was a Scot, from Duns, who belonged to the English province of Friars Minor (the order founded by Francis of Assisi), that "he flourished at Cambridge, Oxford, and Paris and died in Cologne." Scotus opposed the rationalists' contention that philosophy is self-sufficient and adequate to satisfy man's desire for knowledge. In fact, he claimed, a pure philosopher, such as Aristotle, could not truly understand the human condition because he was ignorant of the fall of man and his need for grace and redemption. [Also see Part I: *Est ex analogia*]

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283 C.A. Sainte-Beuve. *Portraits of the Seventeenth Century*, 1904

**Selden John** (1584–1654) & **Hobbes Thomas** (1588–1679) Are supposed to have occasionally assisted Bacon; the former, on one occasion at least, gave him the benefit of his opinion as to the judgments of the House of Lords, and he is reported to have expressed the sentiment that “never was any man more willing or ready to do your Lordship’s service than myself.” That both Selden and Hobbes aided Bacon in the rendering of some of his translations, more especially with those of the *Essays* and *Henry the Seventh*, seems pretty certain, but it is difficult to produce definite evidence on this point.

**Seneca** (c.750/4 B.C. to 818/65 A.D.) Nearly the whole of the eighth century U.C. was embraced by the life of L. Annaeus Seneca of Corduba. A man of genuine Roman severity, which is, however, frequently tempered with pleasant humour, of sober and refined judgment, and in point of style an admirer of Cicero, he himself does not appear to have figured among the florid orators of his time. But, besides an historical work, he composed in his later years a survey of the themes commonly treated in the schools, ten books of *controversiae* and one book of *suasoriae*, under the title: *oratorum et rhetorum sententiae*, divisions, colores, which bears witness to his wonderful memory, and is a rich store-house for the history of rhetoric under Augustus and Tiberius. We possess this work with considerable gaps. Some of them are filled up by a still extant abridgment made in the fourth or fifth century of the Christian era.<sup>284</sup>

**Severinum Petrum** (1542–1602) Born in Ripen, Denmark. Neither Haller nor Sprengel speak of him as favourably as Bacon; nor does he seem to have had any great share of reputation; at least he is not mentioned in the common biographical dictionaries. His only known work is the *Idea Medicinae Philosophica*. Bacon comments on him extensively in his *Temporis Partus Masculus*.

**Shaw Peter** Author of *The Philosophical works of Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam*; published in London 1733. [See Part IV: *Bacon’s Works*].

**Somer van, Hendrick or Enrico Fiammingo** (b.1615, Amsterdam–d.1685, Napoli) Engraver. Dutch painter active in Italy. He was a distinguished pupil of Jusepe de Ribera (1591–1652) in Naples. His St. Jerome shows the strong influence of Ribera’s painting of the same subject. He was, with Mytens and Johnson, one of the best portrait painters in England before the arrival of van Dyck. He soon began to work for the Court, and his earliest datable work, Queen Anne of Denmark with her Horse and Dogs (1617, Royal Collection, Windsor), is perhaps the best. There are others in Liverpool, London and Yale.

**Somer van Paul** (d.1621) An artist of great merit, painted the fine portrait of William, Earl of Pembroke, at St. James’; Bacon, when Lord Chancellor, at Gorhambury, and the Marquis of Hamilton, with the white staff, at Hampton Court. Somer died in England, January 5, 1621 and was buried at St. Martin’s in the Fields.

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<sup>284</sup> Teuffel & Schwabe. *History of Roman Literature*, Vol. II. p.38, 1873

**Southampton Henry. Third Earl** (1573–1624) Kept no diaries, he did not pour forth his heart readily in effusive letters, he wrote no signed poems or papers, and few of his correspondents kept his epistles. There has been preserved no record of his baptism and as with young Essex, Lord Burleigh seems to have taken the boy Henry away, in the first instance, to his own home, with only occasional visits allowed to his mother and grandfather. He was admitted at St John's College, Cambridge, as Fellow-Commoner at Michaelmas, 1585. There is an occurrence worth mentioning: Thomas Dymock, Gentleman, on behalf of Henry, Earl of Southampton, her Majesty's ward, complains that Richard Pitts, being an ill neighbour to his Park at Whiteley Park, Southampton, came with others by night and stole the deer there from, with guns, dogs, etc., and beat the keepers. This suggests that Thomas Dymock was employed as Steward. His interest in Whiteley Park was great. He was paid for living in it, to keep it for the young Earl, and his perquisites were large.

The earliest Dedication to Southampton is that of John Clapham, in 1591, printed before his Poem on *Narcissus* in 1593. In that very month of April 18, something happened which has done more than anything else to keep the Earl of Southampton in memory. Yet a commonplace enough event it was the registration of a book in the Stationers' Registers; the name of the book was *Venus and Adonis*; the name of the author was William Shakespeare; the name of the printer was Richard Field, the Stratford friend of the poet, and it was dedicated to the Earl of Southampton, dedicated timidly, because the poet did not know how the public would take his venture, and he wanted to leave his patron as free as possible to slip out, should the venture prove a failure. It happens that the first preserved fragment of Shakespeare's prose writing is this dedication as Golding's *Ovid* had been a text-book for translations from 1565–67; scholars and poets were essaying translations; Marlowe had left unfinished his *Hero and Leander*; Drayton had written his *Endymion and Phoebe*; Chapman his *Ovid's Banquet of Sense*; Thomas Peend his *Hermaphroditus and Salmacis* and Lodge his *Scylla*. But *Venus and Adonis* was unlike any of these in style, rhythm, and imagery, and though the measure is nearest to that of *Lodge*, how superior it was to its predecessor any one can measure.

Barnabe Barnes had also been writing during 1592 a poem, or collection of poems, Sonnets, madrigals, elegies, and odes which he called *Parthenophil and Parthenophe* which he managed to get printed in May 1593, and in it he included a Sonnet to Southampton, though the dedication was "to Mr William Percy Esq., his dearest friend." John Florio's preface to his *World of Words* he says that he had been some years in the "pay and patronage of the Earl of Southampton." Turning to the Gray's Inn Revels of 1594, it is quite possible that Southampton was associated with it much more closely than has been supposed. It is quite probable that Francis Bacon designed, or had something to do with designing, the device intended to have been performed at Gray's Inn on December 28, 1594, only it was not played. It was Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* that was played by base and common fellows (himself certainly being one), which was reckoned as the crowning disgrace of the evening. But during the following few days, when the disappointed

performers laid their heads together to recover the lost glory of Gray's Inn, there is no doubt that Bacon helped them. Spedding says that the speeches of the Six Councillors "carry his signature in every line." With that dictum careful readers agree. The history says that the performances of January 3, 1594 quite restored the lost honour of the *Night of Errors* and made the Graians and the Templars friends that is, that his legal contemporaries preferred Bacon's Six Councillors. But dramatic posterity prefers Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*. We have seen that Florio dated his special association with him at least from 1594, though he did not dedicate to him directly until 1598. [Also see Part III: *Gray's Inn revels*].

Southampton took part in the Spanish voyage of 1596. The manuscript copy of the *Diana of Montemayor* in the British Museum was done out of Spanish by Thomas Wilson Esquire, in the year 1596, and dedicated to the Earl of Southampton who was then upon the Spanish voyage with Essex. In 1601, there appears in the Salisbury Papers the following entry: "Persons living that are condemned, the Earl of Southampton, Sir John Davys, Sir Edward Baynham, John Littleton." None of these were executed: Sir John Davies probably from policy; John Littleton died of illness. It went hard with Southampton also, yet a more jubilant note was struck by John Davies not he of the Essex trouble, but John of Hereford, writing-master and poet. In the Preface to *Microcosmus* singing the praises of James, the first man that he calls on to join him is Southampton: <sup>285</sup>

Then let's be merry in our God and King,  
That made us merry being ill bestadd:  
South-Hampton up the cappe to Heaven fling  
And on the Violl there sweet praises sing  
For he is come that grace to all doth bring.

**Spedding James** (b. June 28, 1808–d. March 9, 1881) English author chiefly known as the editor of the *Works* of Francis Bacon. He was born in Cumberland the younger son of a country squire, and was educated at Bury St. Edmunds and Trinity College, Cambridge where he took a second class in the classical tripos, and was junior *optime* in mathematics in 1831. In 1835 he entered the colonial office, but he resigned this post in 1841. In 1842 he was secretary to Lord Ashburton on his American mission, and in 1855 he became secretary to the Civil Service Commission but from 1841 onwards he was constantly occupied in his researches into Bacon's life and philosophy. On March 1, 1881 he was knocked down by a cab in London and on the 9th he died of erysipelas. Spedding's great edition was begun in 1847 in collaboration with Ellis and Heath.

In 1853 Ellis had to leave the work to Spedding, with the occasional assistance of Heath, who edited most of the legal writings. The *Works* were published in 1857–1859 in seven volumes, followed by the *Life and Letters* (1861–1874). Taken together these works contain practically all the material which exists in connection with the subject, collected and weighed with care and

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<sup>285</sup> Stopes. *The life of Southampton, Shakespeare's Patron*, 1921



impartiality. In 1853, Delia Bacon approached Spedding with her belief that Francis Bacon was instrumental in the authorship of Shakespeare's works. Speddings' initial reaction was speechless astonishment; but on later occasions he clearly expressed his disfavour of the Baconian hypothesis, and explained some of the common-sense reasons against it. Spedding was also one of the first people to perceive Shakespeare's hand in the additions to Sir Thomas More. [Also see Part III: *The Manuscript Play of Sir Thomas More*.] Spedding humorously emphasized his devotion to Bacon in one of his non-Baconian works. [See Part III: *Spedding's opinion*].

**Speed John** (1552–1629) Was one of the most industrious writers of this period on the subjects of antiquities and history, and his compilations, derived in great part from the collections in the libraries of Sir Robert Cotton, and the contributions of Sir Henry Spelman and other antiquaries, are of considerable value. Speed was originally a tailor and so had not great advantages from education, but yet his *History of Great Britaine* was long the best in existence. He wrote also the *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* and a work on the Genealogies of Holy Scripture under the title of *A cloud of Witnesses*.

**Spenser Edmund** (1553–1598) Born in East Smithfield. In 1569 he was admitted as a sizar of Pembroke Hall in the University of Cambridge, and he attained the degree of Master of Arts in 1576. He became secretary to Arthur Lord Gray of Wilton, Lord Deputy of Ireland, who appears to have been his firm and bountiful patron; for the poet terms him "the pillar of his life." The chief occupation of Spenser's life, however, was literature, to which he was ardently attached to the day of his death, January 16, 1598–99. The chief work of Spenser is his *Faerie Queene*, the object of which is "to represent all the moral virtues, assign to every virtue a Knight, to be the patron and defender of the same; in whose actions the feats of arms and chivalry, the operations of that virtue whereof he is the protector, are to be expressed, and the vices and unruly appetites that oppose themselves against the same are to be beaten down and overcome." He also wrote paraphrases of *Ecclesiastes*, and of the *Canticum Canticorum*; the *Hours of our Lord*; the *Sacrifice of a Sinner*, and the *Seven Penitential Psalms*, which are irretrievably lost to posterity.<sup>286</sup>

**St. Augustine** Let no one ask of me the effective cause of voluntary evil; for the cause is not effective, but defective; it is not an effect at all. (Bacon, *De Civitate Dei*, Vol. XII. Ch. 7). The *De Civitate Dei* was translated into English for the first time twenty-four years after the play of *Hamlet* was produced. Bacon was perfectly familiar with it. His mother was distinguished among her contemporaries as a theologian, and especially for her knowledge of the Christian fathers, some of whose writings she translated for publication. And Sir Toby Matthew, Bacon's literary friend and inquisitor, made an English translation of St. Augustine's *Confessions* in Bacon's lifetime, and probably with Bacon's help. [Also see Part IV: *Bacon's Works*].

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286 Farr. *Select Poetry*, Vol. I. 1845

**St. James** It has been referred that he was acquainted with astronomy. This opinion is founded on the phrase rendered in the English version. Bacon comments on him in his *De Augmentis*. “Variableness or shadow of training” for neither parallax nor the alternate approach to and receding from the solstice affects the Sun of Suns, whose aspect is the same at all places and throughout all time. Bacon so comments in his *De Aug.*, Bk. I.

**Steevens George** (1736–1800) Born at Stepney. Steevens published part of the Shakespeare plays in 1766.

**Stow John** or **Stowe** (1525–1605) Was a most diligent, accurate, and impartial recorder of public events. He, like John Speed, was a tailor, but his decided turn for antiquarian research soon asserted its power, and he abandoned his trade, and is said to have travelled on foot through a large part of England for the purpose of a personal inspection of the historical treasures of the cathedrals and large libraries. He published a *Summary of English Chronicles* and *A Survey of London*, which latter is the best known of his works. He wrote, but was never able to publish, a large Chronicle or History of England. He fell into great poverty towards the end of his life. [Also see *Speed John*.]

**Stuart Arabella** (d.1615) Daughter of the Earl of Lenox, younger brother of Lord Darnley, the grandson of Margaret, eldest sister of Henry VII., and thus stood next in succession to James. Her claim to the throne as against James was that she was born in England, whereas he was an alien. She had been arrested by Elizabeth in consequence of a rumour that she was to marry William Seymour, grandson of Catherine Grey. She was imprisoned in 1609 on another rumour of her marriage to some person unknown. In 1610 she became actually engaged to William Seymour: he promised not to marry her without the King’s consent, but married her secretly a few months afterwards. The marriage was discovered, and she was committed to private custody whilst her husband was committed to the Tower. She escaped, disguised in man’s clothes, but was arrested in the Straits of Dover. She died in the Tower in 1615.

**Sydney or Sidney Philip. Sir** (1554–1586) Soldier, poet, and author of the *Arcadia*.

## T

**Telesius Bernardino** (1509–1588) Born of noble parentage. Italian reformer of philosophy and received a Doctorate in 1535; joined the group of thinkers known as the *Accademia Cosentina*. After spending nine years in a monastery, he lived in Naples and Cosenza. The first two books of his major work, *De Natura Juxta Propria Principia* [On Nature According to Its Own Principles], were published in 1565, and the complete edition of nine books appeared in 1586. Although he had been encouraged in his writings by contemporary Roman Catholic popes, the above work and two of his minor works remained on the Roman Catholic Church *Index of Forbidden Books* from 1596 until 1900. Bacon has commended him as “the best of the novelists.” [Also see Part I: *Spiraculum*.]

**Temporibus de Joannes** Also known as Jean de Stampis (D'Estampes) and the change to Joannes de Temporibus is connected with his mythical longevity. Bacon comments on him in his work *Vita et Mortis*.

**Tenison Thomas** (1636–1715) Was intimate at college with William Rawley the doctor's son, and afterwards with John Rawley his executor. Through them he had access to the Bacon manuscripts, which had been left in the doctor's hands, and may therefore be considered as an original authority in the matter. He was not a man of much sagacity or intellectual vigour; and there is reason to believe that he sometimes took leave to alter the text a little, when it contained expressions, which he thought undignified. He was a great venerator of Bacon, and upon the whole a careful, conscientious, and scholar like editor. His publication of *Baconiana, Or Certain Genuine Remains of Sr. Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, and Viscount of St. Albans* (1679) is a landmark in Bacon studies due to its open acknowledgement of Bacon as a concealed author in the following words: "And those who have true skill in the Works of the Lord Verulam, like great Masters in Painting, can tell by the *Design*, the *Strength*, the *way of Colouring*, whether he was the Author of this or the other Piece, though his Name be not to it." <sup>287</sup>

**Thorpe Thomas**, (1570?–1635?) Publisher of Shakespeare's Sonnets, was son of Thomas Thorpe, an innkeeper of Barnet, Middlesex. At midsummer 1584 he was apprenticed for nine years to a printer and stationer of London, Richard Watkins, and in 1594 he took up the freedom of the Stationers' Company. A younger brother, Richard, was apprenticed to another stationer, Martin Ensor, for seven years from August 24, 1596, but did not take up his freedom. Thomas found obscure employment as a stationer's assistant, but in 1600 he became the owner of the unpublished manuscript of Christopher Marlowe's translation of the *First Book of Lucan*. Through the good offices of a friend in the trade, Edward Blount [one of the publishers of the first folio 1623], he contrived to publish it. His name did not figure on the title-page, but as owner of the copy he signed the dedication, which he jestingly addressed to his friend Blount. He wrote with good humoured sarcasm of the parsimony of the ordinary literary patron. In 1603 Thorpe again engaged in a publishing speculation, and his name figured on a title-page for the first time. The book was an insignificant pamphlet on current events.

Another work of a like kind bore his name later in the year, and between that date and 1624 twenty-eight books were issued at irregular intervals with the announcement that he took part in the process of publication. The title pages of nearly all Thorpe's books declared that the volumes were printed for him by one stationer, and were sold for him by another stationer, whose address was supplied. It was only in three of the publications on the title-pages of which Thorpe's name figured viz. R. West's *Wits A. B. C.*, Chapman's *Byron*, and Ben Jonson's *Masques of Blackness and Beauty*, all dated in 1608 that he announced, in accordance with the custom of well-established publishers, that he was himself in the occupation of a shop, i.e. "The Tiger's Head, in St. Paul's

<sup>287</sup> Tenison. *Baconiana*, 1679, p.78

Churchyard,” at which the books could be purchased. During the other years of his publishing career he pursued his calling homelessly without business plant or premises of his own, and depending on better equipped colleagues in the trade to sell as well as to print the volumes in which he had an interest. Many of his colleagues began publishing operations in this manner, but none except Thorpe are known to have followed it throughout their careers.

Thorpe’s energies seem, in fact, to have been mainly confined, as in his initial venture of Marlowe’s *Lucan*, to the predatory work of procuring, no matter how, unpublished and neglected copy. In the absence, in the early part of the seventeenth century, of any legal recognition of an author’s right to control the publication of his work, the actual holder of a manuscript was its lawful and responsible owner, no matter by what means it had fallen into his hands. Thorpe was fortunate enough to obtain between 1605 and 1611 at least nine manuscript volumes of literary interest, viz. three plays by Chapman, four works of Ben Jonson (including *Sejanus* (1605), Coryat’s *Odcombian Banquet*, and Shakespeare’s *Sonnets* (1609). The last the most interesting of all which had many years earlier circulated in manuscript among Shakespeare’s “private friends,” was entered by Thorpe on the Stationers’ Registers on 20 May 1609. There, as on the published title page, he styled his treasure-trove *Shakespeares Sonnets* a tradesmanlike collocation of words which is one of the many proofs that the author was in no way associated with Thorpe’s project. The volume was printed for Thorpe by George Eld, and some copies of the impression bore the name of William Aspley as Thorpe’s bookselling agent, while others bore the name of John Wright. In conformity with the accepted practice, Thorpe, as owner of the copy, supplied the dedication. He signed it with his initials T.T., styling himself, with characteristic bombast, “the well-wishing adventurer in setting forth” [*i.e.* the hopeful promoter of the speculation]. As in the case of Marlowe’s *Lucan*, he selected for patron of the volume a friend in the trade, whom he denominated “Mr. W.H.” and fantastically described “Mr. W.H.” as “the only begetter” *i.e.* procurer of the *Sonnets* a description which implies that Thorpe owed his acquisition of the manuscript to the good offices of “Mr. W.H.”

An obscure stationer, William Hall, was at this period filling, like Thorpe, the irresponsible role of procurer of manuscripts. In 1606 Hall had procured for publication a neglected manuscript poem, *A Foure-fold Meditation*, by the Jesuit, Robert Southwell [*q.v.*], and had supplied, as owner of the copy, a dedicatory epistle under his initials “W. H.” There is little doubt that Thorpe was acquainted with Hall. Southwell’s poem was printed for Hall by George Eld, the printer of Shakespeare’s *Sonnets*, and of many others of Thorpe’s publications. Hall himself became a master-printer in a small way in 1609, and he described himself as “W. H.” on the titlepage of at least one of his books, *Trial of John Selman* (1612). No other person who was likely to be in Thorpe’s circle of acquaintance was known to designate himself by the same initials. Hall is therefore in all probability the “Mr. W.H.” of Shakespeare’s *Sonnets*.

In 1610 Thorpe acquired some unpublished manuscripts of an insignificant author, John Healey [*q.v.*], who had migrated to Virginia and had apparently died there. Another publisher

had issued in 1609 a translation by Healey of Bishop Hall's *Discoverie of a New World*, and Healey had dedicated that work to William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke [*q.v.*] When Thorpe published the manuscripts by Healey in his hands, he prefixed to them dedicatory epistles signed by his own initials, and, inaugurating a new practice in his choice of patrons, addressed them to men of eminence who had acted as patrons of Healey's earlier ventures. Thorpe chose Lord Pembroke as patron of Healey's translation of St. Augustine's *City of God* in 1610, and penned a very obsequious address to the Earl. To another of Healey's patrons, John Florio [*q.v.*], Thorpe dedicated Healey's translation of *Epictetus* (1610), and when Thorpe brought out a second edition of that work in 1616, he addressed himself again to Lord Pembroke. These three dedicatory epistles are the longest literary compositions by Thorpe that are extant; they are fantastic and bombastic in style to the bounds of incoherence, and the two addresses to Lord Pembroke are extravagantly subservient in tone. In 1624 Thorpe's name appeared in print in connection with a book for the last time. In that year there was issued a new edition of Chapman's *Byron*, which Thorpe had first published in 1608. Thorpe, whose surreptitious production of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* has long perplexed Shakespeare's biographers and has given him his sole title to fame, seems to have been granted an almsroom in the hospital of Ewelme on December 3, 1635.

**Tune Sturmius** (1507–1589) He has been styled the German Cicero, being a professor at Paris and at Strasbourg, and left among other works, some notes on *Hermogenes*. Bacon comments on his in his work *De Aug.*, Bk. I.

**Twain Mark or Clemens Samuel Langhorne** (1835–1910) American humorist, satirist, writer, and lecturer. Twain is most noted for his novels *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, which has since been called the Great American Novel, and *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*. He is also known for his quotations. During his lifetime, he became a friend to presidents, artists, leading industrialists, and European royalty. Twain enjoyed immense public popularity, and his keen wit and incisive satire earned him praise from both critics and peers. American author William Faulkner called Twain "the father of American literature." His Baconian work, *Is Shakespeare Dead?* has seen popularity around the world.

## V

**Valentinus** The alchemist Basil Valentine. He is said to have been a Benedictine of the congregation of St Peter's at Erfurdt, and to have lived in the beginning of the fifteenth century. Bacon comments on him in his *Descriptio Globi Intellectualis*.

**Veneti Patricii** Attempted to amalgamate the Platonic and Aristotelian philosophies. His principal work entitled *Nova de Universis Philosophia* was published in 1591, and holds many connexions with Bacon's *De Fluxu et refluxu maris*. Bacon comments on him and his work in his *De Aug.*, Bk. III.

**Vergil Polydore** (d.1555) Born at Urbino. Italian ecclesiastic. He was sent over to England for the collection of Peter's *Pence*, and while in England was preferred to the Archdeaconry of Wells. His *History of England* in Latin consists of twenty-seven books, and was begun by him in the latter years of Henry VII., and finished in the following reign.

## W

**Walsall John** Bacon's tutor. A scholar from Christ Church, Oxford. His brief words that exist from the time of his undertaking of both the Bacon brothers is that they were both for the true fear of God, zealous affection to His word, obedience to their parents, reverence to their superiors, humility to their inferiors, love to their instructor, that he never knew any excel them. <sup>288</sup>

**Walsingham Francis. Sir** His hypocrisy was a masterpiece. He is described by his contemporaries as "a man of a cruel and a savage nature." It was evidently a pleasure to him to inflict personal cruelty upon the people who fell into his power. He was known to beat them on the head with his staff. His language to the unfortunate Catholic ladies whom he arrested for attending Mass was most detestable. No matter what outrage he committed upon women of the most stainless character, they had no redress from Queen Elizabeth, who had no sympathy for her own sex at any time; yet, she is remembered for a human heart when Essex died; "the death of Elizabeth, who died on March 24, 1603 about a year after the decapitation of Essex, filled with regret at his fate." <sup>289</sup> But who shall rumble through historical records, shall find her path of behaviour, much as a spider's, when Essex died. Recounting, in his praise of Queen Elizabeth, the fate of her most remarkable enemies, Francis Bacon observes: "I may not mention the death of some that occur to mind: but still, methinks, they live that should live, and they die that should die." Much of the barbarous cruelty practised by the Lord Deputies of Elizabeth in Ireland was suggested by Walsingham. The Queen's chief adviser Lord Burghley, the Secretary of State Sir Francis Walsingham, and the military expert Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester now controlled their own private secret services. Walsingham's was the largest spy network at the time and when Francis Bacon is elected to Parliament as member for Bossiney, Cornwall, he departs for Italy, Florence, Venice, Mantua, Genoa, Savoy, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Germany, Denmark, Sweden and Poland. The music of his reports was singing a swift melody in his blood; he was an agent on commission from her Majesty. This report, including additional information from his brother Anthony and Nicholas Faunt, was presented to the Queen as a State Paper entitled *Notes on the Present State of Christendom*. <sup>290</sup> The countries covered included not just France, Italy and Spain, but also Austria, Germany, Portugal, Poland, Denmark and Sweden. Florence, Venice,

<sup>288</sup> Walsall. *A Sermon Preached at Pauls Crosse*, 1587

<sup>289</sup> P.L.C. *Francis Bacon's Verulamiana*, 1803

<sup>290</sup> In Lochithea's *Sir Francis Bacon's Journals, The Rarest of Princes*, p. 84, 2007 are the writings upon Bacon's return to these places he visited; his travels and findings were presented to his Uncle Burghley and the Queen

Mantua, Genoa and Savoy are dealt with in most detail. Some of this information was used in the Shakespearean plays. It should be noted that these *Notes on the Present State of Christendom* were not made available to the public until 1734. There are still extant letters of this baleful minister to Sir Henry Sidney, advising the old policy of the spy-system in its most odious forms. To personate the character of a confessor to a dying prisoner was carried to a demoniac pitch of perfection by Walsingham. He often boasted that he had “improved upon the confessional devices of Thomas Crumwell.” Walsingham, like Crumwell, had his peculiarities, but the latter was more “in the rough and ready style” of his royal master. Walsingham had a malignant hatred of Ireland and its Popish people. It has been affirmed by several Protestant writers, that Walsingham had such an intense hatred of Ireland, that “he wished it to sink into the sea.” It is, however, in his relations with the Queen of Scots that Walsingham stands forth as the demon of the age. He died in April 1590, was buried at Old St. Paul’s, amidst the deep execrations of the descendants of his numerous victims.

**Waller Edmund** (1606–1687) The name which he has rendered familiar to so many (albeit they mispronounce it), was known long before his time as that of a family of great wealth and antiquity, originally settled in the county of Kent. From Groombridge, his seat) near Speldhurst, Richard Waller, afterwards sheriff of the county, set out to join Henry V., in France, and thither he returned from Agincourt, bringing with him Charles, Duke of Orleans, whom he had taken prisoner in the battle. For four-and-twenty years he kept the Prince “in honourable confinement,” and it is recorded of him, that during that time he rebuilt his own house and beautified the parish church, in the porch of which were carved his arms with the addition, the royal shield of France, and the motto *Haec fructus virtutis*, granted to him in memory of his exploit. His eldest son, another Richard Waller, married the daughter and heiress of Edmund Brudenell, Lord of the manor of Coleshill, and this union no doubt led to the migration from Kent of that part of the family from which the poet was immediately descended. The exact date when the Wallers of Beaconsfield branched off from the main stock cannot now be ascertained, but it is certain that well back into the sixteenth century they were in possession of lands in Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire, all of which appear to have eventually devolved upon Robert Waller, the father of the poet. Robert Waller had been bred to the study of the law, and for some time practised as a barrister, but his circumstances rendering this occupation unnecessary, he retired into the country and devoted himself to the improvement of his estates. He took for his wife, Anne, daughter of Griffith Hampden.

Edmund, the poet of our interest was their eldest son, born on March 3, 1606, at the manor-house, Coleshill, a hamlet which then formed part of the county of Hertford, but which in the early 1800’s has been absorbed into Buckinghamshire. All traces of the mansion have disappeared, and the site upon which it is said to have stood is from the later times occupied by a dilapidated farmhouse, little better than a cottage, known as Stocks Place, or Old Stocks. What little we know of his early education is derived from Aubrey, who was told by Waller himself that “he was

bred under several ill, dull, and ignorant schoolmasters, till he went to Mr. Dobson at Wickham, who was a good schoolmaster and had been an Eaton schollar,” while one Mr. Thomas Bigge, who was in the same form with him at Mr. Dobson’s school, and “was wont to make his exercise for him,” confessed to the same authority, that “he little thought then he would have been so rare a poet.” He gathered his children about him, received the Sacrament with them, and died on October 21, 1687.

On October 26 he was buried in Beaconsfield church-yard, by a curious piece of irony, “in woollen according to a late Act of Parliament.” When the question of enforcing the penalties for not observing the Act which required persons to be buried in wool had come up in the House, Waller said, “Our Saviour was buried in linen. ‘Tis a thing against the custom of nations, and I am against it.” That “Waller was smooth” has been generally admitted, and smoothness was the quality at which he particularly aimed. “When he was a brisk young spark, and first studied poetry, “me thought,” said he, “I never saw a good copy of English verses; they want smoothness; then I began to essay.” Such is Aubrey’s account, but it is scarcely in this direction that one must look for the reason of Waller’s extraordinary popularity among his contemporaries. The letter, written in 1645, where Edmund Waller mentions Francis Bacon’s lyrical poetry was “the diversion of his Youth” follows:

To My Lady Sophia.

Madam,

Your commands for the gathering of these sticks into a faggot had sooner been obeyed, but, that intending to present you with my whole vintage, I stayed till the latest grapes were ripe; for here your Ladyship hath not only all I have done, but all I ever mean to do of this kind. Not but that I may defend the attempt I have made upon poetry, by the examples (not to trouble you with history) of many wise and worthy persons of our own times; as Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Fra. Bacon, Cardinal Perron (the ablest of his countrymen), and the former Pope, who, they say, instead of the Triple Crown, wore sometimes the poet’s ivy, as an ornament, perhaps, of less weight and trouble.

But, madam, these nightingales sung only in the spring; it was the diversion of their youth; as ladies learn to sing and play whilst they are children, what they forget when they are women. The resemblance holds further; for, as you quit the lute the sooner because the posture is suspected to draw the body awry, so this is not always practised without some violence to the mind; wresting it from present occasions, and accustoming us to a style somewhat removed from common use. But, that you may not think his case deplorable who has made verses, we are told that Tully (the greatest wit among the Romans) was once sick of this disease; and yet recovered so well, that of almost as bad a poet as your servant, he became the most perfect orator in the world. So that, not so much to have made verses, as not to give over in time, leaves a man without excuse; the former presenting us at least with an opportunity of doing wisely, that is, to conceal those we have made;



which I shall yet do, if my humble request may be of as much force with your ladyship, as your commands have been with me.

Madam, I only whisper these in your ear; if you publish them, they become your own; and therefore, as you apprehend the reproach of a wit and a poet, cast them into the fire; or, if they come where green boughs are in the chimney, with the help of your fair friends (for thus bound, it will be too stubborn a task for your hands alone), tear them in pieces, wherein you shall honour me with the fate of Orpheus; for so his poems, whereof we only hear the fame (not his limbs, as the story would have it), I suppose were scattered by the Thracian dames.

Here, madam, I might take an opportunity to celebrate your virtues, and to instruct the unhappy men that knew you not, who you are, how much you excel the most excellent of your own, and how much you amaze the least inclined to wonder of our sex. But as they will be apt to take your Ladyship's for a Roman name, so would they believe that I endeavoured the character of a perfect nymph, worshipped an image of my own making, and dedicated this to the lady of the brain, not of the heart, of your Ladyship's most humble servant,

E. W.

**Warbeck Perkin** "For his part, was not wanting to himself either in gracious and princely behaviour, or in ready and opposite answers, or in contenting and caressing those that did apply themselves unto them, insomuch as it was generally believe that he was indeed Duke Richard." [of York]. <sup>291</sup> Bacon draws above from Speed, where Shakespeare in his *Tempest* has the same thought: "Like one, who having unto Truth, by telling of it made such a sinner of his memory, to credit his own lie, he did believe he was indeed the Duke." It is marvellous how Bacon and Shakespeare alike transmute the least suggestion of arid chroniclers into imperishable stuff.

**Whitgift or White-Gift John** (1530–1604) Tutor at Trinity College founded a hospital and a school at Croydon, where he is buried. He was of "middle stature, strong and well shaped, of a grave countenance and brown complexion, black hair and eyes, his beard neither long nor thick". (Paule, biographer of Whitgift). "Narrow-minded, mean, a tyrannical priest, who gained power by servility and adulation, and employed it in persecuting both those who agreed with Calvin about Church Government, and those who differed from Calvin touching the doctrine of Reprobation." This is the description of Whitgift given by Lord Macaulay (1800–1859) in his famous article on Bacon in 1837, which is well known and talked about though "deficient in spiritual insight." <sup>292</sup> [Also see *Macaulay*.]

**Whitney Geoffrey** His work, *A Choice of Emblemes*, and other devises, for the most part gathered out of sundry writers, English and moralized, and divers newly devised. A work adorned with variety of matter, both pleasant and profitable: wherein those that please may find to fit their

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<sup>291</sup> Bacon. *Life of Henry VII*

<sup>292</sup> Lord. *Beacon Lights of History*, Vol. XIII. 1902

fancies, because herein by the office of the eye, and the ear, the mind may reap double delight through wholesome precepts, shadowed with pleasant devises both fit for the virtuous, to their encouraging and for the wicked for their admonishing.<sup>293</sup> [Also see Part III: *Alciati and Whitney*; Part II: *Brant Sebastian*.]

**Withers George** (1588–1667) Contemporary poet. A traditionary document may be mentioned, which was published in 1643–45, and was believed by Sir Egerton Bridges to have been the work of Withers. It is entitled *The Great Assizes holden in Parnassus by Apollo and his Assessours, at which are arraigned Mercurius Brittanicus, Mercurius Aulicus, &c.*, (periodical publications of that time). This document shows that Francis Bacon, in the opinion of Withers, at least, was entitled to high rank among his contemporaries in the Kingdom of Apollo. [Also see Part III: *The Great Assizes*.]

**Willoughby** or **Willobie Henry** (1574?–1596?) The eponymous hero of the poem called *Willobies Avis* was second son of Henry Willoughby, a country gentleman of Wiltshire, by Jane, daughter of one Dauntsey of Lavington, Wiltshire. A younger brother was named Thomas, The father's father, Christopher Willoughby, was illegitimate son of Sir William Willoughby, the brother of Sir Robert Willoughby, first baron Willoughby de Broke, [*q.v.*]. Henry matriculated as a commoner from St. John's College, Oxford, on December 10, 1591 at the age of sixteen. According to the report of a "friend and chamber fellow," he was a scholar of good hope. He maybe the Henry Willoughbie who graduated B.A. from Exeter College on February 28, 1594–95.<sup>294</sup> Soon after that date, being desirous to see the fashions of other countries for a time, he departed voluntarily to her Majesty's service. Before June 30, 1596, he is reported to have died. On September 3, 1594 there was licensed for the press a book entitled *Willoby his Avis* or *The True Picture of a Modest Maid and of a Chaste and Constant Wife*<sup>295</sup> and shortly afterwards the work issued from the press of John Windet. In this volume, which mainly consists of seventy-two cantos in varying numbers of six-line stanzas (fantastically called by the author *hexameters*), the chaste heroine, Avis, holds converse in the opening sections as a maid, and in the later sections as a wife with a series of passionate adorers. In every case she firmly repulses their advances midway through the book. Henry Willobie is introduced as an ardent admirer, in his own person, chiefly under the initials "H.W." It is explained in a prose interpolation that Willobie has sought the advice of a friend, "W. S." who had lately gone through the experience of a severe rebuff at the hands of a disdainful mistress. After "W.S." light heartedly offers some tantalising advice in verse, "H.W." in the twenty-nine cantos which form the last portion of the volume, is made to rehearse his woes and Avis's obduracy. Two prefaces, one addressed to "all the constant ladies and gentlewomen of England that fear God," and the other to "the gentle and courteous reader," are both signed Hadrian Dorrell. The second is dated from Dorrell's chamber in Oxford.

293 Farr. *Select Poetry*, Vol. I, 1845

294 Oxford Univ. Rea. Oxf. Hist, Soc. II. ii. 187, iii. 189

295 Arber. Stationers' Registers, II. p. 659

This first of October Dorrell takes responsibility for the publication, stating that he found the manuscript in his friend Willobie's rooms while he was absent from the country. Dorrell says that he christened the work *Willobie his Avis* because he supposed it was Willobie's "doing and being written with his own hand." He explains that the name Avis was derived from the initial letters of the words *amans vxor inviolata semper amanda* and that there was "something of truth hidden under this shadow".

In 1596 Peter Colse produced a poem on the same model as *Willobies Avis*, which he called *Penelopes Complaint*. Colse declares that "seeing an unknowns author hath of late published a pamphlet called *Avis* concerning the chastity of a lady of no historical repute, he deemed it fitting to treat of the chastity of Penelope." Colse speaks approvingly of the unknown, author's style and verse, which he closely imitates. To Colse's effort Hadrian Dorrell at once replied in 1590 in a new edition of *Avis*, to which he prefixed an *Apologia shewing the true meaning of Willobie his Avis*. This was dated from Oxford "this 30 of June 1596." Dorrell, in contradiction to his former statement, declares that the whole of *Avis* was a poetical fiction which was written "thirty-five years since, and long lay among the waste papers in the author's study, with many other pretty things of his devising including a still unpublished work called *Susanna*."

The name *Avis* he now affirms either means that the woman described had never been seen, "a" being the Greek privative particle, and "vis" the Latin participle; or was an irregular derivative from *avis*, a bird. At the close of the *Apologie*, he remarks that Willobie is lately dead. Dorrell's general tone suggests that his two accounts of the origin and intention of the book are fictitious, while the conflict between his statements respecting the author renders it unlikely that either is wholly true, but that Dorrell had ground for his claim of intimacy with Henry Willoby, the Oxford student, seems supported by the fact that he adds to this edition of 1596 a poem in the same metre as *Avis*, headed "The Victoria of English Chastitie under the fainted name of Avis" and signed "Thomas Willoby frater Henrici Willoby nuper defunct."

The Oxford student Henry Willoby undoubtedly had a brother named Thomas. The name of Hadrian Dorrell was apparently assumed. No Oxford student bearing that appellation is known to the University registers. It is probable that Hadrian Dorrell was sole author of *Avis* and that he named his work after his friend Henry Willoby, in the same manner as Nicolas Breton named a poem, *The Countess of Pembrokes Passion* after the patroness in whose honour and for whose delectation it was written. The chief interest of the poem lies in its apparent bearings on Shakespeare's biography. In prefatory verses in six-line stanzas, which are signed *Contraria Contrariis: Vigilantius: Dormitanus*, direct mention is made of Shakespeare's poem of *Lucrece*, which was licensed for the press on May 9, 1594, only four months before *Avis*. This is the earliest open reference made in print by a contemporary author to Shakespeare's name. The notice of Shakespeare lends substance to the theory that the alleged friend of Willoby, who is known in the poem under the initials "W.S." may be the dramatist himself. "W.S." is spoken of as the old player. If this identity be admitted, there is a likelihood that the troubled amour

from which “W.S.” is said in the poem to have recently recovered is identical with the intrigue that forms one of the topics of Shakespeare’s *Sonnets*. The frivolous tone in which “W.S.” is made in *Avisa* to refer to his recent amorous adventure suggests, moreover, that the professed tone of pain which characterises the poet’s addresses to a disdainful mistress in his *Sonnets* is not to be interpreted quite seriously.

Willobies’ *Avisa* droved popular, and rapidly went through six editions, but very few copies survive. Of the first edition, published in 1594, two perfect copies are known one in the British Museum, and the other in Mr. Christie Miller’s library at Britwell; a slightly imperfect copy is in the Huth Library. No copy is now known either of the edition of 1596, containing for the first time Dorrell’s *Apologie* and Thomas Willoby’s contribution, or of a third edition published after 1596 and before 1605. A fourth edition (the fourth time corrected and augmented) was issued by Windet, the original printer and publisher, in 1605; and unique copy is at Britwell. Bagford, Benjamin Furley, and other collectors noted an edition of 1609, which was probably a remainder issue of the fourth edition. The work was reprinted in 1635 by William Stansby, and was described on the title-page as “the fifth time corrected and augmented.” A copy, said to be unique, is in the British Museum. Dr. Grosart reprinted privately 1880 the first edition, with extracts from the additions first published in 1596, although now only accessible in the editions of 1609 and 1635. The portion supposed to refer to Shakespeare was reprinted in *Shakspeare Allusion Books*.

**Wotton Henry. Sir** (1568–1639) Essayist and poet. Some correspondence passed between Bacon and his cousin Sir Henry Wotton on different occasions, but on the whole this was of no special interest. Sir Henry, as an accomplished man of letters, appreciated very highly the work of his learned relative, and no doubt would be eager to possess his publications as they appeared. When the *Novum Organum* was issued Bacon sent three copies to him, and on the receipt of them, Wotton writes: “I have by the care of my cousin Mr. Thomas Meautys, and by your own special favour, three copies of that work wherewith your Lordship hath done a great, and ever-living benefit to all the children of nature, and to nature herself in her utter most extent of latitude; who never before, had so noble nor so true an interpreter, or (as I am readier to style your Lordship) never so inward a secretary of her cabinet.” Specimens of Bacon’s poetry were also found among Wotton’s papers after his death, and these were subsequently published in the *Reliquiae Wottonianae* in the year 1651 where there is an entrance worth citing on Anthony Bacon: “The Earl of Essex had accommodated Lord Anthony Bacon in partition of his house, and had assigned him a noble entertainment. This was a gentleman of impotent feet, but of a nimble head; who being of an improvident nature, contrary to his brother the Lord Viscount St Albans, and well knowing the advantage of a dangerous secret, would many times cunningly let fall some words as if he could amend his fortunes under the Cecilians with whom he was near in alliance and of blood also, and who had made some great proffers to win him away.” Anthony dislikes Fabritio, this elegant dabble; the mutual displacement builds on a wall of jealousy and remains even upon Anthony’s death, when Wotton-Fabritio publishes his above-mentioned memoirs.

Francis Bacon must be counted among Sir Henry Wotton's friends and correspondents, though only one letter from Bacon to Wotton and one from Wotton to Bacon have been preserved. They seem, however, to have corresponded more or less regularly, and to have regarded each other as friends and kinsmen. The family connexion was through the Cookes and Belknaps, Bacon's mother, Anne Cooke, being the great-grand-daughter of Sir Philip Cooke, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry Belknap, and sister of Anne Belknap, wife of Sir Henry Wotton's great-grandfather, Sir Robert Wotton. Sir Henry Wotton was also descended from Sir Henry Belknap, through his mother and his niece, Philippa Wotton, who married Francis Bacon's nephew, Sir Edmund Bacon. There is little further evidence of their friendship. The mention of "Francesco" and Lady Bacon's other uncle in Wotton's letters, may refer perhaps to Francis Bacon. In 1635 Wotton sent Sir Gervase Clifton a collection of Bacon's letters. Izaak Walton, in his advertisement to the *Reliquiae*, says that Bacon "thought it not beneath him to collect some of the sayings and apophthegms of this author." One of these sayings is printed in Bacon's *Apophthegms*, No. 64. "Sir Henry Wotton used to say 'that critics are like brushers of noblemen's clothes.'"

The epitaph on Bacon's tomb at St. Michael's, St. Albans, ending with the well-known phrase, *composita solvantur*, was composed by Wotton.<sup>296</sup> Among the contemporaries of Shakespeare an interesting but little-known figure is that of the poet and Ambassador, Sir Henry Wotton. It is still remembered that he was the author of two or three beautiful lyrics which are to be found in every anthology; that he went as Ambassador to Venice, and fell into temporary disfavour owing to a witty but indiscreet definition of his office; and that afterwards he became Provost of Eton, where he was visited by the young Milton, and where he fished with Izaak Walton, who quoted his sayings in the *Complete Sir Henry Wotton* and the most widely cultivated Englishman of his time.

A ripe classical scholar, an elegant Latinist, trained in Greek by his studies with Casaubon, he was an admirable linguist in modern languages as well. He corresponded with Francis Bacon about natural philosophy, and was the friend of most of the learned men of that epoch, both at home and on the Continent; the first English collector of Italian pictures, he brought from Italy, where he lived many years, the refined taste in art and architecture, the varied culture of antiquity and the Renaissance, which was then only to be derived from Italian sources. His experiences of life were exceptionally varied, even in that spacious and enterprising age. Leaving England in 1589, he spent some time abroad in study and adventurous travel; he was much about the Court of Queen Elizabeth; he accompanied Essex to Ireland and on his famous voyages; he went in the service of an Italian Duke to the Court of James VI., and when that King succeeded to the English throne, was sent as his Ambassador to many places. Famous in his own day as a "wit and fine gentleman", he deserves to be remembered as a noble example of that much maligned class, the "Italianate" Englishmen one who, with all his foreign culture, never lost the sincerity and old-fashioned piety of a "plain Kentish man." Although his services as an Ambassador were

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296 (a) *Life of Bacon*, prefixed to Rawley's *Resuscitatio*, 1657 (b) Aubrey. *Brief Lives*, 1898, Vol. I. p. 76

not always of the first importance, and his longer literary works are of a somewhat disappointing character, he yet may be counted as one of the great Elizabethans, with whom high actions were so remarkably combined with high literary expression. For Sir Henry Wotton was endowed with one gift, that of a letter-writer, which none of his more famous contemporaries possessed. Indeed, the very qualities or faults that stood in the way of his complete success, either as a statesman or author; the witty frankness that caused him to be a somewhat indiscreet diplomatist; a certain desultoriness of mind, combined with a great love of leisure and conversation, which hindered the completion of most of his literary tasks, all these made him an admirable correspondent. And letter-writing was not only one of the great pleasures of his life, but, as Ambassador, almost his main duty. Among the somewhat formal and colourless epistles of that age his letters are remarkable for their wit, their beauty of phrase, and the impress of his kindly and meditative nature. His shortest note could not have been written by anyone else; his long diplomatic dispatches are enlivened by reflections, epigrams, and bits of personal comment and observation. Sometimes eloquent, sometimes intimate, now informed by cynical but not unkindly knowledge of the world, and now by honest religious zeal, he put all his stores of thought and experience into his letters, in a way that was unique at the time and is unusual in any age. Anyone who has read those written in the leisure of Venice or Eton will agree that it is no exaggeration to call Sir Henry Wotton the best letter-writer of his time the first Englishman whose correspondence deserves to be read for its literary quality, apart from its historical interest. His style, although it may seem at first, to those not familiar with the style of the time, somewhat courtly and elaborate, yet possesses great qualities of beauty and distinction, and much of that quaint richness of thought and phrase which we associate with authors of a later date George Herbert, Sir Thomas Browne, or Izaak Walton.

About Wotton's life while in the service of Essex, we have not much information. Only eleven letters, written between the years 1595 and 1600, seem to have been preserved; and although his name appears occasionally in Anthony Bacon's papers, the references are for the most part of no great importance. Edward Reynolds, another of the Earl of Essex's secretaries, wrote to Anthony Bacon that he observed "some spleen in his carriage"; and when in 1596 Essex sent Dr. Henry Hawkins on a political mission to Italy, Anthony Bacon accused Wotton of keeping back some letters of introduction, which were found "in a merchant's window in London by my Cousin Harry Wotton's dutiful care and discreet address." Anthony Bacon wrote to Essex begging that the matter might be sifted to the bottom, and to Hawkins telling of the discovery of the letters, and adding: "but let us leave my cousin for such as he is; but doubt you not but I have and will improve this my cousin's prank and your disaster for his shame and your advantage the best I can." Wotton declared, however, that the letters discovered in London were duplicates, and that the originals had been sent; and as we shortly afterwards find Wotton in the position of secretary for Italian and German business, it is plain that Anthony Bacon's accusations did not injure him in his patron's [Essex] eyes.

Wotton, in his *Parallel*, 4th edition on page 169, accuses Anthony Bacon of procuring a gift of Essex House from Essex by a threat to betray to Queen Elizabeth the correspondence between Essex and James I. The improbability of this story has been demonstrated by Birch and Spedding, and other writers.<sup>297</sup> At Lintz, Wotton saw Kepler, and in an interesting and often-quoted letter to Francis Bacon, he describes his first sight of the *camera obscura*, with which the great astronomer entertained the Ambassador. Wotton urged Kepler to come to England, promising him a favourable reception from James I., but Kepler, although flattered (as his letters show) by Wotton's visit and invitation, was unwilling to desert Austria, where, in a time of war and trouble, he had found a home. And, moreover, as he quaintly says, being accustomed to the mainland, he dreaded the narrowness and dangers of an island life. In describing to Bacon the *camera obscura* which Kepler had showed him in 1620, he had remarked that to paint landscapes by this process "were illiberal; though surely no painter can do them so precisely." And in the second part of his book, where he treats of painting and sculpture, he states as a problem worthy of philosophical examination, "how an artificer, whose end is the imitation of nature, can be too natural."

**Wright John** Probably descendents of the John Wright in the 1600's, was another John Wright who died in 1807 on October 13. He resided in St. John's square, Clerkenwell, London, an excellent printer, and a worthy man, in the thirty-eighth year of his age. Joseph Wright, his brother and successor, died, after a lingering illness, at his father's house in Leicestershire, May 1, 1809; and Edward Wright, a third brother, in the same profession, died April 26, 1810. The *Tragical History of the Life and Death of Dr. Faustus*, written by Christopher Marlowe was printed in London by John Wright, and sold at his shop, without Newgate, at the sign of the Bible in 1616. It was in black letter. Some former possessor of this copy has filled up the initial M. and written Marklin. It sold at Wright's sale for £1.7s. In May 1612 the work *A Remembrance of the Honours due to the Life and Death of Robert Earle of Salisbury, Lord Treasurer of England*, and imprinted at London, for John Wright, was to be sold at his shop, near Christ Church. This was a tribute to the memory of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, by Richard Johnson. It was partly in prose and partly in verse, and to which a portrait of the Earl was prefixed.

## X

**Xenophane** By whom Xenophanes is called Xenophane is uncertain; probably suggested by a wrong reading in *Simplicius* on Aristotle *De Cælo*. Bacon comments on him in his *Vitæ et Mortis*. [Life & Death].

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<sup>297</sup> How the story may have arisen is explained by Spedding, in *Notes & Queries*, 2nd ser., Vol. III. p. 252





**Alphabetically:**

## **Part III. Elizabethan Facts and Historical References**

In this part it seemed interestingly in want in modern English literature the important historical facts with references that either had imminent effect on Bacon or had directly influenced historical events of the time.

This portion of work also involves the Authorship Controversy that originated during the 1800's. The entrance of this controversy into this volume was inevitable; and if we approach it as Cicero says, that "if a poem is a speaking picture, a picture should be a silent poem", then we probably shall conclude Shakespeare is Bacon or Bacon is Shakespeare. Much evidence has been included in surmising this statement, and the conclusion to the fact shall be left to the Reader.

## A

**A Supposed Specimen of Shaksper's Handwriting** from Spedding's *Reviews And Discussions Literary, Political, And Historical, Not Relating To Bacon* (1879); Ch. 15: On A Question Concerning A Supposed Specimen Of Shakespeare's Handwriting.

*Notes & Queries*, September 21, 1872.

Mr. Richard Simpson's note on this subject has not received so much attention from Shakespearian scholars as I expected. If there is in the British Museum an entire dramatic scene, filling three pages of fifty lines each, composed by Shakespeare when he was about twenty-five years old, and written out with his own hand, it is a "new fact" of much more value than all the new facts put together, which have caused from time to time so much hot controversy of late years.

As a curiosity, it would command a high price; but it is better than a curiosity. To know what kind of hand Shakespeare wrote would often help to discover what words he wrote. Is it possible that we have here a sample, not only of his handwriting, but of his handwriting under the heat and impulse of composition? This is Mr. Simpson's question; and though he does not pretend to offer proof of the fact, he gives reasons for thinking it likely, which certainly deserves serious consideration.

A play on the subject of the life and death of Sir Thomas More, supposed on other grounds to have been the property of the company of players to which Shakespeare belonged, and to have been written about the year 1590, may still be read all but a scene or two in the shape in which it was originally submitted to the Master of the Revels for his license.<sup>298</sup>

Large alterations have been made in it; whole scenes have been added or rewritten. The rewritten scenes are found on separate sheets of paper, and in different handwritings; and being also very different in style, may be supposed to have been contributed by their several authors in the state in which they are. One of them shows so marked a superiority to the rest, in every quality of dramatic composition, as to suggest the question: Who was there then living that could have written it?

Now it has always been supposed that one of Shakespeare's employments, in the beginning of his theatrical career, was the revision and adaptation to the stage of other men's compositions. In this case, the Master of the Revels had taken alarm at a scene representing a popular insurrection, and ordered it to be struck out. How it had been handled in the original copy we cannot tell; for the leaf which contained it has been removed, and we only know that it ended with the submission of the insurgents, after a speech from More, concluding with a promise to intercede for their pardon.

From the closing sentence (top of page 30, Dyce's edition), it may be inferred that this speech was in prose; and if the argument was weakly handled as from the rest of the composition seems very likely the young Shakespeare may have been called in to mend and strengthen it. If

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298 Harl. MS. 7368

the substituted scene was his answer to the call, no difficulty presents itself for explanation; for, though a very good specimen of his powers as a dramatic writer, we know that it was not beyond them. But if it was not his, there must have been somebody else then living who could write as well as he; and the difficulty is to name him.<sup>299</sup> These considerations are sufficient to make out a case for inquiry, and the questions to be asked are two:

1. Does the workmanship of this scene bear internal evidence that Shakespeare was the workman?
2. Does the penmanship bear internal evidence that the penman was the author?

The data for an answer to the first of these questions are within the reach of most people who think the matter worth a little trouble. The play has been printed by the Shakespeare Society; and though the condition of the manuscript as to handwriting is imperfectly explained, every reader may judge for himself whether it contains any scene or scenes implying a different and superior author to the rest, and how far they go to prove that that author was Shakespeare. What he has to do is only to read the whole play straight through with a free attention, and then to apply himself particularly to that part which begins near the top of p. 24 (Dyce's edition), and end at the bottom of p. 29. If he finds nothing there but what might have been written by anybody, he need not trouble himself with any further inquiry.

For the second question will have no interest for him. But if he finds in it, as I do, a stronger resemblance to the acknowledged works of Shakespeare's youth than to those of any other poet with whom he is acquainted, he will naturally wish to know whether the hand that wrote the lines belonged to the mind that invented them. For this, as the case now stands, he must have recourse to the original manuscript a condition which unfortunately excludes many persons otherwise well qualified to judge. For the manuscript can only be examined at the British Museum, and the character of the handwriting can only be understood by those who are familiar with the ordinary handwriting of the period. But those who are, and who can spare time for an attentive examination, will conclude, I think, that the penman was the author: for though the corrections are very few, they will see that those which do occur are not like corrections of mistakes made in copying, but like alterations introduced in the course of composition.

They will also see that it is a hand which answers to all we know about Shakespeare's. It agrees with his signature; which is a simple one, written in the ordinary character of the time, and exactly such a one as would be expected from the writer of this scene, if his name was William Shakspeare, and he wrote it in the same way. It agrees with the tradition, that his first occupation was that of a "Noverint," a lawyer's copying clerk: for in that case he must have acquired in early youth a hand of that type, which, when he left copying and took to original composition, would naturally grow into such a hand as we have here. It agrees also with the report of his first editors,

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<sup>299</sup> It must be referred here that Spedding, though the sole honourable editor of Bacon's works, never believed that Bacon wrote the Shakespearean works

that they had “received from him scarcely a blot in his writings,” he “flowed with such facility.” And it shows more than one instance of a fault which has caused much trouble to his later editors a fault incident to that very facility the occasional omission of a word in the eagerness of composition. There are at least two places in which the metre halts, though no irregularity can have been intended; doubtless from this cause. As for its appearance and character, that is a thing which can hardly be conveyed by description; but those who are possessed of Netherclift’s *Handbook to Autographs* will find, in the autograph of Edmund Spenser, a hand a good deal like it; the letters are formed upon the same model, and there is some resemblance in the execution.

These, however, are mere opinions, not entitled to any authority. The point will never be settled unless people can see the evidence for themselves. And to bring it within reach of the generality of readers, I would suggest the publication in facsimile of the whole scene in question; together with a line or two of each of the other hands contained in the manuscript (of which I make out five), by way of specimen, that the differences may be clearly shown. For Mr. Simpson takes both the scene immediately preceding, and the subsequent scenes from p. 39 to p. 53, to be in the same hand; whereas I take them to be certainly in another, as far at least as the twentieth line of p. 51, where a change occurs; the remainder of the dialogue having evidently been added by a different and very superior penman; though whether or not by the same who penned the insurrection scene, I should not like to say positively without taking the opinion of an expert. But any question which may arise on this point may be allowed to stand over. The inquiry will be much simpler if confined to the authorship and penmanship of the insurrection scene; the handwriting of which, though of the ordinary type, is far from ordinary in character, but might be easily recognized wherever met with, and (with the help of the proposed facsimile) identified. If the question should prove interesting enough to call for a reprint of Dyce’s edition of the whole play, it should be carefully collated: for, though generally very correct, I have noticed some errors and omissions.

**Abuses of Purveyance** On June 16, 1604, the Commons determined on a representation to the King of the grievances arising from Purveyors; and Francis Bacon made a long Speech on the subject to the King in the Withdrawing Chamber at Whitehall. His representation, together with a case which was solemnly resolved by all the Judges and Barons of the Exchequer, produced a Proclamation against this and other abuses of Purveyance. (Nichol).

**Academy of Sciences** 1666 a year signalized by the establishment of the Academy of Sciences. Bacon is also represented as the father of the inductive or experimental method, by John Baptiste du Hamel, who first held the office of Secretary to that Academy. His treatise *De Mente Humana*,<sup>300</sup> published in 1672, contains several chapters of commentary upon Bacon’s philosophy. “It may truly be objected to me that my philosophy will require an age, a whole age, to commend it, and very many ages thoroughly to establish it”; (Bacon, *De Aug*) and it is safe to comment all Philosophers should follow the Judgment and laudable Moderation of

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300 Lib. I. cap. 3. 7; Lib. III. cap. 69

the Lord Bacon in Philosophy.<sup>301</sup> Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, is justly held the founder of Experimental Philosophy. He proposed his plan in his *Instauratio Magna*, with so much strength of argument, and so just a zeal, as renders that admirable work the delight of all who have a taste for solid learning.” (Maclaurin).

Bacon was the first who taught the proper method of studying the sciences: that is, he pointed out the way in which we should begin and carry on our pursuit of knowledge, in order to arrive at truth. He gave a set of rules by which mankind might deliver themselves from slavery to names, and from wandering among fanciful systems, and return once more, as little children, to the school of nature. The task he chose was far more useful to the world, and honourable to himself, than that of being, like Plato or Aristotle, the author of a new sect: he undertook to expose the errors of those who had gone before him, and to show the best way of avoiding them for the future: he had the principal share in pulling down the old building of a false philosophy, and, with the skill of a superior architect, he laid the foundation, and sketched the plan of another fabric; and gave masterly directions to those who should come after him how, upon the ruins of the first, the temple of science must be erected anew. As, in a great army, there are some whose office it is to construct bridges, to cut paths along mountains, and to remove various impediments, so Bacon may be said to have cleared the way to knowledge; to have marked out the road to truth; and to have left future travelers little else to do than follow his instructions: he was the miner and sapper of philosophy, the pioneer of nature; and he eminently promoted the dominion of man over the material world. He was the priest of nature’s mysteries; and he taught men in what manner they might discover her profoundest secrets, and interpret those laws which nature has received from the great Author of all.<sup>302</sup>

**Acting companies in Elizabethan time** Before the death of Queen Elizabeth I., were eight acting companies in London including a supplementary:

1. The Queen’s Servants: Formed in 1583. After the Queen’s death, in 1603, they ceased being called the Queen’s Players, and the actors who formed the company at this time sought other patronage, or were transferred wholly to some distinguished nobleman. There are no grounds for believing that some of the Queen’s Players found a new patron in Ludwic Stuart, Earl of Lennox, who was already patron of a company of players. Secretary of State, Sir Francis Walsingham, now has three intelligencers reporting simultaneously from Paris, nine from Antwerp, two from Middleburg and Strasburg. He orders Edmund Tilney, Master of the Revels, to select the best actors from existing troupes to form a new playing company, the Queens’ Servants.

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301 *The tablet, or Real Picture of Life*, 1762

302 Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, London 1828

2. The Earl of Leicester's Servants: The Earl of Leicester is the earliest known nobleman under whose patronage the players first placed themselves. His name is found in a document as early as 1559, and until his death, in 1588 he remained a friend of the actors.
3. The Earl of Pembroke's Servants: A company of actors, under the patronage of the Earl of Pembroke, was well known in London and the provinces during the last decade of Elizabeth's reign. Once more we have recourse to Henslowe's *Diary* in determining the place where they played, but the document is silent concerning their repertoire but the following interesting notice is given of these players: "A just account of all such money as I have received of my Lord Admiral's and my Lord of Pembroke's men as followeth, beginning October 21, 1597."
4. The Earl of Worcester's Servants: William Somerset, Earl of Worcester, was patron of an important company of actors styling themselves the Earl of Worcester's Servants. This company was formed at a very early date, namely in 1555. During this period they travelled mostly in the provinces, visiting all the chief towns in England. At one time, Edward Alleyn, the famous actor, was a member of this troupe; his name is included in a list of actors in 1583, being then in his sixteenth year, and remained with this company until 1589, when he transferred his services to the Lord Admiral's men.
5. The Lord Strange's Servants: Was one of the most successful companies in Shaksper's time and known during the latter years as the Lord Chamberlain's Servants. The early history of this company is traced back to a troupe of actors under the patronage of Lord Strange. The first years of its career are practically unknown, beyond a few records of performances in provincial towns; prior to 1589 no reference of any description is known of the company's appearance on the London stage, nor of a command performance at Court before 1591.
6. The Lord Hunsdon's Servants.
7. The Earl of Sussex's Servants: This Company had for their patrons successive Earls of Sussex. The first Earl was Thomas Radclyffe, who held the appointment of Lord Chamberlain. Consequently we find his players frequently acting at Court. Thomas Radclyffe was succeeded by his son Henry, and on his death in 1593, Robert Radclyffe became Earl of Sussex.
8. The Lord Admiral's Servants Company: Played an important part in the theatrical annals of the country, disputing inch by inch the formidable rivalry of the Lord Chamberlain's men. The celebrated Edward Alleyn, by far the most brilliant actor of the early days of theatrical enterprise in Elizabethan times, was the head of the company. His father-in-law, Philip Henslowe, financed the Admiral's men, and gradually installed himself as the managing director. Until 1597 the Admiral's men held patronage to Baron Howard who until 1603 was patron to the Nottingham's men, more often Admiral's men. From 1603–1612 the Prince's men who had their patron from Prince Henry, eldest son of James I.

9. Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford: There was a company of actors under the patronage of Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, as early as 1562 but no evidence of where they acted is in existence. Again, in 1580 the same Earl was patron of a company of boy actors, who performed chiefly in the provinces or at Court. They are described as the Earl of Oxenford, his boys. Antony Munday, the celebrated dramatist, was at one time a boy actor in this company. The Oxford men are mentioned as those who generally set up their play-bills in the city every day in the week; this notice refers to the year 1585. Meres, in his important review of the poets and dramatists of Elizabethan times, mentions the Earl of Oxford as good in comedy.

**Alchemist** In the Middle Ages no new discovery was freely published. All the secrets, real or pretended of the alchemists were concealed in obscure and enigmatic language; and to mention a well-known instance, the anagram in which Roger Bacon is supposed to have recorded his knowledge of the art of making gunpowder is so obscure, that its meaning is even now more or less doubtful. In Bacon's own time one of the most remarkable discoveries of Galileo that of the phases of Venus was similarly hidden in an anagram though the veil in this case was more easily seen through. This disposition to conceal scientific discoveries and methods is connected with the views, which in the Middle Ages were formed of the nature of science. To know that which had previously been unknown was then regarded as the result not so much of greater industry or acuteness as of some fortunate accident, or of access to some hidden source of information: it was like finding a concealed treasure, of which the value would be decreased if others were allowed to share in it.

**Alciati and Whitney** There is one identical emblem that is found in Alciati's *Emblematum Liber* number 45, and in Whitney's *Choice of Emblems* number 5, which relates directly to Francis Bacon. A short history of emblematic works regarding the above motto emblem follows.

- *Emblematum liber*, Augsburg, Heinrich Steyner, February 28, 1531 (1st edition). The emblem does not appear here.
- *Emblematum liber*, Augsburg, Heinrich Steyner, April 6, 1534 (2nd edition). The emblem does not appear here.
- *Emblematum liber*, Paris, Chrestien Wechel, 1534 (1st edition). The emblem does not appear here.
- *Livret des Emblemes*, Paris, Chrestien Wechel, 1536. The emblem does not appear here.
- *Emblemes*, Paris, Chrestien Wechel, 1539. The emblem does not appear here.
- *Les Emblemes*, (with German), Paris, Chrestien Wechel, 1542. The emblem does not appear here.
- *Emblematum libellus*, Paris, Chrestien Wechel, 1542. The emblem does not appear here.
- *Emblematum libellus*, Venice, Aldus, 1546. The emblem appears for the first time in this edition with a graphic of a boar's head on a plater.

- *Emblemes*, Lyon, Mace Bonhomme for Guillaume Rouille, 1549. The emblem does not appear here.
- *Los Emblemas*, Lyon, Mace Bonhomme for Guillaume Rouille, 1549. The emblem does not appear here.
- *Emblemata*, Lyon, Mace Bonhomme for Guillaume Rouille, 1550. The emblem appears here.
- *Emblemata*, Lyon, Mace Bonhomme for Guillaume Rouille, 1551. The emblem appears here without the Masonic Pillars.
- *Diverse Imprese*, Lyon, Mace Bonhomme for Guillaume Rouille, 1551. The emblem does not appear here.
- *Emblematum libri* (with Stockhamer commentary), Jean de Tournes, Lyon, 1556. The emblem reappears in this edition but without a graphic; only text.
- *Toutes les emblemes*, Lyon, Mace Bonhomme for Guillaume Rouille, 1558. The emblem appears with the same graphic as in the editions published 1550 and 1551.
- *Liber emblematum Kunstbuch*, Frankfurt am Main, 1566–67. The emblem reappears in this edition but without a graphic; only text.
- *Emblemata*, Paris, Jean Richer, 1584. The emblem appears for the first time with the Masonic Pillars. Two years later, in 1586, it also appears in Whitney's *Choice of Emblems*.
- *Emblemata*, Leyden, Officina Plantiniana, 1591. The emblem appears with the Masonic Pillars.
- *Declaración magistral sobre las Emblemas*, Najera, Juan de Mongaston, 1615. The emblem appears with the Masonic Pillars.
- *Les Emblemes*, Geneva/Cologny, Jean II de Tournes, 1615. The emblem disappears in this edition.
- *Emblemata*, Padua, Petro Paulo Tozzi, 1621. The emblem reappears with the Masonic Pillars.

Alciati's Emblem 45; Whitney's Emblem 5.<sup>303</sup> Comment on both these emblems by Alfred Dodd, a past Masonic brother, in his *Personal Poems of Francis Bacon*, 1931 edition:<sup>304</sup> "SOW" constantly appears in Elizabethan literature as a play on the word "Bacon." But "S.O.W." are the Initials for "Son of Wisdom" applied to Masons and Rosicrucians in that Era. The Figure in the Emblem points the "SOW" to the Two Pillars of Masonry which carries the motto "Plus Ultra" ...i.e., "More Beyond," a favourite motto of Francis Bacon. [Also see Part I: *Plus Ultra*]. The "SOW" is called "Senior Warden" because he is the special guard of the Pillars which lead to the Sanctum Sanctorum, hence the message up the Initial Capitals: "See, Senior Warden! The Sanctum Sanctorum." In the Ritual it is only the Senior Warden who is immediately outside the Door of the Sanctum. Exoterically, "S.O.W." = "Supt. of Works" in the Craft like the Figure above

303 Robert, Earl of Leicester, was the patron of Whitney's *Emblems*

304 Chapter *The Two Pillars of Masonry*, p. 265



in the emblem. The light and dark A's are seen in the centre forming a pyramid. Francis Bacon's favourite symbol for his philosophy. They represent also a square and compasses. [Also see *Square and Compasses*]. If the two A's are placed across each other instead of by the side, they would form the well know Masonic Symbol. The three Arches in the centre refer to the Royal Arch. The name of "F. Bacon" is spelled thus: "F." on the right-hand side in the frame of the building: "B" is placed on the extreme right by the bottom of "F", thus: horizontally: "A" in the centre: "C" in the third Arch: horizontally "O" is the right-hand curl at the end of the scroll across the Pillars: and "N" in the "Two Pillars" with its fancy scroll. This emblem proves that Speculative Freemasonry was in being in 1586, the year before Shaksper left Stratford for London. Whitney was a clerk at one time in the Earl of Leicester's employ and as such was known to Francis Bacon; hence the connection between the publication of the emblem book of Francis Bacon's and the clerk Whitney. This is the first reference to the Pillars of Masonry in literature. They are afterwards attached to Francis Bacon's works and were known as "Lord Bacon's Pillars."

Dodd ends his reference of the emblem there. In regards to his statement that "This is the first reference to the Pillars of Masonry in literature" it has always been thought that the Masonic Pillars emblem was first given referenced to in literature in 1586, however, it was given reference much earlier, as seen elsewhere, in Alciati's edition of 1584, before Whitney placed it in his work which was a work of closer agreement than any preceding work in English; an Emblem-book's form and subjects, of the whole title: "Choice of Emblemes and Other Devices, for the most part gathered out of sundry writers, Englished and Moralized, and divers newly devised." It was printed at Leyden in 1586, 4to. Whitney was a native of Cheshire, and his work bears evidence to his learning. To each of his two hundred and forty-eight Emblems, except one at p. 61, there is a woodcut as well as a motto, and one or more stanzas. The work is confessedly a compilation, and above two hundred and twenty of the mottoes and devices have been traced to their original sources; indeed two hundred and two are identical with those of the five emblematisers, Andrew Alciati (1492-1550); Claude Paradin (1510-1590); John Sambucus (1531-1583); Hadrian Junius (1511-1575) and Gabriel Faerno, who died in 1561 in the prime of life and twenty-three others are gathered out of sundry other writers.

**An Idiosyncrasy** Bacon had a habit, which he derived from his mother, of writing on special occasions in one language with the alphabet of another. This he did whenever he wished to conceal something he had in mind from people generally or from those not in the secret. The languages selected for this purpose were Greek and English. Bacon could have derived this habit from John Dee whose diary is stacked with such idiosyncrasies. A notable instance is found among Bacon's private papers preserved in the library of the Lambeth palace in London, in which he seems to hint that there was a reason, although under the circumstances he could not make it known, why he offered no defense against the charges of bribery brought against him before the House of Lords. We have the explanation, however, from his servant Bushel, who says that his master made no defense because the King, fearing its effect upon himself and his

favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, privately forbade it. Converting the Greek letters into the corresponding English ones, we have the transcription, is what Bacon: "Of my offence, far be it from me to say, *dat veniam corvis; vexat censura Columbas*: but I will say that I have good warrant for they were not the greatest offenders in Israel upon whom the wall fell."

**Animosity toward the French** "On Tuesday January 2, 1620 the Duke of Lennox nobly entertained the Ambassador of France at Hampton Court with hawking and hunting. The French Noblemen of the best quality were conducted by the Duke of Lenox, and the rest by myself, [Finetti Philoxenis] to the Court of Requests, where the greater number of them taking their places promiscuously at the table, and the Duke leaving them (perhaps somewhat abruptly) before he had seen five or six of the principal set down at the upper end, these begun whisperingly to murmur amongst themselves, as those that might seem neglected to be left so alone, without some persons of like quality to accompany them, and to invite them to their sitting; which I perceiving, began to persuade them to what they came for, and had prevailed with the Marquis de Money, and one or two more of them, till my Lord Chancellor Bacon, the Lord Treasurer Montagu, and the Lord Privy Seal, Earle of Worcester, entering the room, and passing by them to sit down (as they did) altogether at the right-hand of the table, without giving other countenance of respect then putting off their hats, or once inviting the French to sit down with them, they took their cloaks, and, with shews of much discontent, departed the room to their coaches; whither I and two other Scottish Gentlemen followed them fast with our best persuasions for return; but not being able to prevail, we left them."

**Argenis** Was first published in Paris in 1621 under the name of John Barclay, an author of some repute, who appears as one of the Councillors in the work *Great Assizes* at the head of which was shown to be Francis Bacon. In 1629 *Argenis* was published in an English translation by Sir Robert Le Grys, Knight. This work has been ably treated by Mr. Cunningham to whose work we direct attention.<sup>305</sup> We shall here consider an earlier version which purports to have been translated from a Latin version of 1622 by Kingsmill-Long. Ben Jonson, two years before, it is said, by request of King James, had entered for publication a translation of the *Argenis*. We have evidence that Jonson had a good deal to do with the First Folio, and was helping Bacon with other work which may have delayed the publishing of his translation of the *Argenis*. What finally became of it we are not informed; hence, writers upon the subject have supposed that it was destroyed. It may be argued that the edition of 1625 under the name of Kingsmill Long, was this translation. It may have been more than unwise for an unknown author, when a work was ready for the press by a man whose reputation as a Latin scholar was so well known as Jonson's, to translate and publish the same work in competition with him. Then there are reasons why the translation of Jonson "stayed at the press." James, who was an over-timid man, after acquainting himself more fully with its character, may have reconsidered his approval of a work containing

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305 Granville C. Cunningham. *Bacon's Secret Disclosed*, etc. London, 1911

not only a dangerous state secret, but sentiments at variance with his own. Jonson himself, too, who was then at the height of his fame, may well have hesitated to publish it, loyal as he was to Bacon who undoubtedly had a hand in the matter, for not only was he personally interested in it as a leading actor, but must have known Barclay, who had lived in London for ten years, being one of that little coterie of writers in which Bacon was so prominent. Did Jonson's work have a key to its contents, one may ask? It would seem probable; as such a key would have greatly helped the sale of the book, and at this time we may well suppose would have been agreeable to Bacon, and quite disagreeable to James and Steenie. There was a call, however, for the *Argenis*, and in 1625 it was published in folio under the name of Kingsmill Long, without a key, which rendered it innocuous.

**Aristotelian philosophy** It seemed that toward the end of the sixteenth century men neither knew nor aspired to know more than was to be learned from Aristotle, a strange thing at any time, more strange than ever just then, when the heavens themselves seemed to be taking up the argument on their own behalf, and by suddenly lighting up within the very region of the unchangeable and incorruptible, and presently extinguishing, a new fixed star as bright as Jupiter, the new star in Cassiopeia shone with full lustre on Bacon's freshmanship, to be protesting by signs and wonders against the cardinal doctrine of the Aristotelian philosophy. [Also see Part II: *Ramus Petrus*.]

"If our study of nature be thus barren, our method of study must be wrong: might not a better method be found?" This thought first occurred to Bacon during his residence at Cambridge, therefore before he had completed his fifteenth year and given down to us by his own statement to Dr. Rawley in the *Resuscitatio*. "But I, that should know best, do freely acknowledge that I had my light from him, [Aristotle,] for where he gave me not matter to perfect, at the least he gave me occasion to invent." (Bacon, *Col. Good & Evil*). Thus Dr. Rawley<sup>306</sup> tells us: "Whilst he was commorant at the University (as his Lordship hath been pleased to impart unto myself) he first fell into the dislike of the philosophy of Aristotle, not for the worthlessness of the author, to whom he would ever ascribe all high attributes, but of the unfruitfulness of the way, being a philosophy, as his Lordship used to say, only strong for disputations and contentions, but barren of works for the benefit of the life of man, in which mind he continued till his dying day." [Also see Chapter entitled *The Life of the Right Honourable Francis Bacon*.]

When one of Bacon's friends asked him, whether he thought the churchmen likely to oppose his intended reformation of philosophy, his answer was; "I have no occasion to meet them in my way, except it be as they will needs confederate with Aristotle, who, you know, is intemperately magnified by the school-divines."<sup>307</sup> Bernardinus Telesius wrote his *De Rerum Natura* (1565) and a volume of philosophical tracts; when he died in 1588, his works were placed on the Index Of Forbidden Books because he opposed the doctrines of Aristotle. Such at least is the story.

<sup>306</sup> *Life of Lord Bacon*, 1657 and prefixed to the *Resuscitatio*

<sup>307</sup> See Bacon's letters to Sir Toby Matthew in Spedding. *Works*, Vol. III. pp. 247, 257

**Arte of Rhetoricke** From time to time, there have been critics who suggested that traces of the reading of the *Arte of Rhetoricke* might be found in Shakespeare's works. Certain evidence of Shakespeare's reading of Wilson is to be found and it lies, as might be expected, in *Love's Labour's Lost*. There can be no doubt from this play that Shakespeare had read some Rhetoric and that he found it tedious and dull and fit matter only for ridicule and laughter. It is quite possible that other evidence of Shakespeare's works were with acquaintance with Wilson's work that might yet be found; certain knowledge of it can be proved beyond doubt. [See also Part II: *Ascham Roger*; Part III: *Schoolmaster*.]

The reference to *Timon* on p. 55 has been thought to have suggested *Timon of Athens*. It is possible that the panegyric of order on p. 157 may have suggested the speech of Ulysses in *Troilus and Cressida*, Act. I. Sc. 3. There is little similarity between the two, save in idea, but the passage in Shakespeare looks as though it were based on a particular reminiscence of his reading. Professor Raleigh has pointed out in his *Shakespeare, E.M.L.*, the similarity of some of Wilson's speeches to those of Falstaff.<sup>308</sup>

In *Shakespeare's Birthplace Catalogue* (1910) there is reference to Thomas Wilson and his work *The Arte of Rhetoricke*, first published in 1553 and beautifully printed in black letter by Richard Grafton, the King's printer. The Shakespeare Trustees, specifically state that they have "little doubt that the volume was in use in Stratford-upon-Avon Grammar School in Shaksper's youth." Further, they say "Shakespeare seems to have drawn many ideas and phrases from Wilson's pages" and offer a quotation from *Othello* with similarity to a section from the *Rhetoricke*. With the accession of Elizabeth I., security and prosperity had Wilson prepare a new edition of his successful textbook. Much was altered and much added; he prefaced it by a new prologue of much personal interest.

Towards the end of the year, the corrected and completed book was issued from the press. It was reprinted in 1562, 1563, and 1567, and indeed, frequently down to about the year of the Great Armada, when apparently, whether owing to the advent of newer textbooks or to the changing taste of a more fastidious and sophisticated period we cannot know, it fell out of demand and public esteem and gradually ceased to be reprinted.

*The Arte of Rhetoricke* then, was in its day a work of great popularity; it passed through numerous editions and was eagerly read by two generations of seekers after eloquence and literary skill, and then slipped gently back into the night, gathering the dust of unused bookshelves. Thomas Wilson, the author (dignified by many as Sir Thomas Wilson, though he was never Knighted) was born about the year 1525. He was a Lincolnshire man, the son of another Thomas Wilson of Strubby in that county and Anne Cumberworth his wife. He himself disclaims any pride in his native shire, and when Lincoln folk are mentioned in his books it is generally for their stupidity. He had all the Elizabethan's impatience of rusticity and dullness, all the contempt which London and the Court felt for the country. "It is better," he says, "to be borne in London

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308 George Herbert Mair. *Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique 1560*, 1908

than in Lincoln. For that the air is better, the people more civil, and the wealth much greater and the men for the most part more wise.” Yet he owed much to the neighbours of his early home. One of them, William Cecil, Lord Burghley, did much to promote Wilson to the honourable state employment of his later years. There are others who deserve no less mention: Katherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk, with whom his friendship was firm and lifelong and about whom we shall hear presently; and Sir Edward Dymock, who helped him both at the University and later, and at whose house *The Arte of Rhetoricke* was written during a holiday visit.

Thomas Wilson was educated first at Eton in 1541 he became a scholar of King’s College, Cambridge. The time and the circumstances were fortunate. During his residence there, Sir John Cheke was chosen provost, and Wilson was thus thrown into contact with what was at once the most progressive and the most national side of English Humanism. Through Cheke and Sir Thomas Smith (himself a member of King’s and afterwards his predecessor in the Secretaryship of State) he gained the friendship of Roger Ascham through them, too, he became intimate with Walter Haddon, another member of the coterie and the most distinguished Latinist of his time. With him, Wilson collaborated in his earliest book. Before he left Cambridge, he had become one of a school of men who, by their scholarship and the individuality of their opinions, did much to mould the course of the Renaissance in England on its pedagogic side, and who had no inconsiderable influence on the development of English prose. From them he learned the lesson of simplicity and his horror of exaggerated Latinism. He fought side by side with them in the crusade against inkhorn terms, and he bore the brunt of the battle.

The trial for treason of the Duke of Norfolk in 1571<sup>309</sup> and the detention and examination of the prisoners (under torture) absorbed his attention as a Tower official and he dates his letters “from prison in the Bloody tower”. In the following year, 1572, he was sent along with Sir Ralph Sadler to expostulate by way of accusation with Mary, Queen of Scots. Two years later he was Ambassador to the Netherlands and in 1576 conducted the negotiations for the projected marriage of Elizabeth with Anjou. On November 12, 1579 he was sworn Secretary of State in place of Sir Thomas Smith. His career presents him as a man closely in touch with the three greatest forces in the England of his time: the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the revival of the State under the Tudors. The last he served faithfully in many quarters. It is no mere accident that Wilson’s long translation of Erasmus’s epistle to persuade a young gentleman to marriage reminds one of the first part of Shakespeare’s *Sonnets*. The same literary impulse dictated both. The order of his two treatises and the greater popularity of *The Arte of Rhetoricke* represent a fact in the development of literature and thought. Another work worth mentioning would be that of Roger Ascham, *The Schoolmaster* that was printed in London, 1571. On this particular work and its Author, see Part II: *Ascham Roger*; Part III: *Schoolmaster*.

**Attorney General** Bacon was appointed Attorney General, October 17, 1613.

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309 *State Trials*, Vol. I. pp. 957–1017. Trial of the Duke of Norfolk. Wilson gave evidence at the trial

**Authorship controversy** Mr. Gardiner <sup>310</sup> is probably nearer the truth in saying, "If James had been other than he was, the name of Bacon would have come down to us as great in politics as it is in science." James being what he was, nothing could be done. The controversy as to the identity of the author of the Shakespeare plays and poems has involved three kinds of evidence to date: historical, stylistic, and cryptographic. In the already extensive literature to which the controversy has given rise this evidence must be carefully sifted from a mass of conjecture which is sometimes plausible and sometimes not. <sup>311</sup>

The attempts that have been made to discover cryptographic evidence that Francis Bacon was the author of the Shakespeare plays and poems have been based on a variety of cryptographic methods. Among these methods are the arithmetical cipher, as employed by Ignatius Donnelly in *The Great Cryptogram* and *The Cipher in the Plays and on the Tombstone*; the Bi-literal cipher, as employed by Elizabeth Wells Gallup in *Francis Bacon's Bi-Literal Cypher*; the word cipher, as employed by Orville W. Owen in *Sir Francis Bacon's Cipher Story Discovered and Deciphered*; the progressive anagram, as employed by an anonymous Shakespearean in *Shakespeare Anagrams*; and a variation of this method which is employed by William Stone Booth in *Some Acrostic Signatures of Francis Bacon* and in *The Hidden Signatures of Francesco Colonna and Francis Bacon*, and which Mr. Booth sometimes, as in his first title, designates inaccurately as an acrostic method, and sometimes as the method of the string cipher. None of the methods to which above referred has been proved to have been employed by Francis Bacon in the works of Shakespeare.

In the case of the authorship of the Shakespearian plays in general view, there are circumstances of difficulty which are common to both the candidates [Shakespeare and Bacon] for this supreme distinction the contemporaries of the great dramatist were loud in their admiration of his work, but they say nothing of the man. They talk of the honey-tongued Shakespeare, but they do not tell us who the honey-tongued Shakespeare was. Whoever was entitled to that glorious name he never claimed it. As to the player, the great nobles who are said to have been his patrons are wholly silent. As Essex makes no mention of his name; Bacon makes no mention of his name; Southampton never alludes to him; Pembroke was not acquainted with him. <sup>312</sup>

## B

**Bacon and the Rose Cross** <sup>313</sup> Much has been said of Bacon's connection with that influential Society which flourished in England in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, known as Rosicrucian, whose very existence was so carefully concealed that few outside of its fellowship knew of its

<sup>310</sup> *History of England from the Accession of James I. &c.*, Vol. I. p. 181

<sup>311</sup> For a general introduction to the literature that deals with the historical evidence that the poet was not the actor William Shaksper the reader may refer to: Greenwood. *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*; Begley. *Is It Shakespeare?* and *Bacon's Nova Resuscitatio*; Theobald. *Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light*; W. S. Booth. *The Droeshout Portrait of William Shakespeare*; and last but not least, Baxter. *The Greatest of Literary Problems*

<sup>312</sup> Judge Webb. *The Mystery of William Shakespeare*

<sup>313</sup> Partially extracted from James Phinney Baxter's work (1831–1921)

existence. At what date in the world's history it originated we will hardly venture to inquire; it is sufficient to our purpose that the public announcement of its existence occurred in 1614, when was published in Cassel the *Allegemeine and General-Reformation der ganzen weiten Welt*. This work declares that it was first formed by four persons only, and by them was made the magical language and writing, with a large dictionary, which is daily used with God's praise and glory. Many writers have sought to discover a close connection between the Rosicrucians and the Freemasons, and some, indeed, have advanced the theory that the latter are only the successes of the former. Whether this opinion be correct or not, there are sufficient coincidences of character between the two to render the history of Rosicrucianism highly interesting to the Masonic student.<sup>314</sup>

In England, there still exists a society of Rosicrucians, which was founded upon the remains of the old German association. We are told that, modern times have eagerly accepted, in the full light of science, the precious inheritance of knowledge bequeathed by the Rosicrucians. It is not desirable, in a work of this kind, to make disclosures of an indiscreet nature. The Brethren of the Rosy Cross will never and should not, at peril and under alarm, give up their secrets. This ancient body has apparently disappeared from the field of human activity, but its labours are being carried on with alacrity, and with a sure delight in an ultimate success.<sup>315</sup>

Among the members of the ancient Society appear these initials, Fra. F.B.; M.P.A.; which, plainly stated, stand for Francis Bacon, Magister, Pictor, Architectus. Waite, perhaps the best historian of the Rosicrucian Order, introduces it to us in these words: "Beneath the broad tide of human history there flow the stealthy undercurrents of the secret societies which frequently determine in the depths the changes that take place upon the surface. The facts and documents concerning the Fraternity of the Rose Cross are absolutely unknown to English readers. Even well informed people will learn with astonishment the extent and variety of the Rosicrucian literature, which hitherto has lain buried in rare pamphlets, written in the old German tongue, and in Latin commentaries of the later alchemists."

**Bacon as a Rosicrucian** Of the fact that Bacon was a Rosicrucian, Spedding, in his preface to *The New Atlantis* shows himself to have been entirely oblivious. Had he known this, John Heydon's *Voyage to the Land of the Rosicrucians* would have opened to him a line of thought which would have greatly enlightened him, for Heydon's *Voyage*, largely word for word the same, would have enabled him to understand many passages in his author's works ever which he puzzled, sometimes in vain. *The New Atlantis* was published in 1627, after Bacon's death, by Dr. Rawley, his executor, in connection with the *Sylva Sylvarum*, as Bacon designed, says Spedding, and Solomon's House, or The Temple of Wisdom, as Heydon has it, is nothing more than a vision of the practical results which he anticipated from the study of natural history diligently and systematically carried on through successive generations, and that of it has told us all that he was yet qualified to tell.

314 Albert G. Mackey. *An Encyclopedia of Freemasonry*, Vol. II. p.639, 1912

315 *Beyond Masonic Cyclopædia* London, 1877

Talbot, Heydon's biographer, gives the date of his birth as 1630, four years after Bacon's death. He represents him as a great traveller, and a man of high character. How it came for him to use almost the same description of his penetration into the riddle of Rosicrucianism that Bacon used in his fable which Dr. Rawley says he devised to the end that he might exhibit therein a model or description of a college instituted for the interpreting of nature, and the production of great and marvellous works for the benefit of men, under the name of Solomon's House, or the College of the Six Days' Works? A fair answer seems to be that Bacon used a sketch for his *Atlantis* familiar to the Hermetic Brotherhood, which was limned by him as its head, to exhibit what might be accomplished by wise means for the regeneration of society, making some minor changes to adapt it to a new purpose, and that Heydon, who was a Rosicrucian, unaware of the existence of Bacon's *Atlantis*, preserved for the world the original or an accurate copy of it. It is, however, as reasonable to suppose that Heydon becoming acquainted with the *Atlantis*, in his admiration of a work in which he discerned the embodiment of the Rosicrucian spirit, adopted it as an exposition of the beauty and strength of the Holy House.

In commenting upon Bacon's *Atlantis*, Spedding justly says: "Perhaps there is no single work of his which has so much of himself in it. The description of Solomon's House is the description of the vision in which he lived, the vision not of an ideal world released from the natural conditions to which ours is subject, but of our own as it might be made if we did our duty by it, of a state of things which he believed would one day be actually seen upon this earth, such as it is, by men such as we are, and the coming of which he believed that his own labours were sensibly hastening." The following statement comes directly from the Rosicrucian Order:<sup>316</sup> "According to claims in the Rosicrucian archives, a particular movement began in the Initiatory Schools of the fourteenth century and the Rosicrucian technique is derived from this, as related in the *Fama Fraternitatis*, the *Confessio Rosae Crucis*, and other publications and manifestos of our Order. There are many references to the Rosicrucian or Rosicrucian Order and its establishment in many of the countries of Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and many celebrated and great benefactors of humanity have belonged to the Rosicrucian Order." On their Web site they have a portrait of Francis Bacon with this comment: "Count of Saint Alban, Baron of Verulam, and Imperator of the Rosicrucian Order in England (1561–1626). The original engraving of this portrait is retained at the Sovereign Headquarters of the Rosicrucian Order. When it is superimposed over a portrait of William Shakespeare, surprising coincidental similarities are observed, encouraging speculation on the validity of the theory that he was the true author of the works of Shakespeare. A famous Rosicrucian, he is considered by many to be the secret author of the works of William Shakespeare, and many indicators suggest this possibility. It is an idea worth considering, since the works attributed to Shakespeare contain cryptograms that suggest Bacon was the author."

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316 {[www.rosicrucian-order.com](http://www.rosicrucian-order.com)}



According to Waite,<sup>317</sup> Rosicrucian controversy centres in a publication, *The Chymical Marriage of Christian Rosencreutz*, which Buhle describes as “a comic romance of extraordinary talent.” It was first published at Strasbourg in the year 1616, but it is supposed to have existed in manuscript as early as 1601–02, thus antedating by a long period the other Rosicrucian books. Two editions of the German original are preserved in the Library of the British Museum, both bearing the date 1616.<sup>318</sup> It was translated into English for the first time in 1690, under the title of *The Hermetic Romance* or *The Chymical Wedding*, written in High Dutch by Christian Rosencreutz, and translated by E. Foxcroft, late Fellow of King’s College in Cambridge. It was licensed and entered according to Order; printed by A. Sowle, at the Crooked Billet in Holloway-Lane, Shoreditch; and sold at the Three-Keys in Nags-Head-Court, Grace Church Street. “In the centuries that have gone by, since the Rosicrucian Order was first formed, they have worked quietly and secretly aiming to mould the thought of Western Europe through the works of Paracelsus, Boehme, Bacon, Shakespeare, Fludd and others. Each night at midnight when the physical activities of the day are at their lowest ebb, and the spiritual impulse at its highest flood tide, they have sent out from their temple soul-stirring vibrations to counteract materialism and to further the development of soul powers. To their activities, we owe the gradual spiritualization of our once so materialistic science.” (Heindel).<sup>319</sup>

**Bacon’s bi-literal cipher** Connected with one which had been given by Porta, which also depends on the principle of which the old Electric Telegraph was a familiar illustration, that any number of things may be denoted by combinations of two signs, as in the binary scale of numeration.<sup>320</sup> Its use remained an undisclosed secret until 1895, when it was discovered and made public by Mrs. Elizabeth Wells Gallup. By a stroke of genius, Mrs. Gallup evolved from the Standard Alphabets and Key-Examples, a system of design and rules on which to assemble Bi-formed Alphabets for use in deciphering. A Bi-formed Alphabet is required for each new work and for each font of Italics. The Italic type used are cut from Bi-formed Alphabets designed by the cipherer. The type which were used in printing the Italics in *Novum Organum* 1620, *Henry VII.*, 1622, *De Augmentis* 1623, and Shakespeare’s works were cut after designs made by Bacon. The standard of design is embodied in the Bi-formed Alphabet, given in *De Augmentis Scientiarum*.<sup>321</sup> Here is a table of Works that Mrs. Gallup found to be ciphered in Bi-literal Cipher:<sup>322</sup>

- Shepherd’s Calendar, 1579 Anonymous.
- The Arraignment of Paris, 1584 George Peele.

317 Arthur Edward Waite. *The Real History of the Rosicrucians*, 1887

318 *Chymische Hochzeit: Christian Rosencreutz. Anno 1459. Erstlick Gedruckt zu Strasbourg. Anno M.DC.XVI.*

The second edition was printed by Conrad Echer

319 Max Heindel. *The Rosicrucian Mysteries*, 1912

320 Bacon. *De Augmentis*, Bk. VI

321 Ignatius Donnelly. *The Cipher in the Plays, and on the Tombstone*, 1900

322 Charles Loughridge. *Key to the Bi-literal Cipher*, 1900

- The Mirrour of Modestie, 1584 Robert Greene.
- Planetomachia, 1585 Robert Greene.
- A Treatise on Melancholy, 1586 T. Bright.
- Euphues Morando, 1587 Robert Greene.
- Spanish Masquerade, 1589 Robert Greene.
- Complaints 1691, Edmund Spenser.
- Colin Clout 1595, Edmund Spenser.
- Faerie Queene 1596, Edmund Spenser.
- Faerie Queene (second part) Edmund Spenser.
- Richard II., 1598 Anonymous.
- David & Bethsabe, 1599 George Peele.
- Knight of the Golden Shield, 1599 George Peele.
- Midsummer Night's Dream, 1600 Wm. Shakespeare.
- Midsummer Night's Dream (Fisher Edition) Wm. Shakespeare.
- Much Ado About Nothing, 1600 Wm. Shakespeare.
- Sir John Oldcastle, 1600 Wm. Shakespeare.
- Richard, Duke of York, 1600 Wm. Shakespeare.
- Treasons of Essex, 1601 Francis Bacon.
- London Prodigal, 1605 Wm. Shakespeare.
- Advancement of Learning, 1605 Francis Bacon.
- King Lear, 1608 Wm. Shakespeare.
- Henry V., 1608 Wm. Shakespeare.
- Pericles, 1609 Wm. Shakespeare.
- Hamlet, 1611 Wm. Shakespeare.
- Titus Andronicus, 1611 Wm. Shakespeare.
- Shepheard's Calendar, 1611 Edmund Spenser.
- Faerie Queene, 1613 Edmund Spenser.
- Richard II., 1615 Wm. Shakespeare.
- Plays in Folio, 1616 Ben Jonson.
- Merry Wives of Windsor, 1619 Wm. Shakespeare.
- Contention of York, 1619 Wm. Shakespeare.
- Pericles, 1619 Wm. Shakespeare.
- Yorkshire Tragedy, 1619 Wm. Shakespeare.
- Romeo and Juliet, No date Wm. Shakespeare.
- A Quit for an Upstart, 1620 Robert Greene.
- Novum Organum, 1620 Francis Bacon.
- The Parasceve, 1620 Francis Bacon.
- Henry VII., 1622 Francis Bacon.
- Edward II., 1622 Christopher Marlowe.

- *Historia Vitae et Mortes*, 1623 Francis Bacon.
- *Historia Ventorum*, 1622 Francis Bacon.
- *Folio of Shakespeare*, 1623 Wm. Shakespeare.
- *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, 1623 Francis Bacon.
- *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, 1624 Francis Bacon.
- *Apophthegmes*, 1625 Francis Bacon.
- *Essays*, 1625 Francis Bacon.
- *Sylva Sylvarum*, 1627 Francis Bacon.
- *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1628 Robert Burton.
- *The Miscellany*, 1629 Wm. Rawley.
- *Folio of Shakespeare*, 1632 Wm. Shakespeare.
- *New Atlantis*, 1635 Francis Bacon.
- *Sylva Sylvarum*, 1635 Francis Bacon.
- *Felicity of Queen Elizabeth*, 1657 Wm. Rawley.
- *Resuscitatio*, 1657 Wm. Rawley.
- *Resuscitatio*, 1671 Wm. Dugdale.

**Bacon's biography** A short memoir exists drawn up by Dr. Rawley in 1657 and prefixed to the *Resuscitatio* and is still (next to Bacon's own writing) the most important and authentic evidence concerning him that we possess. Dr. Rawley then published a Latin translation of it in 1658 as an introduction to a little volume entitled *Opuscula Philosophica*, and now commonly prefixed to the *De Augmentis Scientiarum*. This memoir was also published and printed by Blackbourne, with interpolations from Dugdale and Tenison, and placed in front of his edition of 1730, but is not to be found in any more modern editions except on the Internet. [See Chapter entitled *The Life of the Right Honourable Francis Bacon* for the complete text; Part IV: *Bacon's Works*.]

**Bacon's character** He qualified to work his way up through a Court; why he was ill qualified it would be hopeless to explain, when his writings are so little read and his character so totally misunderstood; and it will be needless to explain hereafter, if his life should ever come to be studied. Such persons as are of nature bashful, whereby they want that plausible familiarity which others have, are often mistaken for proud. (Spedding).<sup>323</sup> Numerous passages could be cited from Bacon's acknowledged writings to show that he was solicitous, in advance of his age, for the welfare of the people. (Harman).<sup>324</sup>

**Bacon's College of the Six Days** [Also see Part IV: *Bacon's Works*.]

- Great Instauration Part I. Partitions of Sciences. Survey and Extension of the Sciences; or, the Advancement of Learning gives the substance, or general description of the

<sup>323</sup> Spedding. *Evenings with a Reviewer*, 1881

<sup>324</sup> Harman. *Edmund Spencer and the Impersonations of Francis Bacon*, 1914

knowledge which mankind at present possess: choosing to swell a little upon things already received, that we may the easier perfect the old, and lead on to new; being equally inclined to cultivate the discoveries of antiquity, as to strike out fresh paths of science.

- Great Instauration Part II. *Novum Organum Scientiarum*. *Novum Organum*; or Precepts for the Interpretation of Nature embraces the doctrine of a more perfect use of reason, and the true helps of the intellectual faculties, so as to raise and enlarge the powers of the mind; and, as far as the condition of humanity allows, to fit it to conquer the difficulties and obscurities of nature.
- Great Instauration Part III. *Phænomena of the Universe*; or, Natural and Experimental History, on which to found Philosophy; not only to pave and show the way, but also to tread in it ourselves, we shall next exhibit the phenomena of the universe; that is, such experience of all kinds, and such a natural history, as may afford a foundation to philosophy.
- Great Instauration Part IV. *Scala Intellectûs*. Ladder of the Understanding. We shall be prepared to enter upon philosophy itself; to propose examples of inquiry and investigation, according to our own method, in certain subjects of the noblest kind, but greatly differing from each other, that a specimen may be had of every sort, and represent, as it were, to the eye, the whole progress of the mind, and the continued structure and order of invention, in the most chosen subjects, after the same manner as globes and machines facilitate the more abstruse and subtile demonstrations in mathematics.
- Great Instauration Part V. *Prodromi sive Anticipationes Philosophiæ*. Precursors, or Anticipators, of the Second Philosophy. This part, therefore, will consist of such things as we have invented, experienced, or added by the same common use of the understanding that others employ *Secundæ*.
- Great Instauration Part VI. *Philosophia Secunda sive Scientia Activa*. Second Philosophy; or, Active Science to lay down that philosophy which shall flow from the just, pure, and strict inquiry hitherto proposed.

**Bacon's emblems** "Embleme" Bacon tells us, "deduceth conceptions intellectual to images sensible, and that which is sensible more forcibly strikes the memory, and is more easily imprinted than that which is intellectual."<sup>325</sup> Novelties respecting Shakespeare's genius may naturally expect to be looked upon with suspicion, and fresh notes upon his writings are a trouble to us, we can scarcely endure them; yet, though seldom alluded to and never systematically carried out, his knowledge of emblem art, as applied in books, is a truth not to be questioned by any who have examined the evidence. His peculiar aptitude for the appreciation of art of every kind, even of the highest, is proved by his exquisite judgment of the supposed statue of Hermione, of the adornment of Imogen's chamber, of the pictures introduced into the *Taming of the Shrew*, and of the wonderful charms of melody and song when Lorenzo discourses to Jessica; and no

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<sup>325</sup> Bacon. *Adv.*, Bk. V. Ch. 5

man could have written the casket scene in the *Merchant of Venice*, nor the triumph scene as it is named in *Pericles*, who had not read and studied the emblem literature of the sixteenth century. To accomplish this, two sources were open to him, for both of in the opinion of Douce, Drake and Capel Lofft, he possessed competent scholarship: the one was, to read for himself the emblem books of France, Italy and Belgium; the other, to make use of the English Whitney, a work representative of the chief emblematisers of those countries, and published at the very time when Shakespeare commenced his wonderful quill to manuscript. There were also open to him a translation into English by Daniell of the *Worthy Tract of Paulus Iovius*, printed in 1585, and by one P.S. of Paradin's *Heroicall Devises*, printed in 1591.

We must not however forget another English source which was open; "the worthy Tract of Paulus Jovius Contayning a Discourse of Rare Inventions both Militarie and Amorous called Imprest, Whereunto is added a Preface contayning the Arte of composing them with many other notable devises. By Samuel Daniell late Student in Oxenford. At London Printed for Simon Waterson 1585." In octavo, unpagged, 72 leaves in all including the title. This rare work, of which Mr. Stirling of Keir possessed a copy, and which is also in the British Museum, is without prints or cuts of any kind, except two or three initial letters of no great merit. It is therefore not so likely to have attracted the notice of Shakespeare as Paradin, Symeoni or Whitney. It is evident from Shakespeare's graphic lines that he was describing from some picture or device actually before him.<sup>326</sup> "This is a parlous world," says an old thinker, "because of its errors," and, unhappily, its errors outnumber its truths." Were it not for this, the above title would never have been penned, and the world would have been saved from much distracting controversy; yet an eminent philosopher tells us that there is a law of compensation universal in its action and so even in controversy may we not expect it to serve a beneficent end, since many a precious truth has been picked out of the sludge of dissent. No thoughtful mind can fail to appreciate the inestimable importance of the Shakespearean works to mankind; no heart, which is attuned to the love of genius but desires to become acquainted with the immortal genius who was their author. Yet, strange as it may seem, the paternity of this *Greatest Birth of Time* is in question, and the world is about equally divided upon it; many holding to the earlier faith that it belongs to the Stratford actor, and others to the later, that it should be ascribed to Francis Bacon. This is a question, which demands careful scrutiny, a mind open to conviction, and, to reach a satisfactory conclusion, an intimate acquaintance with the two men, and with their works. [Also see *Authorship controversy*.]

The facts now presented tend to prove that: from their first appearance in 1282, until the latter half of the eighteenth century, the curious designs inserted into paper in the form of watermarks constitute a coherent and unbroken chain of emblems; that these emblems are Thought-fossils or Thought-crystals, in which lie enshrined the aspirations and traditions of the numerous mystic and puritanic sects by which Europe was overrun in the Middle Ages; hence that these papermarks are historical documents of high importance, throwing light not only on the evolution of European

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326 Green. *Whitney's Choice of Emblemes*, 1866

thought, but upon many obscure problems of the past; watermarks denote that papermaking was an art introduced into Europe, and fostered there by the pre-Reformation Protestant sects known in France as the Albigenses and Waldenses, and in Italy as the Cathari or Patarini; that these heresies, though nominally stamped out by the Papacy, existed secretly for many centuries subsequent to their disappearance from the sight of History; the embellishments used by printers in the Middle Ages are emblems similar to those used by papermakers, and explicable by a similar code of interpretation; the awakening known as the Renaissance was the direct result of an influence deliberately and traditionally exercised by papermakers, printers, cobblers, and other artisans; the nursing mother of the Renaissance and consequently of the Reformation was not, as hitherto assumed, Italy, but the Provencal district of France.

**Bacon's enemies** In a letter from Sir Thomas Bodley,<sup>327</sup> is a remark to Francis Bacon, about his *Cogitata et Visa*, wherein he declares his opinion freely. Bodley had evidently a great affection for the old learning, but is somewhat scandalised by Bacon's revolutionary sentiments, and thinks that if we "*come babes ad regnum naturae*, as we are willed by Scriptures to *come ad regnum coelorum*, there is nothing more certain than that it would instantly bring us to Barbarism, and after many thousand years leave us more unprovided of theoricall furniture than we are at this present." The letter is interesting, but it betrays bewilderment and an incapacity to understand Bacon's dissatisfaction with the existing state of things or a reform in the sciences such as he projected. And in the eighteenth century, it has been disinterred from oblivion by De Maistre and other antagonists of Bacon. Far more pertinent is the unfavourable opinion of Bacon's philosophy expressed by Harvey, as given in Aubrey:<sup>328</sup> "He [Harvey] had been physician to the Lord Chancellor Bacon, whom he esteemed much for his wit and style, but would not allow him to be a great philosopher. Said he to me, "He writes philosophy like a Lord Chancellor," speaking in derision." Harvey, however, seems to have had a peculiar dislike of the "neoteriques," to whom, we are told he once in conversation with Aubrey applied a very unsavoury epithet. Nor perhaps did he like Bacon personally: "Dr. Harvey told me his eye was like the eye of a viper." And from Shaw, "To know the Natural World and remain ignorant of the Moral, is a Disgrace to human Nature. That this Method is practicable appears by the example of the Lord Verulam; who had a particular turn to; and sometimes used it with such Effect, as to rise above other Men."<sup>329</sup> [Also see Part II: *Aubrey John*.]

The opinion of Dr. Harvey on Bacon's character was neither an unnatural nor altogether an unfair one, as expressed by a man of great eminence, in a particular branch of science, concerning one who attempted to make all science his province. Then, the philosopher and the specialist were apt to misunderstand and undervalue each other for Napier refers to a work of Alexander Koss,

<sup>327</sup> Originally published in Bacon's *Remains*, 1648, pp. 85–87, but is missing from BL Sloane Manuscript 3078

<sup>328</sup> Letters written by Eminent Persons in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, to which are added Lives of Eminent Men by John Aubrey Esq., 1813, Vol. II. p. 381

<sup>329</sup> *The tablet, or Real Picture of Life*, 1762

a voluminous author, well known to the readers of *Hudibras*, entitled *Arcana Microcosmi*, or the *Hid Secrets of Man's Body discovered*; with a Refutation, amongst other books, of Bacon's *Natural History* (1652). The copy in the Bodleian is the 1651 edition, containing only the refutation of Dr. Browne's *Vulgar Errors*, and not that of Bacon's *Sylva Sylvarum*. The author says: "I have cursorily run over my Lord's New Philosophy, and find that philosophy is like wine, the older the better to the taste. He is especially angry with these new Philosophers for having jumbled the predicaments so together, that their scholars can never find out the true genus of things." Alexander Ross is a very zealous Aristotelian, and, at the end of his attack on Sir Thomas Browne, "pities to see so many young heads, still gaping like chameleons for knowledge, and are never filled, because they feed upon airy and empty fancies; loathing the sound, solid and wholesome viands of Peripatetic wisdom, they reject Aristotle's pure Fountains, and dig to themselves cisterns that will hold no water. Let us not wander then any longer with Hagar in the wild dessert. Let Prodigals forsake their husks, and leave them to swine." Mosheim, who points out that Ross's allusion is to Bacon, attempts, in his note, to explain Cudworth, but there can be little doubt that, in his frequent attacks on the philosophy of Democritus, Cudworth also glances at Bacon; and De Rémusat draws attention to the circumstance that Cudworth did not combat Bacon by name.<sup>330</sup>

One of the most violent antagonists of Bacon and of the Royal Society (names which, in his mind, were evidently very closely connected) was Dr. Henry Stubbe; "the most noted person of his age that these late times have produced," says Antony Wood, who has devoted to him one of the quaintest and most amusing of his *Lives*.<sup>331</sup> Stubbe was a turn-coat alike in philosophy, religion, and politics, and was animated by more even than the usual bitterness of his class. His diatribes against Sprat, Glanvill, the Royal Society in general, and Bacon as their philosophical father, are, however virulent, too dull and rambling to be worth transcription, but specimens of them may be found in the *Legends no Histories* (1670), in the *Plus Ultra* reduced to a *Non Plus* (1670), *The Lord Bacon's Relation of the Sweating-Sickness* (1671), and *An Epistolary Discourse concerning Phlebotomy* (1671). He speaks repeatedly of "these Baconical Philosophers," "this Bacon-faced generation," *étc.*, (showing, by the way, pretty conclusively, the influence which was already supposed to be exercised by Bacon's philosophy), and, as a professed admirer of the old learning, somewhat inconsistently "declares that the Lord Bacon did steal the principal parts of his *Novum Organum* out of Aristotle, and only disguised his Suggestions in a new Mode and Dress." Thus, "We acknowledge no Chancellors of Philosophy, Philology, Medicine, *étc.*" "No Law ever made him our Dictator, nor is there any Reason that concludes him infallible." "Let these insulse Adherents of his, buy some salt, and make use of more than one grain, when they read him." Elsewhere, Stubbe informs his readers that it is only out of his regard to Physic, Religion, and Education, that he is led to intermeddle in "Natural Philosophy," or the disputes of these "Experimental Philosophers."

<sup>330</sup> De Rémusat. *Bacon*, p. 409

<sup>331</sup> *Athenae Oxonienses*, Ed. Bliss, Vol. III. p. 1069

Similarly, the *Advancement of Learning* was “stolen from Ludovicus Vivès’ *De causis corruptarum Artium*.” Having occasion to compare a remedy against the Sweating-sickness given by Holinshed the chronicler with one given by Bacon, he says: “The works of the former will be much more valued than the latter by our nation, as long as they have any judgment. The truth is the Lord Bacon is like great piles; when the Sun is not high, they cast an extraordinary shadow over the earth, which lesseneth as the Sun grows vertical.”<sup>332</sup> He continues: “The only judgment I can make of my Lord Bacon’s Actings is that being so Flagitious, and so ignominiously degraded: He determined to redeem the Infamy of his past life by amusing the world with New Projects; and to gain a Chancellorship in Literature, when he was excluded from that on the Bench: And to revenge himself of the Nation whom he had exasperated, by diffusing Heresies in Philosophy, and creating in the Breasts of the English such a desire of Novelty as rose up to a contempt of the Ancient Ecclesiastical and Civil Jurisdiction, and the Old Government as well as Governors of the Realm: And the Root of all our present Distractions was planted by his hand.”<sup>333</sup>

In Francis Osborn’s *Miscellany* (1659), The Author to the Reader, there is a curious sentence, showing how early the charge of Atheism was directed against Bacon. After speaking of Raleigh having been branded with the title of an Atheist, “though a known asserter of God and providence,” the writer goes on to say: “A like censure fell to the share of venerable Bacon, till over-balanced by a greater weight of glory from Strangers.” Cudworth, in his *Intellectual System* (published in 1678), attacks Bacon for having called in question the received doctrine of Final Causes. He seems doubtful, however, what interpretation to put on his words. Thus, having spoken of “some who have unskilfully attributed their own Properties to Inanimate Bodies,” he proceeds to say: “Of which Fanciful Extravagances if the Advancer of Learning be understood, there is nothing to be reprehended in this following passage of his, *Incredibile est quantum agmen Idolorum Philosophiae immiserit, Naturalium Operationum ad Similitudinem Actionum Humanarum Reductio*. But if that of his be extended further, to take away all Final Causes from the things of Nature, as if nothing were done therein for Ends Intended by a Higher Mind, then it is the very Spirit of Atheism and Infidelity.”<sup>334</sup>

Passing to the middle of the eighteenth century, when Bacon was at the zenith of his glory, we find the chorus of approbation broken by the modified praise rather than the disparagement of Hume. The weapon, which Hume wielded, comparison with philosophers who have made positive contributions to science, is one which has since been frequently used with effect.<sup>335</sup> From Hume’s *History of England*, Appendix to the Reign of James I: “The great glory of literature

<sup>332</sup> *Legends no Histories*, pp. 27, 28 62

<sup>333</sup> Also see *The Lord Bacon’s Relation of the Sweating-Sickness and Defence of Phlebotomy; Discourse concerning Phlebotomy*, Preface to the Reader. There is abundance of evidence showing Bacon’s influence on the “Bacon-faced generation” supplied in this diatribe

<sup>334</sup> For the whole discussion, see the first edition, pp. 679–683, or the Latin Translation of 1733, Vol. II. pp. 820–825 Ch. 5, 61, 62

<sup>335</sup> See an article on Galileo by M. Biot in the *Biographic Universelle*



in this island, during the reign of James, was Lord Bacon. Most of his performances were composed in Latin; though he possessed neither the elegance of that, nor of his native tongue. If we consider the variety of talents displayed by this man, as a public speaker, a man of business, a wit, a courtier, a companion, an author, a philosopher, he is justly the object of great admiration. If we consider him merely as an author and philosopher, the light in which we view him at present, though very estimable, he was yet inferior to his cotemporary Galileo, perhaps even to Kepler. Bacon pointed out at a distance the road to true philosophy: Galileo both pointed it out to others, and made himself considerable advances in it. The Englishman was ignorant of geometry: the Florentine revived that science, excelled in it, and was the first that applied it, together with experiment, to natural philosophy. The former rejected, with the most positive disdain, the system of Copernicus: the latter fortified it with new proofs, derived both from reason and the senses. Bacon's style is stiff and rigid: his wit, though often brilliant, is also often unnatural and far-fetched; and he seems to be the original of those pointed similes and long-spun allegories, which so much distinguish the English authors: Galileo is a lively and agreeable, though somewhat a prolix, writer. But Italy, not united in any single government, and perhaps satiated with that literary glory which it has possessed both in ancient and modern times, has too much neglected the renowned which it has acquired by giving birth to so great a man. That national spirit which prevails among the English, and which forms their great happiness, is the cause why they bestow on all their eminent writers, and on Bacon among the rest, such praises and acclamations, as may often appear partial and excessive."

The excessive praise bestowed on Bacon by Voltaire and the Encyclopaedists, though met at first by the argument that they did not truly represent the views of Bacon, at last provoked a violent reaction, to which the well-known work of Count Joseph de Maistre gave expression. This work entitled *Examen de la Philosophie de Bacon* was published posthumously at Paris and Lyons in 1836. To de Maistre, Bacon is, above all things, an atheist, who aggravated his atheism by hypocrisy. But he is also a mere pretender to philosophy and science, a charlatan, an impostor. He contributed nothing to science himself, and it is a mere delusion to suppose that his philosophy has in any way helped to form those who have done so. It is true that he preaches science, but, like his Church, when it preaches Christianity, he preaches without a mission; and de Maistre concludes his thoughts that to Bacon, as its ultimate source, was due all the atheism, the materialism, the sensualism, the libertinism of the untoward generation which had just passed away in France. De Maistre was a furious, though an ingenious, fanatic.

On the attacks of Brewster, Lasson, and Liebig, which, either from their intrinsic merit or from the position of their authors, require serious attention. In his *Life of Newton* (1855) Sir D. Brewster, irritated apparently by the injudicious statement of "some modern writers of celebrity," that Newton "owed all his discoveries to the application of the principles of Bacon," maintains a proposition equally extreme, and, as it seems, equally untrue, that he did not "derive the slightest advantage from Bacon's precepts." Brewster goes on to combat his claims generally as a reformer of

science. He argues or rather asserts (for, except of the first proposition, he adduces hardly any proof) that “the necessity of experimental research, and of advancing gradually from the study of facts to the determination of their cause, is a doctrine which was not only inculcated, but successfully followed by preceding philosophers;” that no testimonies to the value of Bacon’s method have been offered by those who have actually cultivated science; that, as regards his own investigation into the nature of heat, “the oracle which he had himself established refused to give its responses, and the ministering priest was driven with discomfiture from his shrine;” that “a collection of scientific facts are of themselves incapable of leading to discovery, unless they contain the predominating fact or relation in which the discovery mainly resides.” Briefly to reply to these assertions, the first is, within certain limits and with certain explanations, which, however, require to be given, undoubtedly true; the second has abundantly been disproved; as to the third, the “ministering priest” obtained a far more luminous answer than oracles are usually in the habit of giving; with regard to the last, if Brewster means that a mere collection of facts, without any play of the mind upon them (*permissio intellectus*, as Bacon phrased it, or, as we should say in technical language, *formation of hypotheses*), is seldom or never likely to lead to discovery, may be agreed upon, but then Bacon himself, we must recollect, was happily inconsistent on this point. Brief as is Brewster’s notice of Bacon, it deserves considerable attention, because his objections anticipated, if indeed they did not suggest, some of the leading criticisms in the two works which follow.

Lasson’s monograph on Bacon <sup>336</sup> appeared in the *Jahresbericht über die Louisenstädtische Realschule*. Though it only extends over thirty-two pages, it is the weightiest of the attacks upon Bacon which may be found. It is written not only with more moderation, but with more knowledge of Bacon’s writings, and with more sympathy with the philosophical spirit in its relation to science, than is the violent diatribe of Liebig, to be next noticed. The writer dwells with much emphasis on the scientific progress, which had been already made in Bacon’s time, and maintains that the reformation of science was not the work of a single man, but the gradual product of the age. Moreover, the necessity of Induction, the appeal to Observation and Experiment, and the practical aims, which should be kept in view in scientific enquiry, had been insisted on by a host of writers before Bacon gave utterance to them. Having thus combated Bacon’s claim to originality, he next proceeds to an examination of his system. Here, he finds special fault with his mechanical theory of Induction, the manner in which he ignores the activity of the Understanding, his criticism of Final Causes, his conception of Forms, his neglect of quantitative relations. Lasson, like Liebig, is especially severe on the *Sylva Sylvarum*, which he says might have been more appropriately written in the eleventh than in the seventeenth century. Finally, he puts the question, “Was Bacon really a Philosopher?” and he answers that, in the proper sense of the word, he was not; he was a genius, but, at the same time, a Dilettante. That Bacon, however, did great service in spreading a taste for experimental enquiry and in drawing the popular attention to the importance of consulting facts is allowed throughout the enquiry.

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336 Gustav Lange, Berlin, 1860

Liebig's onslaught on Bacon (*Ueber Francis Bacon von Verulam*) appeared both in German and in English in 1863, and was followed by a keen controversy between Liebig and Sigwart. The occasion of this work was Liebig's annoyance at the rejection of some of his chemical theories by English agriculturists. Their singular obstinacy must, he thought, be due to some inherent defect in the English mind, and this suspicion led him to the study of the English philosophers. When, at last, he came to the works of Bacon, all was clear. These furnished, if not the source, at least the typical example of the methods of experiment and reasoning common amongst the English Dilettante, who had had the temerity to reject his theories. The study of Bacon thus acquired the charm of a scientific discovery; the writer, he tells us, went much deeper than before into the subject, and, hence, the work before us. This work, which is extremely bitter in tone, and often very inaccurate, contributes nothing new to the knowledge or appreciation of Bacon's philosophy. It repeats the thread-bare arguments employed by Brewster and Lasson, but with an amount of exaggeration and asperity which is utterly foreign to the second, and would have been distasteful even to the first of these writers. The author is, at times, almost as violent as de Maistre or Stubbe. Thus from the English text: "Bacon is conscious that in most instances he is not truthful, and has the prudence to blunt the weapons of his adversaries beforehand;" "Vain self-praise and detraction of others' merit go always hand in hand with his Lordship, just as with other vulgar specimens of humanity;" "When a boy, he studied jugglery, and his cleverest trick of all, that of deceiving the world, was quite successful;" "Nature, that had endowed him so richly with her best gifts, had denied him all sense for truth;" he is the type "of the scientific nut-cracker or the dining philosopher, which, under James I., became the fashion."

In one of the numbers of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (November 7, 1863) Liebig waxes still more wroth. After describing Bacon's work as a caricature of the scientific movement of the sixteenth century, and Bacon as following in the path of science like a shadow, as parodying the calm and clear image of truth by his burlesque contortions, he compares him successively with a news-hawker, an ape in soldier's-clothes, and a grinder of scientific instruments, who is unconscious of their use. Truly, not only are the sins of the fathers visited upon the children, but those of the children upon the fathers. Little can Bacon have anticipated the penalty he would have to pay for the unenlightened obstinacy of English farmers in the nineteenth century. Continuing Liebig's onslaught: "Bacon's scientific investigations were carried on for the sake of reward; the *Historia Vitae et Mortis* was written with the view of augmenting his influence over the King, and was intended to justify the inclination of certain persons about the Court for the pleasures of the table, as well as other appetites, and to diminish their fear of death." Notwithstanding all these aspersions, we are told at the end of the article that "we must not forget that Bacon, above all others, saw and comprehended the value and the importance of natural science for the purposes of life," while "Bacon's *Essays* are unexceptionable documents testifying of his genius and sagacity, as well as of his profound knowledge and correct appreciation of human relations

and the different conditions of men.”<sup>337</sup> We may only imagine what their comments would have been if put to the question: Did Bacon write Shakespeare?

Both Liebig and Lasson lay considerable stress on the crude character of many of the observations and experiments recorded in the *Sylva Sylvarum*. It is only fair, therefore, to Bacon's memory to quote what is said by Rawley in his introduction to that work: "I have heard his Lordship often say that, if he should have served the glory of his own name, he had been better not to have published this Natural History; for it may seem an indigested heap of particulars, and cannot have that lustre which books cast into methods have; but that he resolved to prefer the good of men, and that which might best secure it, before anything that might have relation to himself." "And I have heard his Lordship speak complainingly, that his Lordship (who thinketh he deserveth to be an architect in this building) should be forced to be a workman and a labourer, and to dig the clay and burn the brick; and more than that (according to the hard condition of the Israelites at the latter end), to gather the straw and stubble over all the fields to burn the bricks withal." Nor is the *Sylva Sylvarum* so contemptible as Bacon's adversaries represent it to be. It is probably far the best and most complete single collection of the kind that, up to that time, had been published. Even Liebig is almost outdone by his French translator, M. de Tchihatchef.<sup>338</sup>

These various accusations against Bacon or his philosophy, when given in brief, resolve themselves into the following: first, he was an atheist; second, he was a plagiarist; third, he was a smatterer; fourth, his works have had no influence in the subsequent progress of science; fifth, his proposed methods of investigation are defective, if not false, in statement, and inapplicable in practice.<sup>339</sup> It can only be wondered how Bacon's work was truly seen or understood, in his time.

**Bacon's Epitaph to Shaksper** Did Bacon write the epitaph upon Shakespeare prefixed to the Second Folio of 1632? In Bacon's *Life of Henry VII.*, published in 1622, pages 247 and 248, there appears as the concluding sentence an epitaph upon that King and in the Second Folio of Shakespeare, published in 1632, appears the "epitaph on the Admirable Dramatick Poet, Mr. William Shakespeare." Both passages have, as their author's last thought, and as their closing line, the reflection that a man is more richly sepulchred in a written monument of his fame, than in any material tomb, however sumptuous or even regal it may be. The idea is Horace's: "Exegi monumentum aere perennius," and therefore familiar to a scholar with a fine ear for rhythm and swing. Such learning was common enough among the courtiers of "King Elizabeth," and the example of George Buchanan had kept it alive in the reign of Scotch "Jamie."

<sup>337</sup> Macmillan. *Magazine* for July and August, 1863

<sup>338</sup> *Lord Bacon*, Paris, 2nd Ed. 1877

<sup>339</sup> Thomas Fowler. *Bacon's Novum Organum*, 1879

**The Epitaph on the Admirable Dramatic Poet Mr. William Shakespeare***2nd, 3rd, and 4th Folios*

What needs my Shakespeare for  
His Hallowed Bones?  
A pyramid of earth in piled stones,  
Or that his mortal relics should be hid  
Beneath some starre-y-pointing pyramid?  
Dear Son of Memory, great Heir of Fame  
Why needs the world such witness of thy Name?  
Thou in our wonder and astonishment  
Hast built thyself a lasting monument,  
And so sepulchred in such state dost lie,  
That Kings for such a tomb would wish to die.

Bacon, *Henry VII.*, Conclusion pp. 247, 248: "He lyeth buried at Westminster in one of the Stateliest and Daintiest Monuments of Europe both for the Chappell, and for the Sepulcher. So that he dwelleth more richly Dead in the Monument of his Tomb than he did Alive in Richmond or any of his Palaces. I could wish he did the like, in this Monument of his Fame."

Surely there must have been some cause for the omission of this tribute of an affectionate friend of such commanding genius from the First Folio, which had ceased to exist when the Second saw the light. Ben Jonson's tribute could be prefixed, but why should this still grander one be left out? During that nine years between 1623 and 1632, the restraint, whatever it was, vanished. Why?

**Bacon's handwriting** At the beginning of King James' reign, Bacon's writing underwent a remarkable change, from the hurried Saxon hand full of large sweeping curves and with letters imperfectly formed and connected, which he wrote in Elizabeth's time, to a small, neat, light, and compact one, formed more upon the Italian model which was then coming into fashion.

**Bacon's Head-piece** The Head-piece used over the dedication of Watss' translation of *The Advancement of Learning*, produced at Oxford in 1640, was used six years previously by a London printer as the Head-piece to Book IV., of *Moses and Aaron*. There is a blemish in each of the prints conclusively proving that both were impressions from the same block. If we compare the three folio editions of Shakespeare's plays, we are confronted at once with further instances of the same problem. The First Folio (1623) is "printed by Isaac Jaggard and Ed. Blount"; the second (1632) is "printed by Thos. Cotes for Robert Allot"; the third (1664) is "printed for P.C."

Thomas Cotes, the printer of the second folio uses at least eight blocks (including an initial letter) that were employed nine years previously by Jaggard. The printer of the third folio uses at least three blocks that were employed by Thomas Cotes thirty-two years earlier. A writer in *The*

*Library*, discussing an edition of a certain disputed work, observed, "But supposing for the sake of argument that some printer had wished to reprint the work, should we expect to find him in possession of the exact similar type to that used twenty or thirty years previously and of exactly the same initial letters, head-and tail-pieces and ornaments as those used by Wolfe in 1559? I think this highly improbable." Constant references to the pursuit and communication of knowledge are to be found in the literature of the period. It is a metaphor that was constantly employed by Francis Bacon. "Arts and Sciences," says he, "hunt after their works." In this "hunting and hounding of nature," this "hunt of Pan or learned experience," the "hunters after knowledge" hunt not for fame, but are "sagacious in hunting out works dealing with experiments."

Mrs. Constance Mary Fearon Pott<sup>340</sup> began tracing the origins and their similarities of emblems and in particular to the emblem of the double AA on title pages in Bacon's time, at various libraries. In the dictum of the *Freemason Cyclopaedia* it says "A very minute difference may make the emblem or symbol differs widely in its meaning," and of Bacon's similar hint as to the necessity for noting small distinctions in order to comprehend great things: "Everything is subtle till it be conceived."<sup>341</sup> It is reasonable to attempt this explanation of the "little variations" that the symbol, whatever it may be a bull's head, unicorn, fleur-de-lis, vine, or what not illustrates some single, fundamental doctrine or idea. But the "little variations" may, as Mr. Sotheby had once agreed, afford pretty accurate information as to the country where, and the period when, the book was written or produced. They may even indicate the papermaker or the printer, or that the persons connected with the writing of the book were members of a certain Secret Society. If the paper used for printing books was usually made in the country where the books were printed (and this seems to be the most natural and reasonable arrangement), then we must inquire at what English mill was the paper manufactured which was to be the means of transmitting to a world then plunged in darkness and ignorance the myriad-minded and many-sided literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. With reference to any particular time or place at which this inestimable invention was first adopted in England, all researches into existing records contribute little.

The first paper-mill erected in England is commonly attributed to Sir John Spielman, a German, who established one in 1588, at Dartford, for which the honour of Knighthood was afterwards conferred upon him by Queen Elizabeth, who was also pleased to grant him a license for the sole gathering, for ten years, of all rags, etc., necessary for the making of such paper. It is, however, quite certain that paper mills were in existence in England long before Spielman's time.

Shakespeare, in 2 *Henry VI.*, (the plot of which is laid at least a century previously), refers to a paper-mill. In fact, he introduces it as an additional weight to the charge which Jack Cade brings against Lord Saye. An earlier trace of the manufacture in England occurs in a book printed in 1493.<sup>342</sup> And then by Caxton, about the year 1490, in which it is said of John Tate: "Which

340 Mrs. Constance Mary Fearon Pott. *Francis Bacon and his Secret Society*

341 Pott. *Promus*: p. 186–187

342 *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, Wynken de Wordes, edition 1493

late hath in England do make thy paper thine. That now in our English this book is printed in.” His mill was situate at or near Stevenage, in Hertfordshire; and that it was considered worthy of notice is evident from an entry made in Henry VII’s Household Book, on May 25, 1498: “For a reward given at the paper mill, 16s. 3d.” And again in 1499: “Given in reward to Tate of the mill, 6s. 3d.” The water-mark used by Tate was an eight-pointed star within a double circle. A print of it is given in Herbert’s *Typis Antiquit.* <sup>343</sup> Tate died in 1514. Still, it appears far less probable that Shakespeare alluded to Tate’s mill (although established at a period corresponding in many respects with that of occurrences referred to in connection) than to that of Sir John Spielman.

The following is a list of the watermarks which Mrs. Pott’s research brought forth, found in books previous to the Baconian period, or in MSS., or other documents. The paper seems to be all foreign, from mills chiefly in Holland or Germany. Some of these figures were retained in the end of the sixteenth century and developed into other forms. Each figure seems to have been varied almost indefinitely. In her limited research she had seldom found two precisely alike, and there seem to be about sixty figures, not reckoning “nondescripts” and doubtful forms or variations: [Also see Author’s Web site on the subject {[www.lordverulam.org](http://www.lordverulam.org)}:]

- ANIMALS. Quadrupeds Ape or Monkey, Bull, Cat (or Panther?), Dog (Hound or Talbot), Goat, Horse, Lamb (sore-times with flag), Lion (rampant or passant), Panther, Pig, Hog, Swine, Stag (head or passant), Wolf. Birds. Cock, Duck (or Goose?), Eagle (sometimes spread, or with two heads or four legs), Goose, Pelican, Swan. Fish. Carp, Dolphin, Tortoise or Dolphin. Reptiles. Lizard, Newt, Serpent. Mythical. Dragon or Griffin, Mermaid, Phoenix, Unicorn.
- FLOWERS. Bell-flower, Fleur-de-lis or Trefoil, Lily, Rose (five-petaled, or nondescript, four-petaled). Fruits. Cherries, Fig, Grapes, Pear, Pomegranate.
- MISCELLANEOUS. Anchor (sometimes in a circle), Angel or Acolyte, Anvil, Ark, Bars with names, letters, etc., Battle-axe, Bell, Bow and Arrows, Cross Bow, Bugle or Trumpet or Horn, Cap (see Fool’s Cap), Cardinal’s Hat, Cask or Water-butt, Castle or Tower, Chalice, Circle (sometimes with cabalistic figures), Compasses, Cords or Knot, Cornucopia (or Horns), Crescent, Cross (Greek or Maltese), Crown, Fool’s Cap, Globe, Golden Fleece, Hambuer, Hand, Heart, Horn, Bugle, Trumpet, Cornucopia, Key, Crossed Keys, etc., Ladder, Lamp, Lance or Spear, Letters (chiefly when alone, P and Y), Lotus (?), Mitre, Moon, Moose’s Head, Mounts (three or seven), Orb, Pope Seated, Reliquary (for Pot?), Scales on Balance, Shears or Scissors, Shell (or Fan?), Shield, Ship, Spear, Spiral line or Mercury’s Rod, Star, Sun or flaming disk, Sword, Triangle with cross, etc., Trumpet (see Horn), Vine (see Grapes), Water-butt (see Cask), Waves or Water, Wheel (sometimes toothed).

There are three paper-marks which seem to especially associate with Francis Bacon and his brother Anthony. They are to be seen throughout the printed books, which are ascribed to Francis, and one in particular is in the paper in which he and Anthony, and their most confidential friends, corresponded, whether in England or abroad. These marks are:

1. The bunch of grapes: The grapes and the pots appear, in somewhat rude forms, as early as the fourteenth century. Sotheby had noted that grapes occur in books printed at Mentz, Strasburg, Nuremberg, Basle, and Cologne, and those were produced by Caxton, but are not in any book printed in the Netherlands. The bunch of grapes, alone, or in combination with other figures, is the second great mark in Bacon's books.
2. The pot, or jug: The pitcher or pot is impressed not only on the private letters of Francis and Anthony Bacon or perhaps it is safer to say, of the Bacon family and their confidential correspondents, but on the pages of nearly every English edition of works acknowledged as "Bacon's" published before the eighteenth century. There are certain accessories to the Baconian pitchers, one at least being always present. Sometimes there are two handles distinctly formed, as SS; often on the body of the pot are letters they maybe initials, as A B, and F B, often found in the correspondence of the brothers; or S S, *Sanctum Sanctorum*, etc.; R C, Rosy Cross; F or F F, Frater or Fratres; G G, Grand Geometrician God, according to Freemason books in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries paper marks were used throughout the works which were the products of the Renaissance.
3. The double candlesticks: The candlesticks seem in their earlier stages to have been towers or pillars. As candlesticks, even single, was failed to be found one earlier than 1580, and then in a MS., document. The candlesticks were the latest and least frequent of the three, being used in the double form only in editions of Bacon's works published after his death. Even this example is rather suggestive of a castle than of a candlestick, and as castles and towers of unmistakable forms (and sometimes showing an affinity to the mounts) appear in books published in Italy as early as the fourteenth century, it is possible that here we have some of the many scattered links in the chain of continuity in designs as well as ideas. A watch-candle is the emblem of "care and observation." In a letter to King James I., on May 31, 1612 Bacon says: "My good old mistress [Queen Elizabeth] was pleased to call me her watch-candle, because it pleased her to say I did continually burn (and yet she suffered me to waste almost to nothing)."

In combination with the candlesticks are fleur-de-lis, trefoil, pearls, and other symbols of the Holy Spirit; sometimes an E C or C R; almost invariably grapes piled in a pyramid or diamond.

1. A rising sun, formed by the cover or round top of the pot
2. Five rays
3. Pearls
4. Fleur-de-lis



5. A four-petaled flower, or a Maltese cross
6. A moon or crescent
7. The bull's horns in a crown
8. Grapes
9. A diamond, triangle, ellipse, or heart

These paper-marks are not mere manufacturers' signs; but that they have a mutual relation and connection, and that they were and are means of conveying secret information to the members of some widely-spread society. The society was not a mere trade-guild, but that it was moved by motives of religion, and, in its highest branches at least, was a Christian philosophical society, or a society for promoting Christian knowledge.

The subject matter of the books does not necessarily affect the paper-marks. The three marks: the double candlesticks, the grapes, and the pitcher or pot, are notably Baconian, the pot especially being found in all Bacon's acknowledged works, and throughout the correspondence of Anthony and Francis, especially when their correspondent was of the Reformed Church.

Where any one pattern is varied many times in the same book, there is usually no other mark except in the fly leaves. The extraordinary but not unaccountable habit of tearing out the fly-leaves at the beginning and end of valuable books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries often makes it impossible to declare that the book in hand possessed no other mark besides those which we see. Pott states, "the fly-leaves were wont, in many of our Baconian books, to be very numerous: five or eight are common numbers for the sheets. They were probably intended for the making of notes, a practice which Bacon enjoins and so highly commends." In old untouched libraries there are usually some books where the fly-leaves have been thus utilised. Perhaps, when filled with notes, they were to be taken out, and forwarded to some central point of study, either to an individual or to a committee, who should by their means add to the value of any subsequent edition or collection, which might be published. It is certain that fly-leaves have been stolen for the sake of the old paper, for etching or for forged reprints; but this does not account for the fact that certain books, when sent, without any special orders, to be repaired by a Freemason binder, have returned with this large number of fly-leaves restored; in many of our public libraries such extra leaves in books rebound have paper-marks.

In Bacon's acknowledged works the changes are rung upon the three paper-marks, the pot, the grapes, and the candlesticks, the latter being apparently the rarest of the three. Usually one or two of these patterns are combined with one extra mark. With time enough and help to examine every edition of every book concerned in this inquiry, it is hardly to be doubted that a real scheme could be drawn up to demonstrate the precise method of the use of paper-marks. The pots seem to be in one edition at least of every work produced by Francis or Anthony Bacon, or published under their auspices. Two handles to the pot seem to mean that two persons helped in the construction of the book. Next, in republications, compilations, or collections of any kind, grapes prevail, and that the candlesticks only appear when the volume which includes them is to

be considered complete. The Baconian pots have been found first in a book 1579–80, and not later than 1680 a period of one hundred years. They, like the rest of the marks, increase in size from about one inch to seven inches. The use of the Baconian grapes seems to have begun about 1600, and to have continued only in France after 1680. The double candlesticks appeared later still, after the death of Francis Bacon, and remained in use for about fifty years. The three marks all disappeared in England about 1680. Not only is the nature of the paper-mark thus varied in each book, but the forms of each figure are varied to a surprising extent. No two volumes, often no two parts of the same volume, treatise, poem, or play, contain marks, which are identical. For instance, in Ben Jonson (1616) there are at least fifteen different forms of the pot, two of which are sometimes in one play. In Selder's *History of Tithes* (1618) the variations are as frequent. In Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) there are at least thirty half-pitchers, no two of which seem to be alike. "Again", continues Pott, "we have not succeeded in finding any form of mark precisely repeated in books of different titles, editions, or dates."

In the writing-paper of the Bacon family and their friends, there is almost as striking a variety in the representation of the same figure or pattern. It is certain that these marks were not of the same kind as the ornaments, etc., on letter-paper of the present day, in which crests, monograms, etc., are adopted by certain individuals and retained by them for some time at least. In letters in Baconian correspondence, written in rapid succession by the same person, the marks are found different, and on the other hand, different persons writing, the one from England and the other from abroad, occasionally used paper with precisely similar marks. It would seem that, in such cases, paper had been furnished to these correspondents from some private mill. There are, in combination with some designs, or apart from them, bars on which appear some times of paper-makers, as "Ricard," "Rapin," "Conard," "Nicolas," etc. These seem to be chiefly in the foreign paper. But often these bars are as cabalistic as the rest of the designs, or they seem to contain the initials of the producer of the book, not, of its true author. The pots have no bars in connection with them; perhaps the letters upon them render further additions unnecessary. Pott's conclusion was further inquiry should be made on the following:

1. Which were the very earliest paper-mills in England?
2. To whom did they belong?
3. What were the watermarks on the paper produced there?
4. Which was the first printed book for which the paper was made in England?
5. From what foreign mills did our English printers import paper?
6. At what date did the papers with the hand and the pot receive the distinctive additions which, for want of a better name, was termed Baconian?
7. In what books may we see the very latest examples of the candlesticks, the grapes, and the pot in the paper?
8. When and why was the use of paper-marks in printed books discontinued?

9. Was the discontinuance simultaneous and universal? Was there truly a discontinuance of the system of secret marks, or, rather, did a change or modification take place, in order to adapt these secret marks to the exigencies of modern requirements in printing and book-making?
10. When Sir Nicholas Bacon, in his youth, resided for three or four years in Holland, did he visit and study the manufactories of paper? Does any record show him mixed up in any business relations with paper manufacturers?
11. What part did the old printers and publishers play in the secret society? For instance, John Norton (Lady Anne Bacon's cousin) and the Spottisworths (both families in which these trades have in an eminent degree flourished ever since).
12. Did the Baconian watermarks remain in use until circa 1680, in fact, for just one hundred years from the time when the first document of the Rosicrucian society was published?
13. Was it intended that, by the end of the period of one hundred years, all the posthumous works of Francis Bacon, "My cabinet and presses full of papers," should have been published by his followers, and did the system of watermarks in printed books cease at that period?
14. Are printers and paper-makers, as a rule, Freemasons and do they mutually co-operate and understand each other's marks?
15. If not, what reasons do they adduce for the mystery which is still cast over simple matters connected with their useful and beneficent crafts, and for the unusual difficulties which are met with in obtaining any good books or any trustworthy information upon the subjects which we have been considering?
16. Is there any period at which modern Freemasonry and Rosicrucianism propose to clear up and reveal these apparently useless and obstructive secrets?
17. Or, what is supposed to be the advantage, either to the public or to individuals, in keeping up these or other mystifications, historical or mechanical?

Of another source, Harold Bayley in his *A New Light on Renaissance* is of interest: "The history of early papermaking is believed to have been introduced into Europe either from the East by returning Crusaders, or from the Moors, perhaps through Spain or Sicily, who were strongholds of the heretical sects known as the Albigenses. The word "Albigenses" is a term applied loosely to the various pre-Reformation reformers whose strongholds stretched from Northern Spain across the southern provinces of France to Lombardy and Tuscany. In Spain and France they were known as Albigenses from Albi the name of one of their prominent towns. In the Alpine provinces they were called Waldenses, from Peter Waldo, one of their most conspicuous members." Bayley then briefly explains the production of a watermark: "A watermark is a device produced by fastening the desired design in strong wire on to the bottom of the mould. The pulp takes the impress of this projecting wire and the result remains visible in the finished sheet."

“One of the most important and interesting phases in connection with printers’ marks,” says Mr. W. Roberts, the most recent writer on this subject, “is undoubtedly the motif of the pictorial embellishments. Both the precise origin and the object of many marks are now lost to us.” He also adds, “We do not propose offering any kind of explanation for these singular marks.” Not only do we find printers using a variety of designs in the same books, but identical emblems were used by different printers. A trademark is the immediate jewel of a craftsman’s soul, and it is difficult to reconcile the employment in common of certain marks with the theory that they were “nothing more or less” than trade devices. Arrangements seem to have been made for systematic circuits. “Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased,” said Francis Bacon, and this was a popular motto frequently employed by other authors of the day.

To conclude this subject, the ornamental headings are mostly variations of the double AA ornament found in certain Shakespeare Quarto Plays, and in various other books published c.1590–1650. A few references will be found below:

Shakespeare’s Works, 1623.

North’s Lives, 1595.

Spenser’s Faerie Queene, 1609, 1611.

Works of King James, 1616.

Purchas’ Pilgrimages, 1617.

Macon’s Novum Organum, 1620.

Seneca’s Works, 1620.

Speed’s Great Britaine, 1623.

Bacon’s Operum Moraliū, 1638.

Contention of Yorke and Lancaster, Part I., 1594.

Romeo and Juliet, 1599.

Henry V., 1598, 1600.

Sir John Falstaffe, 1602.

Richard III., 1602.

Regimen Sanitatis Salerni, 1597.

Hardy’s Le Theatre, Vol. IV., 1626.

Barclay’s Argenis, Vols. I., II., 1625–26.

Aleman’s Le Gueux, 1632.

Mayer’s Praxis Theologica, 1629.

Ben Jonson’s Works, Vol II., 1640.

The Shepheard’s Calendar, 1617.

The Rogue, 1622.

Barclay’s Argenis, 1636.

Bacon’s Remaines, 1648.

The Mirrour of State, 1656.

Preston's Breast-plate of Faith, 1630.  
Venus and Adonis, 1593.  
Unnatural Conspiracy of Scottish Papists, 1593.  
Nosce te ipsum, 1602.

The ornament reversed is found in:

Spenser's Faerie Queene, 1596.  
Historie of Tamerlane, 1597.  
Barckley's Felicitie of Man, 1598.  
James I., Essayes of a Prentise in the Art of Poesie, 1584, 1585.  
De Loque's Single Combat, 1591.  
Taming of a Shrew, 1594.  
Hartwell's Warres, 1595.  
Heywood's Works, 1598.  
Hayward's Of the Union, 1604.  
Cervantes' Don Quixote, 1612.  
Peacham's Compleat Gentleman, 1622.  
Richard II., 1597.  
Richard III., 1597.  
Henry IV., 1600.  
Hamlet, 1603.  
Shakespeare's Sonnets, 1609.  
Matheieu's Henry IV., [of France] 1612.  
Hardy's Le Theatre, 1624.  
Boys' Exposition of the last Psalme, 1615.  
Bacon's Henry VII., 1629.  
Bacon's New Atlantis, 1631.

Printed upside down:

Camden's Remains, 1616.  
Preston's Life Eternall, 1634.  
Barclay's Argenis, 1636.  
Martyn's Lives of the Kings, 1615.  
Seneca's Works, 1620.  
Slatyer's Great Britaine, 1621.  
Bacon's Resuscitatio, 1671.  
Gustavi Seleni Cryptomenytices, 1624.  
King John, 1591.  
Florio's Second Flutes, 1591.

De Loqué's Single Combat, 1591.

Montaigne's Essais, 1602.

Cervantes' Don Quixote translated by Shelton, 1612–20.

Tail piece from Spenser's Faerie Queene, 1617.

**Bacon's household** An example of the rising petty chronicle in Bacon's household:

Chaplains:	Mr. Oates, Mr. Lewis
Serjeant-at-arms:	Mr. Leigh
Steward:	Mr. Sharpeigh
Seal-bearer:	Mr. Hatcher
Chief Secretaries:	Mr. John Young, Mr. Thomas Meautys
Chief Gentleman Usher:	Mr. Johnson
Gentlemen Ushers:	Mr. Butler, Mr. Thomas Bushell <sup>344</sup>
Auditor:	Mr. Phillips
Gentleman of the horse:	Mr. Edmund Meautys
Remembrancer for benefices:	Mr. Harris, Mr. Jones, Mr. Troughton, Mr. Borough
Clerk Commission of Peace:	Mr. Alman
Receiver of fines:	Mr. Hunt
Gentlemen of Chamber:	Mr. Lowe, Mr. Edney, Mr. Woder, Mr. Nicholson, Mr. Sherborne, Mr. Goodrick
Sewer:	Mr. Bassano
Gentlemen waiters:	Captain Garrette, Mr. Kempe, Mr. Faldoe, Mr. Travers, Mr. Wells, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Guilman, Mr. Fletcher, Mr. Anthony, Mr. Percy, Mr. Nicholas Bacon, Mr. John Underhill, Mr. Mannering, Mr. Carrell,

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<sup>344</sup> Rev. Walter Begley. *Bacon's Nova Resuscitatio*; Vol. III. 1905: Thomas Bushell, one of Bacon's household dependents, gives this testimony to his master's character in a book *The First Part of Youth's Errors written by Thomas Bushell, the Superlative Prodigall*. London, 1628, 8vo., printed two years after Bacon's death: "A Letter To his approved beloved Mr. John Eliot, Esquire. The ample testimony of your true affection towards my Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Albans, hath obliged me your servant. Yet lest the calumnious tongues of men might extenuate the good opinion you had of his worth and merit, I must ingenuously confess that myself and others of his servants were the occasion of exhaling his virtues into a dark eclipse; which God knows would have long endured both for the honour of his King and the good of the Commonalty; had not we whom his bounty nursed, laid on his guiltless shoulders our base and execrable deeds to be scanned and censured by the whole senate of a state, where no sooner sentence was given, but most of us forsaken him, which makes us bear the badge of Jews to this day. Yet I am confident there were some Godly Daniels amongst us. As for myself, with shame I must acquit the title, and plead guilty; which grieves my very soul that so matchless a Peer should be lost by such insinuating caterpillars, who in his own nature scorn'd the least thought of any base, unworthy, or ignoble act, though subject to infirmities as ordained to the wisest." Some personal details of Bacon's forgiving temper are given, and bribery, corruption, and simony all denied

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	Mr. Parsons, Mr. Allen, Mr. Portington, Mr. Goodericke, Mr. Josline, Mr. Moyle, Mr. Walley, Mr. Hogins, Mr. Ball, Mr. Price, Mr. Pearce, Mr. Beall Saperton, Mr. Cockaine, Mr. Bettenham, Mr. Cooke, Mr. Paddon
Doorkeeper:	James Edwardes
Barber:	Robert Durant
Messenger:	Stephen Read
Yeomen Ushers:	Humphrey, Leigh, Neale
Master cooks:	Henry Syll
Cook:	John Whitney
Gentlemen of the Wardrobe:	William Ockold, John Nicolson, Christopher King, Roger Pilkington
Gentlemen of the wine cellar and pantry:	Edward Isaack, John Humphrey
Butlers:	Richard Edwardes, Morrice Davies, John Oakes, Wood
Bottleman:	Richard Wood
Yeoman of the horse:	George Prince

**Bacon's house in Noble Street, Aldersgate** Stow, in the *Survey of London* says: "This house was of old called 'Shelley-house,' as belonging to the family of that name. Sir Thomas Shelley, Knight, was owner thereof in the 1st of Henry IV. It was afterwards called 'Bacon-house,' because the same was new-built by Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. Adjoining to it was the house of Serjeant Fleetwood, Recorder of London, who new-built it. Fleetwood was Recorder from 1571 until 1591, and many of his letters to Lord Burleigh are dated from 'Bacon-house' where he died, February 28, 1594. In 1628 the house was purchased by the worshipful Company of Scriveners, and was used as the Hall of that company; but, about the middle of the seventeenth century, the Scriveners sold it to a time worshipful company of coach makers, whose Hall it became. The front in Noble-street (except the entrance to the Hall) was, however, retained by the Scriveners. The back part of the house, as rebuilt after the fire of London, (1666), may still be seen from Oat Lane, and is now occupied as a glove-manufactory. In the conveyance to the Scriveners, the house is stated to have been anciently called 'Shelley's tenement,' but then 'Bacon-house,' and that it had formerly been in the possession of Sir Ralph Rowlett, Knight, afterwards of Sir Nicholas Bacon, then of Christopher and Robert. Sir Ralph Rowlett was Master of the Mint to King Henry VIII., and he was connected by marriage with Sir Nicholas Bacon, they married two of the daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke. Barker, Nicholas Goff the elder, and Nicholas Goff the younger, and subsequently of Sara Savage and George Egelshaw, physician; and it was conveyed by Sir Arthur Savage and Dame Sarah, late wife of George Smithies, Alderman, Thomas Viscount Savage, and Richard Millard, to Charles Bostock, scrivener, I presume in trust for the Company."

Christopher Barker and Robert Barker were printers to Queen Elizabeth; and Mr. Ames, in his account of Christopher Barker, says that he had a printing office in Bacon-house, near Foster Lane, in which he printed Acts of Parliament. Christopher Barker died in 1509, and after 1588 the business was earned on by his deputies. Robert Barker, his son, who was a prisoner in the King's Bench from 1635, died there in 1645. Probably, Nicholas Goff [Gough?] the elder, and Nicholas Goff the younger, although neither of them are mentioned by Mr. Ames, were deputies or assigns of Christopher or of Robert Barker. Among the books printed by Christopher Barker, in the list given by Mr. Ames, is the following printed at Bacon-house:

- Acts of Parliament, in 23rd Elizabeth, 1581
- Christian Meditations by Theodore Beza, imprinted in Bacon-house, 1582
- Acts of Parliament, 27th Elizabeth, 1585, imprinted in Bacon-house, near Foster Lane.

The Recorder, Fleetwood, is not mentioned in the conveyance of Bacon-house to Charles Restock and although his letters are dated from Bacon-house, Stow mentions the house of the Recorder as separate from Bacon-house, which was rebuilt by the Lord Keeper. It may be that the Recorder's house was built upon part of the original site of the Shelley-house. In Coach makers Hall were held the meetings of the Protestant Association, which, under the presidency of Lord Geo. Gordon, led to the riots of 1780.<sup>345</sup> [Also see Part III: *Fortunes of Fire*]. William Seres, the elder, was servant to Lord Burghley while he was only Sir William Cecil, and by the aid of his master procured a patent, dated March 4, 7 Edw. VI.,<sup>346</sup> for printing Primers. By what succeeds, it appears (and it is a new point in his biography) that he was long imprisoned and deprived of his books by Queen Mary, and that, to compensate him, Elizabeth in 1558 gave him the privilege of sole printing not only Primers but Psalters. In 1571 he wished his son to be joined in the patent, and a new grant was made out accordingly. Many years afterwards (subsequent to the death of William Seres, the father, who is supposed to have died before 1579;<sup>347</sup> the validity of the grant of 1571 was questioned, on the ground that no surrender of the grant of 1558 was extant in Chancery. To clear up all doubt a new patent was conceded in 1591, and from the endorsement, in the handwriting of Lord Burghley, "forasmuch as some question is made touching the former Grant, I pray you to cause a new book to be made," we may conclude that it was at his Lordship's instance.

<sup>345</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1860: "Presuming Nicholas Goff, or Gough, and his son of the same name, to have been printers, and the name seems to sanction that notion, may I hazard a conjecture that their printing office was removed from Noble-street to the north side of Fleet-street, and that they gave their name to Gough Square. It is possible that they and the Barkers had a lease only of Bacon-house, and that on the expiration of the term, the freehold having been purchased by the Scriveners, the Company declined to renew the lease, and converted the premises into a hall for themselves, and thereupon the printers were obliged to remove their presses to another locality."

<sup>346</sup> Strype. *Memor.* i. 378, 604

<sup>347</sup> Stat. Ordinances, B. fol. 433 b, as quoted by Dr. Dibdin, though Lord Ellesmere, in a note at the end of the grant, states that the death of William Seres, the father, occurred about 1581



In *Archceologia*,<sup>348</sup> Sir Henry Ellis has inserted Barker's account of the patent granted to William Seres. What succeeds is the draft of the new patent sent to Lord Ellesmere and corrected by him. Among other corrections, he struck out a clause empowering the Sheriffs of London, on behalf of William Seres and his assigns, "to break up and destroy all and every the presses of such impressions, wheresoever the same may be found, and to bind such person or persons with sufficient severity to their good behaviour, as shall presume to offend in anything contrary to the purport and intention of this our Letters Patents."<sup>349</sup>

**Bacon's language** Like the secret things of Nature, will not unfold all its treasures to the hasty passerby: he who will learn his full meaning and worth must first sojourn with him and become his friend.<sup>350</sup>

**Bacon's library** His library was scattered, probably, for few traces of it remain. His manuscripts fell into the hands of his devoted Chaplain, Dr. Rawley, and his friend, Sir William Boswell. The former held far the larger share, which he jealously guarded and edited; those bequeathed to the latter were not so well cared for, and many of them were lost. (Lovejoy).

In the *Advancement of Learning* Bacon refers to the annotations of books as being deficient. There was living at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century a scholar through whose hands at least several thousand books passed. He appears to have made a practice of annotating in the margins every book he read. The chief purpose, however, of the notes, apparently, was to aid the memory, for in some books nearly every name occurring in the text is carried into the margin without comment. The notes are also accompanied by scrolls, marks, and brackets, which support the contention that they are the work of one man. The annotation of books was not a common practice then, nor has it been since. If a reader takes up a hundred books in a second-hand book shop he will probably not find more than one containing manuscript notes, and not one in five hundred in which the annotations have been systematically carried through. There does not appear to have been any other scholar living at that time, with the exception of this one, who was persistently making marginal notes on the books he read.

What became of Bacon's books, which were left to Sir John Constable and must have contained traces of his reading, we do not know; but very few appear to have survived. (Spedding). Mrs. Pott<sup>351</sup> draws attention to the disappearance of Bacon's library. "Which is a mystery," she adds, "although the world has been content to take it very apathetically. Where is Bacon's library? Undoubtedly the books exist and are traceable. We should expect them to be recognisable by marginal notes; yet those notes, whether in pencil or in ink, may have been effaced. If annotated, Bacon and his friends would not wish his books to attract public attention." And further on:

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348 Vol. XXV., p. 108

349 J. Payne Collier. *The Egerton Papers*, 1840

350 Unknown Author, 1855

351 *Francis Bacon and his Secret Society*

“It is probable that the latter (*i.e.*, the books) will seldom or never be found to bear his name or signature.” And again: “Yet it may reasonably be anticipated that some at least are noted in the margin, or that some will be found with traces of marks which were guides to the transcriber or amanuensis as to the portions which were to be copied for future use in Bacon’s collections or book of common places.” Pott’s words were written in a spirit of true prophecy.

The collecting together of these books originated with that distinguished Baconian scholar, Mr. W.M. Safford. He had been steadily engaged in reconstituting Bacon’s Library that a collection of nearly two thousand volumes was gathered. The annotations on the margins of these books are unquestionably the work of one man, and that man, or rather boy and man, was undoubtedly Francis Bacon. These books bear date from 1470 to 1620 and they include the works of Seneca, Aristotle, Plato, Horace, Alciati, Lucanus, Dionysius, Catullus, Lactinius, Plutarch, Pliny, Aristophanes, Plautus, Cornelius Agrippa, Cicero, Vitruvius, Euclid, Virgil, Ovid, Lucretius, Apuleius, Salust, Tibullus, Isocrates, and hundreds of other classical writers; St. Augustine, St. Jerome, Calvin, Beza, Beda, Erasmus, Martin Luther, J. Cammerarius, Sir Thomas Moore, Machiavelli, and other more modern writers. The handwriting varies <sup>352</sup> but there is a particular hand which is found accompanied by a boy’s sketches. There are drawings of full-length figures, heads of men and women, animals, birds, reptiles, ships, castles, cathedrals, cities, battles, storms, etc. The writing is a strong, clerkly student’s hand. There is a passage in *Hamlet*, <sup>353</sup> which is noteworthy. Hamlet, speaking to Horatio, says:

I sat me down  
Devised a new commission; wrote it fair;  
I once did hold it, as our statists do,  
A baseness to write fair, and labour’d much  
How to forget that learning; but, Sir, now  
It did me yeomans service.

The nature of this statement is so personal that it could only have been written as the result of experience. Hamlet had been taught, when young, to write a hand so fair that he was capable of producing a fresh commission which would pass muster as the work of a Court copyist. The annotation of these books possessed the same qualification. In the margins of these books are abundant references in handwriting to the whole range of classical authors. A copy of the *Grammaticæ Compendium* of Lactus Pomponius, a very rare book printed by De Fortis in Venice (1484) contains on the margins the boy’s scribble and drawings, besides a number of manuscript notes. It bears traces of his reading probably at eight years of age. A large folio volume entitled *T. Livii Palvini Latinæ Historiæ Principis Decades Tres*, published by Frobenius in 1535, is a

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352 Edwin A. Abbot, in his work, *Francis Bacon*, p. 447, writes, “Bacon’s style (as a writer) varied almost as much as his handwriting.”

353 Act V., Sc. 2

treasure. It is most copiously annotated and embellished with sketches. The notes are usually in Latin, but interspersed with Greek and sometimes with English. Obviously the writer thought in Latin, and the character of the drawings justifies the assumption that, at the time, his age would be from ten to fourteen years. The most remarkable reference to these annotations is to be found in the *Rape of Lucrece*. The fifteenth stanza is as follows:

But she that never cop't with straunger eies,  
 Could picke no meaning from their parling lookes,  
 Nor read the subtle shining secrecies  
 Writ in the glassie margents of such bookes,  
 Shee toucht no unknown baits, nor feared no hooks,  
 Nor could shee moralize his wanton sight  
 More than his eies were open to the light.

It would be difficult to conceive a more inappropriate simile for the lustful looks in Tarquin's eyes than "the subtle shining secrecies, writ in the glassie margents of such books." That this is lugged in for a purpose outside the object of the poem is manifest. How many readers of *Lucrece* would know of such a practice? Nay. If it did exist, was not its use very rare? But the margin of the verse itself yields a subtle shining secret. The initial letters of the lines are B, C, N, W, Sh, N M. It is only necessary to supply the vowels BaCoN, W. Sh., NaMe. Sh is on line 103, which is the numerical value of the word Shakespeare. The numerical value of Bacon is 33. In view of this the line 33 is significant.

"Why is Colatine the publisher?" The use of the word publisher here is quite inappropriate. It is introduced for some reason outside the purpose of the text. The *Rape of Lucrece* commences with Bacon's monogram and, as the late Begley pointed out, ends with his signature.

The theory now advanced is that when Bacon read a book he made marginal notes in it the object being mainly to assist his memory, but the critical notes are numerous. It does not follow that all these books constituted his library. He would read a book and it having served his purpose he would dispose of it. Some books no doubt he would retain and these would form his library. The annotations are chiefly in Latin, but some are in Greek, some in Hebrew, French and Spanish. When these have been examined and translated the meaning of the phrase that he had taken all knowledge to be his province will be better understood. Rawley says: "He read much and that with great judgment and rejection of impertinences incident to many authors." Amongst the books is a copy of Alciati's *Emblems* (1577) in the early part profusely annotated. Ben Jonson in his *Discoveries* has incorporated the translation of a portion of one of the Emblems and has also incorporated a portion of the annotations from this very book.<sup>354</sup> [Also see *Alciati's Emblem 45; Whitney's Emblem 5; Bacon's Works at Lincoln's Inn Library*].

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354 William T. Smedley. *The Mystery of Francis Bacon*, 1912

**Bacon's life threatened** Creation of Henry Prince of Wales 1610 was Knighted one Lord Gervase Clifton, not to be confounded with another of the same name, K. B. and afterwards a Baronet. He was summoned to Parliament, July 9, 1608 as Harew Clifton of Leighton Bromswold, Huntingdonshire and was committed to the Tower in 1617, for threatening the life of the then Lord Keeper Francis Bacon, "who had decreed a cause in Chancery against him" and, in October 1618, whilst still in confinement, he took his own life. His only daughter married the Duke of Lennox, from whom the Barony has descended by female heirs to the O'Brien, Hyde, and Bligh families. Bacon's fear his life be in serious danger was due to the popular feeling against him that grew out of his connection with the Earl of Essex, although Spedding has been able to show beyond a doubt that it was wholly misdirected and unjust. The fact of its existence, however, cannot be questioned. Bacon frequently referred to it in his correspondence during the period 1599–1601: "My life has been threatened and my name libeled." (Bacon, *Letter to the Queen*). And then "As for any violence to be offered me, wherewith my friends tell me I am offered, I thank God I have the privy coat of a good conscience. I know no remedy against libels and lies." (Bacon, *Letter to Cecil*). In another letter: "For my part I have deserved better than to have my name objected to envy, or my life to a ruffian's violence." (Bacon, *Letter to Howard*).

**Bacon's lost Sonnet** In 1604 Francis Bacon addressed his *Apologie* concerning the late Earl of Essex to Mountjoy, "because you loved the Earl." Though Bacon does "profess not to be a poet" he "prepared a sonnet directly tending and alluding to draw on her Majesty's reconciliation to" Essex. Unfortunately this Sonnet is now lost.

**Bacon's manuscripts** Some time after Bacon's death (probably in 1627), in accordance with this provision of the will, Mr. Bosville, or (as he is better known) Sir William Boswell, British Minister to Holland, having being in possession of the manuscripts, carried them with him to The Hague, and there committed them to his learned friend, Isaac Gruter, for publication. Gruter took the matter in hand, but determined first of all to reissue for Continental readers the works of Bacon which had previously been printed in England. Accordingly, in anticipation of his work on the manuscripts, he edited and published the following:

1. Sapiientia Veterum, Leyden, 1633.
2. Historia Ventorum, 1638.
3. Essays, 1641 and 1644.
4. Novum Organum, 1645 with a frontispiece where Bacon appears seated at a table with a large open volume before him. He is pointing to this volume with the index finger of his right hand. With his left arm extended he is restraining a female figure intent upon carrying a clasped book to a temple, evidently the Temple of Fame, on a distant height. This figure is clad in a beast's skin, and is therefore, the Muse of Tragedy, the word tragedy being derived from the two Greek words *tragos* and *odi*, meaning goat and song (literally,

- goat-song). In ancient Greece the goat was sacred to the drama. At every performance in the theatre, actors and even members of the chorus, wore goat-skins.
5. De Augmentis, 1645.
  6. History of Henry VII., 1647.
  7. Sylva Sylvarum, 1648.
  8. New Atlantis, 1648.
  9. Novum Organum, 1650.
  10. De Augmentis, 1652.

In 1653 Grüter finally gave to the world, in a book printed at Amsterdam and entitled *Francisci Baconi de Verulamio Scripta in Naturali et Universali Philosophia*, nineteen of the manuscripts with which he had been entrusted by Boswell. In an “Address to the Reader,” prefixed to the volume, he tells us that he and Boswell had had many long confidential interviews on the subject; in consequence of which, as it appears, some of the papers in the collection were, for reasons not given, withheld from the public. The exact statement is as follows: “All these hitherto unpublished writings you owe, dear reader, to the most noble William Boswell, to whom they were devised by Bacon himself, together with others of a political and moral nature, which are now, by gift of the deceased, in my private keeping, and which are not to be printed for a long time to come.” On March 20, 1655 Grüter wrote to Rawley, Bacon’s old Chaplain and amanuensis in London, a letter in which he expressed great impatience because he was not permitted to publish them: “At present I will restrain my impatient desires, in the hope of seeing some day those things which, now committed to faithful privacy, await the time when they may safely see the light and not be stilled in their birth.” Many of Bacon’s manuscripts have come down to us in books; great piles of letters, written, most of them, not when he was Lord Chancellor, but when he was Master Bacon. Even his commonplace books have found their way into the British Museum, and the very scraps of paper upon which his amanuensis tried his pen. Spedding had found an original package of the private letters of Lord Burghley, just as they were tied up by the great Lord Treasurer’s own hand, never opened or disturbed for nigh three hundred years. In the British Museum, they have the original manuscript copies of religious plays written in the reign of Henry VI., two hundred years before the time of Shakespeare; but that marvellous collection had not a line of any of the plays written by the author of *King Lear* and *Hamlet*. (Donnelly).<sup>355</sup>

**Bacon’s Masonic affiliations** Francis Bacon tells us in his work, *Relations*, that “the gardens of the Muses keep the privilege of the golden age; they even flourish and are in league with Time. The monuments of wit survive the monuments of power; the verses of a poet endure without a syllable lost, while states and empires pass many periods. Let him not think he shall descend, for he is now upon a hill as a ship is mounted on the ridge of a wave; but that hill of the Muses is above tempests, always clear and calm, a hill of the goodliest discovery

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355 Donnelly Ignatius. *Great Cryptogram*

that man can have, being a prospect upon all the errors of wanderings of the present and former times.” In Bacon’s chief works is to be found a title page engraving, the chief features of which are the two Masonic columns or pillars, which sufficiently prove Bacon’s Masonic affiliations. These two columns may be refound upon the title page engraving of the *Novum Organum* (1620) first edition; *Sylva Sylvarum* (1626–27) and *Advancement of Learning* (1640). Of the many curious old manuscripts preserved in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and other libraries, there are few extant more interesting to the antiquarian student than the Harleian MSS. They appeal also to the Masons. Speaking of Masonry, the author or authors begins with a dissertation on the seven liberal arts and sciences, *viz.*: “Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, and Astronomy.” After tracing Masonry through Noah and Moses to David and Solomon, it carries it into France by one Nymus Græcus, who had been at the building of Solomon’s Temple. From France it takes Masonry into England in the time of St. Alban, then on to the time of King Athelstane. Reference is also made in these manuscripts, to Prince Edwin, therein called Hadrian.<sup>356</sup> What made Bacon invent his Atlantis, his pillars, and the entire scheme? Masonry did not exist in its modern form in his age. Being a profound student of Dante and Virgil, living in an ancient Masonic centre like St. Albans, Bacon contemplated the revival and resuscitation of a secret Brotherhood and Knightly order, borrowed from the Templars and their mystic Rose. His *Dialogue Of A Holy War* is the most conclusive possible hint for the Temple, audits peaceful soldiery, possible to conceive. It proves, beyond doubt, Bacon was a propagandist for the reformation and the restoring of man’s fallen condition. As Ben Jonson stated, “The jewel that we find, we stop and take it, because we see it; but what we do not see, we tread upon, and never think of it.”

Bacon’s 137th translated Psalm in the *Resuscitatio* of 1671, gives part of the reception or rite of the degree of super-excellent master in cryptic Masonry:

When as we sat all sad and desolate  
 By Babylon upon the river’s side,  
 Eased from the tasks, which in our captive state  
 We were enforced daily to abide,  
 Our harps we had brought with us to the field  
 Some solace to our heavy souls to yield.

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356 Harleian MSS., No. 2054, Circa A.D. 1650

Mackey's *Cryptic Masonry* <sup>357</sup> gives this verse as part of the reception into the degree mentioned, thus:

By Babel's stream we sit and weep;  
Our tears for Zion flow:  
Our harps on drooping willows sleep;  
Our hearts are filled with woe.

Cryptic Masonry is that division of the Masonic system which is directed to the investigation and cultivation of the Cryptic degrees. It is, literally, the Masonry of the Secret Vault. As a symbol, the Secret Vault does not present itself in the primary degrees of Masonry. It is found only in the high degrees, such as the Royal Arch of all the Rites, where it plays an important part. Dr. Oliver, in his *Historical Landmarks*, <sup>358</sup> gives, while referring to the building of the second Temple, the following general detail of the Masonic legend of this vault: "The foundations of the Temple were opened, and cleared from the accumulation of rubbish, that a level might be procured for the commencement of the building. While engaged in excavations for this purpose, three fortunate sojourners are said to have discovered our ancient stone of foundation, which had been deposited in the secret crypt by Wisdom, Strength, and Beauty, to prevent the communication of ineffable secrets to profane or unworthy persons. The discovery having been communicated to the prince, prophet, and priest of the Jews, the stone was adopted as the chief corner-stone of the re-edified building, and thus became, in a new and more expressive sense, the type of a more excellent dispensation. An avenue was also accidentally discovered, supported by seven pair pillars, perfect and entire, which, from their situation, had escaped the fury of the flames that had consumed the Temple, and the desolation of war that had destroyed the city."

The Secret Vault, which had been built by Solomon, as a secure depository for certain secrets that would inevitably have been lost without some such expedient for their preservation, communicated by a subterranean avenue with the King's palace; but at the destruction of Jerusalem the entrance having been closed by the rubbish of falling buildings, it had been discovered by the appearance of a keystone amongst the foundations of the *sanctum sanctorum*. A careful inspection was then made, and the invaluable secrets were placed in safe custody. The vault was, in the ancient mysteries, symbolic of the grave; for initiation was symbolic of death, where alone Divine Truth is to be found.

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<sup>357</sup> (a) Mackey. *Cryptic Masonry Manual of the Council*, p. 83, 1867: "A highest branch of the Order is Cryptic Masonry, which, although rapidly growing, is not yet as extensive as Royal Arch Masonry. It consists of two degrees, Royal and Select Master, to which is sometimes added the Super Excellent, which, however, is considered only as an honorary degree." (b) Mackey. *Encyclopaedia of Masonry*: "In the ceremonies of Masonry, we find the cavern or vault in what is called the Cryptic Masonry of the American Rite, and also in the high degrees of the French and Scottish Rites, in which it is a symbol of the darkness of ignorance and crime impenetrable to the light of truth."

<sup>358</sup> Mackey. *Encyclopaedia of Masonry*, Vol. II. p. 434

**Bacon's Masques** These Masques that will be found in detail following:

An essential Masque was the appeal of the moment to the eye and the ear, the blaze of colour and light, the mist of perfume, the succession of rapidly changing scenes and tableaux, crowded with wonderful and beautiful figures. All the gods of Olympus, all the monsters of Tartarus, all the heroes of history, all the ladies of romance, the fauns, the satyrs, the fairies, the witches all were presented to the eye, while every kind of musical instrument charmed the ear, and eye and ear together were delighted by an elaboration of dance and measured motion which has never been known since.

These Masques, the first is taken from the edition of the works of Beaumont and Fletcher published in 1778, where it was printed from the quarto edition published at the time. It is there justly remarked that "all the other copies of it," of which that in the English Poets is one, "are extremely erroneous and imperfect. None of the descriptive parts are inserted in them; and to point out the blunders and other omissions would require almost as many notes as the Masque contains lines." The insertions within brackets in the Introduction are from Howes's *Chronicle*. The second Masque is from a copy in the Garrick Collection in the British Museum; another in the Gough Collection in the Bodleian Library.

**The Masque Of The Inner Temple And Gray's Inn,  
Gray's Inn And The Inner Temple;**

Presented Before

His Majesty, The Queen's Majesty,  
The Prince Count Palatine and The Lady Elizabeth Their Highnesses,

In The Banqueting Hall at Whitehall on Saturday the 20th Day Of February 1612–13.

By Mr. Francis Beaumont.

Dedication.

To the worthy Sir Francis Bacon, his Majesty's Solicitor General;  
And the grave and learned Bench of the anciently-allied Houses of Gray's Inn  
And the Inner Temple, the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn.

You that spared no time nor travail in the setting forth, ordering, and furnishing <sup>359</sup> of this Masque, (being the first fruits of honour in this kind, which these two Societies have offered

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<sup>359</sup> To liquidate the charge in apparel for the actors, the Readers at Gray's Inn were assessed each man at £4; the Ancients, and such as at that time were to be called Ancients, at £2.10s apiece; the Barristers at £2. a man; and the Students at 20s. out of which so much was to be taken as the Inner Temple did then allow. Which being performed, there was an order made May 18 then next following, "That the Gentlemen who were actors in that Masque, should bring in all their Masquing Apparel, as provided at the charge of



to his Majesty), will not think much now to look back upon the effects of your own care and work; for that whereof the success was then doubtful, is now happily performed and graciously accepted; and that which you were then to think of in straits of time, you may now peruse at leisure. And you, Sir Francis Bacon, especially, as you did then advance it, so let your good word grace it and defend it, which is able to add value to the greatest and least matters.

#### Introduction.

This Masque was appointed to have been presented the Shrove Tuesday before, at which time the Masquers with their Attendants, and divers gallant young Gentlemen of both Houses as their convoy, set forth from Winchester House (which was the rendezvous), towards the Court, about seven of the clock at night [and rowed to Whitehall against the tide]. This voyage by water was performed in great triumph; the Gentlemen Masquers being placed by themselves in the King's Royal barge, with the rich furniture of state, and adorned with a great number of [great wax] lights placed in such order as might make best show. They were attended with [others in the Prince's barge and] a multitude of barges and gallies, with all variety of loud music and several peals of ordnance; and led by two Admirals. Of this Show his Majesty was graciously pleased to take view, with the Prince, the Count Palatine and the Lady Elizabeth their Highnesses, at the windows of his Privy Gallery, upon the water, till their landing, which was at the Privy Stairs; where they were most honourably received by the Lord Chamberlain, and so conducted to the Vestry.

The Hall was by that time filled with company of very good fashion; but yet so as a very great number of principal Ladies and other noble persons were not yet come in, whereby it was foreseen that the room would be so scant as might have been inconvenient; and thereupon his Majesty was most graciously pleased, with the consent of the Gentlemen Masquers, to put off the night until Saturday following, with this special favour and privilege, that there should be no let as to the outward ceremony of magnificence until that time. At the day it was presented, there was a choice room reserved for both their Houses, who coming in troop about seven of the clock, received that special honour and noble favour as to be brought to their places by the right honourable the Earl of Northampton, Lord Privy Seal.

#### The Devise Or Argument.

Jupiter and Juno, willing to do honour to the Marriage of the two famous Rivers, Thames and Rhine, employ their messengers severally, Mercury and Iris, for that purpose. They meet and contend; then Mercury, for his part, springs forth an Anti-Masque all of spirits or divine natures; but yet not of one kind or livery (because that had been so much in use heretofore); but, as it were, in consort, like to broken music. And preserving the propriety of the Devise, for

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the House." For the Masque at Christmas 1634–35 which was presented to the King at the equal charges of the Four Inns of Court, every Bencher contributed £5, every Utter Barrister of seven years standing, £2.10s, every Gentlemen under the Bar 20s. besides several Officers larger sums

that Rivers in nature are maintained either by springs from beneath, or showers from above, he raiseth four of the Naiades out of the fountains, and bringeth down fire of the Hyades out of the clouds to dance. Hereupon Iris scoffs at Mercury, for that he had devised a Dance but of one sex, which could have no life; but Mercury who was provided for that exception, and in token that the Match should be blessed both in love and riches, calleth forth out of the groves four Cupids, and brings down from Jupiter's altar four statues of gold and silver to dance with the Nymphs and Stars. In which Dance, the Cupids being blind and the statues having but half-life put into them, and retaining still somewhat of their old nature, giveth fit occasion to new and strange varieties both in the music and paces. This was the First Anti-Masque.

Then Iris, for her part, in scorn of this high-flying Devise, and in token that the Match should likewise be blessed with the love of the common people, calls to Flora, her confederate (for that the months of flowers are likewise the months of sweet showers and rainbows), to bring in a May dance, or rural dance, consisting likewise not of any suited persons, but of a confusion or commixture of all such persons as are natural and proper for country sports. This is the Second Anti-Masque.

Then Mercury and Iris, after this viewing one upon the other, seem to leave their contention; and Mercury, by the consent of Iris, brings down the Olympian Knights, intimating that Jupiter having, after a long discountenance, revived the Olympian Games, and summoned thereunto from all parts the liveliest and activest persons that were, had enjoined them, before they fell to their Games, to do honour to these Nuptials. The Olympian Games portend to the Match celebrity, victory, and felicity. The fabric was a mountain with two descents, and severed with two traverses. At the entrance of the King, the first traverse was drawn and the lower descent of the mountain discovered, which was the pendant of a hill to life, with divers boscs and groves upon the steep or hanging ground thereof; and at the foot of the hill, from delicate fountains running with water, and bordered with sedges and water flowers. This was the main Masque.

**The Masque of Flowers,  
By The Gentlemen of Gray's Inn,**

At The Court Of Whitehall, In The Banqueting House,  
Upon Twelfth Night, 1613–14.  
Being the Last of The Solemnities And Magnificences Which

Were Performed At The Marriage of  
The Right Honourable The Earle Of Somerset And The Lady Frances,  
Daughter of The Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain.  
To The Very Honorable Knight, Sir Francis Bacon,

His Majesty's Attorney General.

Honourable Sir; This last Masque, presented by Gentlemen of Gray's Inn, before his Majesty, in honour of the Marriage and happy alliance between two such principal persons of the Kingdom, as are the Earl of Suffolk and the Earl of Somerset, hath received such grace from his Majesty, the Queen, and Prince, and such approbation from the general, as it may well deserve to be repeated to those that were present, and represented to those that were absent, by committing the same to the press as others have been.

The dedication of it could not be doubtful, you having been the principal, and in effect the only person that did both encourage and warrant the Gentlemen show their good affection towards so noble a Conjunction in a time of such magnificence, wherein we conceive without giving you false attributes, which little need where so many are true, that you have graced in general all the Societies of the Inns of Court, in continuing them still as third persons with the Nobility and Court, in doing the King honour. And particularly Gray's Inn, which as you have formerly brought to flourish both in the ancients and younger sort, by countenancing virtue in every quality; so now you have made a notable demonstration thereof in the later and less serious kind, by this, that one Inn of Court by itself in time of a vacation, and in the space of three weeks could perform that which hath been performed, which could not have been done, but that every man's exceeding love and respect to you gave him wings to overtake Time, which is the swiftest of things. This which we allege for our honour, we may allege indifferently for our excuse, if anything were amiss or wanting, for your times did scarce afford moments, and our experience went not beyond the compass of some former employment of that nature, which our graver studies ought have made us by this time to have forgotten. And so, wishing you all increase of honour, we rest, humbly to do you service,

J. G. W. D. T. B.

#### The Device Of The Masque.

The Sun, willing to do honour to a Marriage between two noble persons of the greatest island of his universal empire, writeth his Letter of Commission to the two seasons of the year, the Winter and the Spring, to visit and present them on his part, directing the Winter to present them with sports, such as are commonly called by the name of Christmas sports, or Carnival sports; and the Spring with other sports of more magnificence.

And more especially, that Winter for his part take knowledge of a certain Challenge which had been lately sent and accepted between Silenus and Kawasha upon this point, that Wine was more worthy than Tobacco, and did more cheer and relieve the spirits of man. This to be tried at two weapons, at Song and at Dance, and requiring the Winter to give order that the same Challenge be performed in the days of the solemnity of the same Marriage.

The same Letter containeth a second special direction to the Spring, that whereas of ancient time certain beautiful youths had been transformed from Men to Flowers, and had so continued till

this time, that now they should be returned again into men, and present themselves in Mask at the same Marriage.

All this is accordingly performed, and first the two Seasons Invierno and Primavera come in, and receive their dispatch from the Sun, by Callus, the Sun's Messenger; thereupon Winter brings in the Challenge, consisting of two Anticke-Maskes, the Anticke-Maske of the Song, and the Anticke-Maske of the Dance.

Then the Spring brings in the Masque itself, and there is first scene in the fabrique a fair garden upon a descending ground, and at the height thereof there is a stately long arbour or bower arched upon pillars, wherein the Maskers art placed, but are not discovered at the first, but there appear only certain great tufts of flowers betwixt the columns. Those flowers upon the charm do vanish, and so the Maskers appear every one in the space inter-column of his arch.

**Bacon's mechanical devices** Francis Bacon contrived a mechanical device with the assistance of Salomon du Caus, to hide the manuscripts which shall be revealed when some wit stumbles upon its musical tune.

**Bacon's medical theory** The brain is the origin and seat of the rheum, which descends from thence and produces disease in other organs; a theory preserved in the word *catarrh*. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XLV).

**Bacon's mention of Shakespeare** Though Bacon never mentions the name of Shakespeare, he does refer to one of the plays, thus in his charge against Mr. Oliver St. John we have "and, for your comparison with Richard II., I see you follow the example of them, that brought him upon the stage in Queen Elizabeth's time." <sup>360</sup>

**Bacon's name** Fra. Bacon, no doubt his composition of writing his own name. [Also see *Bacon's Pedigree*.]

**Bacon's nineteen motions** Within the *Novum Organum*:

- First motion: resistance in matter which is inherent in each several portion of it, and in virtue of which it absolutely refuses to be annihilated. This motion the schoolmen either denote by the axiom *two bodies cannot be in one place*, or call *the motion to prevent penetration of dimensions*.
- Second motion: motion of connexion, but which bodies do not suffer themselves to be separated at any point from contact with another body; as delighting in mutual connexion and contact. This motion the schoolmen call *motion to prevent a vacuum*, as when water is drawn up by suction or in a pump.

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360 Thos. W. White. *Our English Homer*, p. 136

- Third motion: motion of liberty; by which bodies strive to escape from preternatural pressure or tension, and to restore themselves to the dimensions suitable to their nature. Schoolmen refer to under the name of *motion in accordance with the form of the element*.
- Fourth motion: motion of matter; which is in some sort the converse of the last named motion.
- Fifth motion: the motion of continuity; by which I do not mean simple and primary continuity with some other body (for that is the motion of connexion), but self continuity in a given body.
- Sixth motion: motion for gain, or motion of want. It is that by which bodies, when laced among quite heterogeneous and hostile bodies, if they find an opportunity of escaping from these and uniting themselves to others more cognate, (though these others be such as have no close union with them,) do nevertheless embrace the latter and choose them as preferable; and seem to view this connexion in the light of a gain (whence the term), as though they stood in need of such bodies.
- Seventh motion: motion of the greater congregation; by which bodies are carried towards masses of a like nature with themselves; heavy bodies to the globe of the earth, light to the compass of the heaven. This the schoolmen have denoted by the name of *natural motion*.
- Eighth motion: the motion of the lesser congregation; by which the homogeneous parts in a body separate themselves from the heterogeneous, and combine together; by which also entire bodies from similarly of substance embrace and cherish each other, and sometimes are attracted and collected together from a considerable distance.
- Ninth motion: the magnetic; which, though it be of the same genus with the motion of the lesser congregation, yet if it operates at great distances and on large masses, deserves a separate investigation; especially if it begin not with contact, as most, nor lead to contact, as all motions of congregation do; but simply raise bodies or make them swell, and nothing more.
- Tenth motion: that of flight; a motion the exact opposite of that of the lesser congregation; by which bodies from antipathy flee from and put to flight hostile bodies, and separate themselves from them, or refuse to mingle with them.
- Eleventh motion: that of assimilation, or of self-multiplication or again of simple generation. By which I mean not the generation of integral bodies, as plants or animals, but of bodies of uniform texture.
- Twelfth motion: that of excitation; a motion which seems to belong to the genus of assimilation, and which I sometimes call by that name.
- Thirteenth motion: the motion of impression; which also is of the same genus with the motion of assimilation, and is of diffusive motions the most subtle.
- Fourteenth motion: the motion of configuration of position; by which bodies seem to desire not union or separation, but position, collocation, and configuration with respect to others.

- Fifteenth motion: the motion of transition, or motion according to the passages; by which the virtues of bodies are more or less impeded or promoted by their media, according to the nature of the body and of the acting virtues, and also of the medium.
- Sixteenth motion: the royal as I call it or political motion; by which the predominant and commanding parts in any body curb, tame, subdue, and regulate the other parts, and compel them to unite, separate, stand still, move, and range themselves, not in accordance with their own desires, but as may conduce to the well being of the commanding part.
- Seventeenth motion: the spontaneous motion of rotation, by which bodies delighting in motion and favourably placed for it enjoy their own nature, and follow themselves, not another body; and court their own embraces.
- Eighteenth motion: the motion of trepidation, to which, as understood by astronomers, I do not attach much credit.
- Nineteenth motion: the last motion being one, which, though it hardly answers to the name, is yet indisputably a motion; and let us call it the motion of repose, or of aversion to move. It is by this motion that the earth stands still in its mass, while its extremities are moving toward the middle; not to an imaginary centre, but to union.

**Bacon's opinion on Galen and Paracelsus** Galen was a man of the narrowest mind, a forsaker of experience, and a vain pretender. Like the dog-star, he condemned mankind to death, for he assumed that whole classes of diseases are incurable. But I could better indure thee, O Galen, weighing thy elements, than thee, O Paracelsus, adorning thy dreams. With what zeal do both of you take shelter under the authority of Hippocrates, like asses under a tree? And who bursts not into laughter at such a sight? (Bacon, *Redargutio Philosophiarum*).

**Bacon's opinion on the *Instauratio Magna*** For my own part at least, in obedience to the everlasting love of truth, I have committed myself to the uncertainties and difficulties and solitudes of the ways, and relying on the divine assistance have upheld my mind both against the shocks and embattled ranks of opinion, and against my own private and inward hesitations and scruples, and against the fogs and clouds of nature, and the phantoms flitting about on every side; in the hope of providing at last for the present and future generations guidance more faithful and secure. (Bacon, *In. Mag*).

**Bacon's pedigree** A modern motto of the Somersetshire Bacons has an ingenious rebus: ProBa-conSCIENTIA; the capitals, thus placed, giving it the double reading, *Proba coniscentia*, and *Pro Bacon Scientia*. Under our Norman Kings, bacons signified *dried wood*, and *hosebaunde* a husbandman, then a term of contempt. However, the name of Bacon has been considered to be of Norman origin, arising from some fief so called.<sup>361</sup> Old Richard Verstegan, famous for Saxon lore and archaeological research, explains it thus: "Bacon, of the Beechen tree, anciently called

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361 *Roman de Rose*, Vol. II. p. 269

BUCON; and, whereas swinesflesh is now called by the name of BACON, it grew only at the first unto such as were fatted with BUCON or beechmast.”<sup>362</sup> There is one agreeable feature in this explanation, *viz.*, which it professes somewhat naturally to account for the mysterious relation between the flesh of the unclean animal, and the name of a very ancient and honourable family. But its chief value is to be found in the singular authentication of it, which is found in Collins’ *Baronetage* and is given in the Appendices. In the very ample and particular account there given of the pedigree of the Premier Baronet, it will be seen that the first man who assumed the surname of Bacon, was one William (temp. Rich. I.), a great grandson of the Grimbaldu, who came over with the Conqueror and settled in Norfolk. Of course there was some reason for his taking that name; and though Collins makes no comment on it, he does in fact unconsciously supply that reason (elucidated by Verstegan) by happily noting of this sole individual, that he bore for his arms, argent, a beech tree proper. The explanation given in a former number from old Verstegan, of the original meaning of the family name of Bacon, and the application of the word to the unclean beast, with the corroboration from the pages of Collins’ *Baronetage* is very interesting. Of another early biographical notice of Bacon is to be found prefixed to the French edition of the *Histoire Naturelle*, published in Paris in 1631. The author is presumably Pierre Amboise, to whom the license to print was granted.

Bacon Arms: Quarterly, First and fourth, Gules, on a Chief, Argent, two Mulletts, Sable, for Bacon. Second and third, Barry of Six, Or and Azure, over all a Bend, Gules, for Quaplod. Bacon Crest: On a Wreath, Argent and Gules, a Boar passant Ermine. Bacon Motto: *Mediocra Firma*. Bacon Seat: Colchester in Essex.

The Bacon family derive their descent from Grimbaldu, who came into England at the time of the Norman Conquest, in company with William Earl Warren, to whom he was related; which Grimbaldu had lands in Normandy; and, after his arrival in England, settled at Letheringsett, near Holt in Norfolk. Grimbaldu founded a church, and made his second son, Edmund, parson of it. His other sons were Radulph and Ranulph. Roger, the son of Ranulph, was father of Robert, the first of the family we find mentioned by the name of Bacon, whose brother, William Bacon, was of Monks Bradfield in the county of Suffolk, temp. Ric. I., which William is taken notice of among the Knights bearing banners, as well Normans as of other provinces, in the reign of King Philip II., of France, and by a daughter of Thomas, Lord Bardolph, was father of another William, of the same place, whose son, Adam, lived in the time of Edward I., and left two sons: Wido Bacon of Bradfield aforesaid, who died without issue, and Robert Bacon of Hessel, alias Hege-sett, in the said county. The said Robert, by Alice his wife, daughter of Burgate, had issue John Bacon of Hessel and Bradfield, who was father of John Bacon, and he of another John, of the same places, who married Helena, daughter of Gedding, and by her left a son of his own name, who married (first) Helena, daughter of Sir George Tillot, of Rougham in Norfolk, Knight, and (secondly) Julian, daughter of Bardwell; from which second marriage proceeded

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<sup>362</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. IX. p. 299

the Bacons of Hessel, who flourished there near five hundred years, and have not been extinct a century. John, son of the said John Bacon, (by Helena his first wife) married Margery, daughter and heir of John Thorp, son of William Thorp, (by the daughter and heir of Quaplod) son of Sir William Thorp (by the daughter and heir of Sir Roger Bacon, a commander in the wars, temp. Edward II., and Edward III., son of Sir Henry Bacon, son of another Sir Henry, a judge itinerant, temp. Henry, III. lineally descended from Grimbaldus); since which marriage this branch of the family quarter the arms of Quaplod with their own, *viz.* Barry of six, or and Azure, a Bend, Gules. The said John Bacon was father of Edmund Bacon of Drinkston, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Crofts, by whom he had issue John Bacon, who married Agnes, daughter of Thomas Cockfield, and had issue Robert Bacon of Drinkston, who lies buried at Hessel, with Isabella his wife, daughter of John Cage, of Pakenham in Suffolk, by whom he had issue three sons and two daughters, *viz.*

1. Thomas Bacon, of Northaw, in Hertfordshire, who married the daughter of Brown, but died without issue.
2. Sir Nicholas Bacon hereafter mentioned.
3. James Bacon, Alderman of London, who died in 1573 and lies buried at St. Dunstan's in the East London; leaving issue, Sir James Bacon, of Friston in Suffolk, Knight, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Bacon of Hessel. William and one daughter, Anne, married to George Revett of Brandeston in Suffolk. The daughters of the said Robert Bacon were, Barbara, married to Robert Sharp, and Anne to Robert Blackman, both of St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk.

Sir Nicholas Bacon was the second son to Robert. He was born at Chistehurst in Kent, and educated at Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, (to which he was a great benefactor, by endowing it with six scholarships, three whereof he appropriated to scholars from Botesdale school, near his feat at Redgrave, founded by himself, and building the chapel and library over it) after which, removing to Gray's Inn for the study of the law, he made such a proficiency that King Henry VIII., in the thirty-eighth of his reign, made him attorney of the Court of Wards, having before, in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, granted him the manors of Redgrave, Botesdale, and Gillingham, late belonging to the monastery of St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk, with the park of Redgrave, and six acres of land in Wortham, as also the tithes of Redgrave, to hold in capite by Knight's service and upon the death of that King (which happened soon after) he had his patent renewed; Edward VI., and in the sixth of the same King was constituted Treasurer of Gray's Inn, of which society he was a member.

Being grown still more famous for his knowledge, he had the honour of Knighthood conferred upon him by Queen Elizabeth I., in the first year of her reign, and was made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, which office in his time was by Act of Parliament made equal in authority with that of the Chancellor. He promoted the interest of England to his power and, to secure



his own, made use of the policy of the age, *viz.* great alliance. He and Cecil [Lord Burghley] married two sisters: Walsingham and Mildmay, two more Knolles, Essex, and Leicester, were also linked together. As to greatness, Sir Nicholas never affected it, according to his motto, *Mediocria firma*; nor was he so much for a large, as a good estate. His houses at Redgrave in Suffolk and Gorhambury in Hertfordshire were convenient, but not stately; which made Queen Elizabeth tell him, when she called at Redgrave, in her progress, "That it was too little for his Lordship", to which he answered, "No Madam, but your Highness has made me too big for it." However, on that remark he is said to have added the wings to the house. Sir Nicholas Bacon died 21 *Eliz.* 1579 and was interred on the south side of the choir of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, where a noble monument was erected to his memory, before the Fire of London, 1666.

We know from various accounts and records of the time, that Sir Nicholas Bacon had the deepest reach into affairs of any man that was at the Council Table; the knottiest head to pierce into difficulties; the most comprehensive judgment to surround the merit of a cause; the strongest memory to recollect all circumstances of a business to one view the greatest patience to debate and consider, and the clearest reason to urge anything that came in his way in Court or Chancery. His dexterity and dispatch advanced him to the Court of Wards; his deep experience made him Lord Keeper. Great was this Statesman's wit, greater the fame of it. He was the exactest man to draw up a law in Council, and the most discrete to execute it in Court. The Excellency of his parts was set off with the gravity of his person; his account of England and all its affairs was punctual; his use of learned artists was continual; his correspondence with his fellow statesmen exact; his apprehension of our laws and government clear; his model of both, methodical; his faithfulness to the church, eminent; his industrious invention for the state, indefatigable; he was that moderate man that was appointed to preside at the disputation between the Protestant and popish doctors in the first year of Elizabeth; in a word, he was a father of his country, and of Francis Bacon.

At the accession of Elizabeth, Nicholas Bacon was about thirty-six years old; a large corpulent man, with a square massive face, deeply lined, high arched brows, and an aquiline nose; the expression of the whole visage keen, hard, and unsparing. As a politician, Nicholas Bacon was unknown to Elizabeth, but had been recommended by Cecil. He received a grant from Henry VIII., of three manors, and during Somerset's government he conducted himself with skilful prudence, and gave no offence to any party. In Mary's reign his official position was undisturbed. He appears in a favourable light as depicted by Mr. Froude in his *Elizabethan Worthies*. In speaking of her various ministers to La Motte Feneleon, the French Ambassador, Elizabeth said that she had the good fortune to have had in her employment two men possessed of more practical common sense than any others whom she had ever known, namely, William Cecil and Nicholas Bacon. The Queen added with a smile: "But those who had little sense or prudence sometimes pleased me more." The latter passage would lead to the inference that "golden Eliza," with perhaps a sigh, thought of the days when Dudley or Hatton enjoyed the royal favour. Sir

Nicholas Bacon held the office of Lord Keeper, or Chancellor, for nearly twenty years. As a judge he gave general satisfaction; and it was remarked, by his contemporaries of all parties, that from the days of Sir Thomas More, justice had never been so well administered in the Court of Chancery. On the bench he was patient and courteous, and, like Wolsey, he displayed a sympathy for the poor suitor, and always discouraged that spirit of litigation for fostering which the attorneys and lawyers of those times were notorious.

When we come to examine the "political character" of Nicholas Bacon, he at once appears to be the unscrupulous instrument of Elizabeth and Cecil. In 1568 the Queen appointed him to preside over the commission which was held at Hampton Court to enquire into the murder of Darnley, and investigate the "casket case." On this occasion, he formed a friendship for such men as Moray and Buchanan. At one of the meetings convened for this investigation, Nicholas Bacon spoke in terms of scorn of Mary Stuart and those nobles and lairds who sustained her legitimate claims in Scotland. The Scots felt that the English Chancellor had offered an insult to their country, and the name of Bacon was long years subsequently execrated by the Scots. In the English Parliament Sir Nicholas Bacon was also unpopular. He told the Commons that "they should do well to meddle with no matters of State but such as should he propounded for them." The Puritan spirit, was not, however, so easily humbled. Several members brought forward motions about the abuse of the royal prerogative in granting monopolies, and the necessity for settling the succession to the Crown. Several of those "unruly Puritans" were summoned before the Council, when Nicholas Bacon severely reprimanded them for their temerity; and one member, who persisted in stating that he had a right to express his honest convictions, was carried out of the House, and lodged in the Fleet, where he remained for two years, till death released him from Elizabeth's anger.

At the close of the Session of 1571, Nicholas Bacon highly extolled the "loyalty and discretion" of the House of Peers. The Queen was present on this occasion, and she attracted unusual crowds from the fact of her having made her journey to Westminster Abbey for the first time (April 2) in a coach, which was drawn by two palfreys covered with crimson velvet, embossed, and embroidered very richly; but this was the only coach in the procession; the Lord Keeper Bacon, and the Peers, Spiritual and Temporal, were on horseback, magnificently attired. The enthusiasm of the people for Elizabeth was immense; but they preferred seeing "golden Eliza" on horseback, "she looks so grand," writes Speaker Puckering, who, by the way, was himself heartily despised by the people. The proceedings of the Session of 1571 did not end without a fresh attack being made on the liberties of the Commons by Sir Nicholas Bacon. When Elizabeth went to open Parliament he was present. He sat upon the woolsack, and delivered an oration in the Queen's name to the members of both Houses. He was not permitted to take part in the Lords' debates, although he sat on the woolsack as their Speaker. This arrangement often led to unpleasant incidents, for Nicholas Bacon was obliged to listen to attacks upon him, and remain silent. He sometimes signified his dissent by "a peculiar cough," or playing impatiently with his "walking-

stick.” He condemned the Commons “for their audacious, arrogant, and presumptuous folly, thus by superfluous speech spending much time in meddling with matters neither pertaining to them nor within the capacity of their understanding.” The Puritan party in the Commons were rapidly increasing at this time in strength and courage, and the Queen and her Council crushed them whenever an opportunity offered. It is affirmed that Sir Nicholas Bacon “framed the acts, and gave important suggestions as to the manner in which the Queen of Scots and her adherents were to be disposed of.” The noble author of the *English Chancellors* remarks, “that although death saved Nicholas Bacon from the disgrace of being directly accessory to the death of Mary Stuart, he is chargeable with having strongly supported the policy which finally led to that catastrophe, by urging the continuation of the captivity of the Queen of Scots, and by aiding in the efforts to blacken her reputation; and by contending, that though a captive Sovereign, she ought to be treated as a rebellious subject.”

Sir Nicholas Bacon also played a noted part in the prosecution of those who sympathised with the Queen of Scots. Being a Commoner, Nicholas Bacon could neither act as Lord Steward, nor sit upon the trial of the Duke of Norfolk, who was one of the first who suffered for sympathising with Mary Stuart. Nevertheless, he put the Great Seal to the commission under which this mockery of justice was enacted, and must have superintended and directed the whole proceedings. He is to be considered answerable for such atrocities as depriving the prisoner of the use of books, and debarring him all communication with his family and friends; and placing him in a close dungeon in the Tower, giving him notice of trial only the night he bore his arraignment; keeping him in ignorance of the charges against him till he heard the indictment read in Court, and resting the case for the Crown on the confessions of witnesses whom the Council had ordered “to the plot to the rack, that they might find a taste there of Sir Nicholas Bacon, like his brother-in-law, Cecil, was determined to use every expedient to crush and enslave the believers in a religion which he himself had openly professed in the preceding reign, and had, like Cecil, partaken of Communion in the Queen’s presence; whilst, at the same time, he was in secret correspondence with the English reformers at Strasburg, for the overthrow of the religion in whose truth he publicly declared, in the manner above narrated, his solemn conviction.”

The Cottonian MS., Calig. f. 328., preserves a minute of the letter which Queen Elizabeth I., sent to the Scottish Queen to prepare herself for her arraignment, dated from Windsor Castle October 6, 1586. In the same folio is another letter from the Queen to Lord Burghley and Secretary Walsingham, upon some steps to be taken preparatory to the trial. From the following letter it will be seen that the trial had been finally agreed upon long before; and that at one time Hertford Castle was the place fixed upon for it to be held at. Lord Burghley was evidently in favour of bringing the Scottish Queen to Hertford and as will be seen, the nobility and gentry of the different counties appointed were to attend in relays to conduct the removal from Fotheringay: <sup>363</sup>

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363 Henry Ellis. *English History*, 1825

September 8, 1586.

A Memorial of matters with the Queen's Majesty concerning the Scot's Queen. <sup>364</sup>

To what place the Queen of Scots shall be removed. About what time the Counsel and Noblemen shall assemble to hear the Scot's Queen's cause. At what time the judgment of the Noblemen shall be affirmed by Parliament. Hereupon order is to be given for execution of the Resolutions. Upon the first, Sir Amyce Paulett is to be warned to put things in order for her remove, without giving to her, or to any of hers, any warning longer than two or three days. Not shewing to her to what place certain she shall go, but the space of two or three day's journey. Warning to be given to certain principal Gentlemen to attend with a number of servants for that purpose from Shire to Shire. To have letters sent severally to all Noblemen that are absent, to come to London about a day certain: or rather to the Court. According to the Queen's resolution to have either a new summons presently, or else to expect November 14. The Name of the Gentlemen appointed to attend the Queen of Scots in her Remove:

Out of Staffordshire

Sr. Walter Aston.  
Thomas Trentham.  
Thomas Grisseley.  
Edwardus Aston.  
Edw. Littleton.  
Walter Leveston.  
John Bowes.  
Richard Bagott.

By Warwickshire

Sr. Thomas Lucy.  
Sr. Fulk Grevil.  
Sr. Francis Willoughby.  
Sr. John Harrington.  
William Boughton.  
Edward Boughton.  
John Shuckborough.

By Northamptonshire

Sr. John Spencer.  
Sr. Richard Knightly.  
Sr. Edward Montagu.  
Anthony Mildmay.  
Edward Griffyn  
Thomas Brundell  
Thomas Androos.  
Bartholo. Tate.  
Edward Cope.

By a part of Buckinghamshire

Lord Grey.  
Sr. John Goodwyn.  
Robert Drury.  
Robert Dormer.  
William Hawtry.  
Griffyn Hampden.  
Thomas Pygot.

By Bedford

Earl of Kent.  
Lord St. John.  
Lord Cheyne.  
Tho. Ratcliff. <sup>365</sup>

Into Hertford

Sr. John Cutta.  
Sr. Henry Cock.  
Sr. John Brocket.  
Sr. Philip Butler.  
Henry Capel.  
George Horsey.  
Edward Verney.  
Tho. Fanshaw.  
Tho. Sadler.  
Car. Morysin.  
Edw. Bashe.

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364 MS. Lansd. No. 49., art. 68

365 Even here, Ratcliff would be present

Sir,

We are occupied with many offers to and fro in words, but I cannot certify you what shall be determined. Yesterday the Tower was flatly refused, and instead of Fothryngay, which we thought too far off, Hertford was named, and next to the Tower thought metest; and so for a time both liked and disliked for nearness to London. Nevertheless I hope it will be so concluded this day. And so I will write to Sr. Walter Mildmay for to stay brewing and provisions of coal, which by my last I required him to provide.

The Queen hath agreed upon nine Earls beside Counselors, and upon eight or nine Barons to hear the cause. Hertford shall be metar for such an assemble than Fothryngay can be. Grafton was also named, but unmet. We stuck upon Parliament, which her Majesty misliketh to have but we all persist, to make the burden better born and the world abroad better satisfied.

Naw offered on Tuesday to have opened much, and instead thereof, he hath only written to have a pardon as yesterday because it was the Queen's birthday. I do send to Mr. Mills to challenge him, and to warn him to be sent to the Tower if he do not otherwise acquit himself of his promise.

I think Curle will be more open, and yet Naw hath amply confessed by his hand writing to have written by the Queen's editing and her own minute that long letter to Babington, but he would qualify his Mistress' fault in that Babington provoked her thereto, and Morgan prevailed her to renew her intelligence with Babington.

Yours as,

W. Burghley

To the right honorable Sr. Francise Walsyngham

Knight pr. Secretary to her Majesty.

In a letter from the Earl of Leicester to Sir Francis Walsingham, after Sir Philip Sydney's death, there is a passage of no small importance to history upon the expected execution of the Queen of Scots, and which seems to present itself as no inappropriate introduction to Elizabeth's disavowal. Lord Leicester says, "There is a letter from the Scottish Queen that hath brought tears; but I trust shall do no further herein; albeit the delay is too dangerous." <sup>366</sup>

Elizabeth sometimes consulted Sir Nicholas Bacon as to the treatment of heretics who "continued obstinate thinkers in battling against God's Word." At other times the Queen commanded Bacon to carry out her own views. The Anabaptists were the special objects of her aversion. She writes thus to Nicholas Bacon against the existence of "certain heretics": "Those persons have been justly declared heretics, and therefore, as corrupt members, deserve to be cut off from the rest of the flock of Jesus Christ, lest they should corrupt others professing the true Christian faith. We, therefore, according to the regal functions of our office concerning the

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<sup>366</sup> Henry Ellis. *English History*, 1825

execution of justice in this special case, require you, our loyal and trusty Councillor, to make out and record our writ of execution for the said heretics.”

Sir Nicholas Bacon, like other public men of his time, suffered in various ways, from the enmity of the royal favourite. He possessed the negative virtue of hating heartily and holding in supreme contempt the execrable Leicester; nevertheless, he had the prudence to be silent, when the merits of the Queen’s “Sweet Robin” were discussed in private society, where the “special gossip” was happy to retain some thoughtless expression, which was quickly conveyed to Lord Leicester, who was, it is needless to add, universally detested. Of course Nicholas Bacon won the hatred of Leicester, and he was consequently expelled from the Privy Council. This manifested the power wielded, through a Sovereign’s despotic caprice, by a worthless favourite over a public servant. The reasons given for this action on the part of the Queen are not well understood. Some time before his death Nicholas Bacon was restored to the Council, but he refused to appear again at the Privy Council, or at any other public body, if the Earl of Leicester was present. The “Keeper” of the Queen’s elastic conscience, as well as her Fool, Clod, had to journey “unexpectedly” to the Hereafter.

Nicholas Bacon’s contemporaries, Hayward and Camden, record a very flattering private and public character of him. But contemporaneous criticism is to be measured by the characters, opportunities, and principles of the critics, as well as by the circumstances of the times. At a different epoch Nicholas Bacon might have been a passably good man; but, swayed by ambition, led by his surroundings, just as cells multiply in the growing tissues of organized structures, the germs of evil in the nature of Nicholas Bacon grew and fructified in the torrid glow of an exceptionally corrupt atmosphere. Few good men or women can be pointed at as existing throughout Europe, or England, during the long reign of Elizabeth, of whose statesmen Nicholas Bacon may be quoted as an average sample, although mistaken encomiasts have sadly injured even his reputation, by placing him on the same dark platform with a man inconceivably his superior in all the tortuous arts of deceit, in every want of principle, in every vile and cruel characteristic of an evil and treacherous cunning, which was then called statesmanship, Elizabeth’s Prime Minister, Sir William Cecil.<sup>367</sup>

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367 S.H. Burke. *Historical Portraits*, Vol III. 1883

**Poem**  
**By**  
**Sir Nicholas Bacon** <sup>368</sup>

Calling to mind my wife most dear  
How oft you have in sorrows sad  
With words full wise and pleasant cheer  
My drooping looks turned into glad,  
How oft you have my moods too bad  
Borne patiently with a mild mind,  
Assuaging them with words right kind.  
Thinking also with how good will  
The idle times which irksome be  
You have made short through your good skill  
In reading pleasant things to me,  
Whereof profit we both did see,  
As witness can if they could speak  
Both your Tully and my Seneca.  
Calling to mind these your kind deeds  
And herewithal wishing there might  
Such fruit spring out of these your sides  
As you might reap store due of right  
Strait want of power appeared in sight  
Affirming that I sought in vain  
Just recompense for so great gain.  
Then reason to my comfort said  
That want of power will should supply,  
If endeavour gave his whole aid  
To think and thank right heartily,  
And said she knows as well as I  
That *ultra posse non est esse* <sup>369</sup>  
To do your best therefore address ye.  
In doing this I had respect  
As reason would to your delight,  
And knowing that it doth reject  
Such things as in most women's sight  
Though vain indeed seems most of might,  
Therefore for you I could not find  
A more deep thing than fruits of mind.

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368 To his wife Anne in 1557–58

369 It would be impossible to do more

Lady Anne Cooke Bacon. Sir Nicholas' second wife was Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, of Giddy-Hall in Essex, Knight. By whom he had issue two sons: 1. Anthony, who was legate at Venice, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and died at Essex House in the Strand, unmarried, before his father; and 2. Sir Francis Bacon, Knight.

Bacon's birth is noted in the *Baconiana* published in 1679 as follows: "As to his parentage, he was born the youngest of those two male children, which Sir Nicholas Bacon of Redgrave, in Com. Suff. Knight, had by Anne his wife, one of the six daughters of Sir Anthony Cook, of Giddy-Hall, in Com. Essex. Knight; (a person much honoured for his learning, and being tutor to King Edward VI.,) all those daughters being exquisitely skilled in the Greek and Latin tongues." In furtherance to Bacon's birth, the entry continues: "His birth being at York House in the Strand, upon the 22nd day of January, Anno 1560. (2 *Eliz.*)" And here ends his boyhood, not much differently than how Dr. Rawley ends an account of it in the first edition of the *Resuscitatio* published in 1657. R.W. Church in his *Life of Bacon* gives the following: "Francis Bacon was born in London on the 22nd of January, 1560–61, three years before Galileo. He was born at York House, in the Strand; the house which, though it belonged to the Archbishops of York, had been lately tenanted by Lord Keepers and Lord Chancellors, in which Bacon himself afterwards lived as Lord Chancellor, and which passed after his fall into the hands of the Duke of Buckingham, who has left his mark in the Water Gate, far from the river, in the garden of the Thames Embankment." And nothing more toward Bacon's young years.

On June 10, 1573 he was matriculated in the University of Cambridge, and entered into Trinity College, under the care of Dr. White-Gift, [sometimes spelt Whitgift] then Master of the said College, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. After he had passed through the circle of the liberal arts, his father thought proper to qualify him for the management of public affairs, and sent him over to France with Sir Amyas Paulet, Ambassador to that Court, who entrusted him with a commission to the Queen, which he discharged with great approbation, and returned to France, with an intention to continue some years. During his absence, his father died in 1579, upon which he returned to England, and applied himself to the study of the common law, which he resolved upon as his profession. He was appointed one of the Queen's Council Extraordinary in the twenty-eighth year of his age an honour scarce ever granted before. He was one of the first that argued the difficult Case of Uses, called Chudleigh's Case, which is reported by Sir Edward Coke. However, the greater figure which he made in the ten last years of the Queen's reign, was in the House of Commons; and then it is thought he applied himself to politics; so that the Queen and Lord Treasurer Burghley [his uncle] employed his head and hand in affairs of state. He made no considerable advances in his fortune under Queen Elizabeth, but on the accession of King James I., to the crown, he was soon raised to considerable honours.

July 23, 1603 he was Knighted at Whitehall, and the year following he was made one of the King's Council Learned in the law; and, as his abilities had appeared in Council, in Parliament, and in his profession, and especially in his speeches which he made in the House of Commons,



he was in the year 1607 appointed Solicitor-General in the room of Sir Henry Hobart. In 1611 he was made joint Judge with Sir Thomas Vavasor, then Knight Marshal of the Knight Marshal's Court, and October 27, 1613 he succeeded Sir Henry Hobart as Attorney-General; June 9, 1616 he was sworn of the King's Privy Council, a trust rarely conferred, either before or since, on a gentleman in that office. March 7, 1616 he was appointed Lord keeper of the Great Seal, and January 4, 1618 he was made Lord Chancellor of England; on July 9 following created Lord Verulam, and January 27, 1620 he was advanced to the dignity of Viscount St. Albans, and appeared with the greatest honour and splendour at the opening of the session of Parliament on the 30th of that month.

But he was soon after surprised with a melancholy reverse of fortune, for about March 12 following, a Committee was appointed of some members of the House of Commons, to inspect the abuses of the Courts of Justice, whereof Sir Robert Philips was appointed Chairman. The first thing they fell upon was bribery and corruption, of which the Lord Chancellor Bacon was accused by Aubery and Egerton, who affirmed, that they had procured money to be given to him, to promote their causes depending before him. This being corroborated by some circumstances, a report was made from the Committee to the House, upon the 15th of that month, yet with all imaginable tenderness and respect to his Lordship, in regard, as the Chairman declared, touched the honour of a great man, so ensued with all parts both of nature and art, as that he would say no more of him, being not able to say enough. Upon this a conference was had with the Lords, and afterwards Baron Denham and the Attorney-General were sent by the Lords, with a copy of the charge against him, and after several messages, on Monday, April 29 he sent his concession and submission to the House of Lords, in which he confessed some facts, denied others and endeavoured to answer or explain the rest in such a manner, as to take off the malignity of the offence.

But the Lords taking this for a full and ingenuous confession, sent several of their members, to see if the Chancellor would own it, which he did in these words, "My Lords, it is my act, my hand, my heart; I beseech your Lordships to be merciful to a broken reed." This answer being reported to the House, the Lords agreed to move the King to sequester the Seal, and on Wednesday, May 2 it was resolved to give sentence against him next morning, and accordingly he was summoned to attend, but he answered, that he was sick and protested that he did not feign this for an excuse; for if he had been well, he would willingly have come. On May 3, 1621 the Lord Chief Justice pronounced the following judgment, "That the Lord Viscount St, Albans, Lord Chancellor of England shall undergo a fine and ransom of £40.000 and that he shall be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's pleasure. That he shall be incapable of any office, place, or employment in the State or Commonwealth, and, never sit in Parliament, or come within the verge of the Court." The Prince of Wales and some others endeavoured to have mitigated the severity of this sentence; and many of the Lords, by way of excuse for the rigour of it, told him afterwards, that they knew they left him in good hands, and it might be presumed,

that the King, who, as his Lordship writes, had shed tears upon the news of his being accused, would be indulgent and beneficent to him upon his sentence.

There is a variety of opinions concerning his guilt in the points charged against him; Mr. Rushworth says his decrees were generally made with so much equity, that those gifts rendered him suspected for injustice, yet never any decree made by him was reversed as unjust. After the judgment given against him, and a short imprisonment in the Tower, he retired from the engagements of an active life, to the shade of a contemplative one, which he had always loved. The first, or at least the greatest act of kindness, which the King extended to him, was the remitting the Parliamentary fine, and granting it to some of his Lordship's friends. In a letter to the King, dated July 30, 1624 wherein he uses the most mellow expressions, he implores his Majesty to grant him a total remission of his sentence, to the end that the blot of ignominy might be removed from him and from his memory with posterity. This request very probably was granted him, for we find that he was summoned to Parliament in the first year of King Charles I. However, it appears from the works, which he composed and designed during his retirement, that his thoughts were still free, vigorous, and noble and, as Dr. Tenison, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, observes, it did not appear by anything during all the time of his eclipse of fortune, that there was any abjectness of spirit in him; his writings show a mind in him, not distracted with anxiety, nor depressed with shame; not slow for want of encouragement, nor broken with discontent; such vigour of conceit, such a masculine style, such quickness in composition, appeared in his learned labours. The last five years of his life he devoted entirely to his studies, a thing which he would often speak of during the active part of his life, as if he affected to die in the shade, and not in the light. In this recess, he composed the greatest part of his Latin and English works. Bacon had happily escaped the plague, which infected the summer of the year 1625, and with some difficulty, being of a weak and tender constitution, passed the severe winter which followed; but going in the spring to make some experiment in natural philosophy, he was taken so ill, that he was obliged to stay at the Earl of Arundel's house at Highgate about a week, and there expired on Easter day, April 9, 1626 in the sixty-sixth year of his age, of a gentle fever attended with a great cold, which occasioned such a defluxion of rheum, that he was suffocated with it. The Lord Keeper Bacon married Alice, daughter and coheir of Benedict Barnham, Esq; Alderman of London, by whom he had no issue.

"Capacity (judgement) and memory were never in any man to such a degree as in this man; so that in a very short time he made himself conversant with all the knowledge he could acquire at College. And though he was then considered capable of understanding the most important affairs, yet so that he should not fall into the usual fault of young men of his kind (who by a too hasty ambition often bring to the management of great affairs a mind still full of the crudities of the school), M. Bacon himself wished to acquire that knowledge which in former times made Ulysses so commendable, and earned for him the name of Wise; by the study of the manners of many different nations. I wish to state that he employed some years of his youth in travel in order

to polish his mind and mould his opinions by intercourse with all kinds of foreigners. France, Italy, and Spain as the most civilised nations of the whole world, were these whither his desire for knowledge (curiosity) carried him.” (Smedley).<sup>370</sup>

Remaining on the merits to Bacon, and coming to Basil Montagu, in November 17, 1834 in his *Preface* to his *Works of Francis Bacon*,<sup>371</sup> gives a brief account of Archbishop Tennyson, the admirer of Lord Bacon, and the friend of Dr. Rawley, his domestic Chaplain, and on his mentions in *Baconiana*: “His Lordship owned it under his hand, [In his letter to King James, March 25, 1620] that he was frail, and did partake of the abuses of the times; and surely he was a partaker of their severities also. The great cause of his suffering is, to some, a secret. I leave them to find it out by his words to King James: ‘I wish, that as I am the first, so I may be the last of sacrifices in your times: and when, from private appetite, it is resolved that a creature shall be sacrificed, it is easy to pick up sticks enough from any thicket whither it hath strayed, to make a fire to offer it with.’” Bushell’s *Abridgment* of the Lord Chancellor’s philosophical theory is a work written more than forty years after his master’s death, abounding with constant expressions of affection and respect, states that, during a recess of Parliament, King James sent for the Chancellor, and ordered him not to resist the charges, as resistance would be injurious to the King and to Buckingham.<sup>372</sup> In the Lambeth Library, there’s a letter written by Bacon in Greek characters: “Of my offence, far be it from me to say, *dat veniam corvis; vexat censura Columbas*. I will say that I have good warrant for they were not the greatest offenders in Israel upon whom the wall fell.” In another letter to King James, May 25, 1620 he writes, “And for the briberies and gifts wherewith I am charged, when the books of hearts shall be opened, I hope I shall not be found to have the troubled fountain of a corrupt heart, in a depraved habit of taking rewards to pervert justice; howsoever I may be frail, and partake of the abuses of the times.” That an interview between the King and Bacon took place is clear, from the following entry in the Journals of the House of Lords of April 17:

The Lord Treasurer signified, that in the interim of this cessation, the Lord Chancellor was an humble suitor unto his Majesty, that he might see his Majesty and speak with him; and although his Majesty, in respect of the Lord Chancellor person, and of the place he holds, might have given his Lordship that favour, yet, for that his Lordship is under the trial of this House, his Majesty would not on the sudden grant it. That on Sunday last, the King calling all the Lords of this House which were of his Council before him, it pleased his Majesty to show their Lordships what was desired by the Lord Chancellor, demanding their Lordships advice therein. The Lords did not presume to advise his Majesty; for that his Majesty did suddenly propound such a course as all the world could not advise a better; which was that his Majesty would speak with him privately. That yesterday, his Majesty admitting the Lord Chancellor to his presence, his Lordship desired that he might have a particular of those matters wherewith he is charged

370 William T. Smedley. *Francis Bacon*, 1915

371 Vol. I., 1850

372 *Baconiana*, p. 13

before the Lords of this House; for that it was not possible for him, who passed so many orders and decrees in a year, to remember all things that fell out in them; and that, this being granted, his Lordship would desire two requests of his Majesty. That, where his answers should be fair and clear, to those things objected against him, his Lordship might stand upon his innocence and two, where his answer should not be so fair and clear, there his Lordship might be admitted to the extenuation of the charge; and where the proofs were full and undeniable, his Lordship would ingenuously confess them, and put himself upon the mercy of the Lords. Unto all which his Majesty's answer was, he referred him to the Lords of this House, and therefore his Majesty willed his Lordship to make report to their Lordships. It was thereupon ordered, that the Lord Treasurer should signify unto his Majesty, that the Lords do thankfully acknowledge his Majesty's favour, and hold themselves highly bound unto his Majesty for the same.

At this interview, the King, who had determined to sacrifice the Oracle of his Counsel rather than the favourite of his affection, gave him his advice, as it was termed, that he should submit himself to the House of Peers, and that upon his Princely word he would then restore him again, if they in their honours should not be sensible of his merits. How little this command accorded with the Chancellor's intention to defend him, may be gathered from his distress and passionate remonstrance. "I see my approaching ruin: there is no hope of mercy in a multitude, if I do not plead for myself, when my enemies are to give fire. Those who strike at your Chancellor will strike at your Crown." All remonstrance proving fruitless, he took leave of the King with these memorable words: "I am the first; I wish I may be the last sacrifice." The parts were now cast, and the last act of the drama alone remained to be performed. On April 17, 1621 the House met when some account of the King's interview with the Chancellor was narrated by the Lord Treasurer, and ordered to be entered upon the *Journals of the House*; and, a rumour having been circulated that Buckingham had sent his brother abroad to escape inquiry, he protested unto the Lords, that whereas the opinion of the world is, that his Lordship had sent his brother, Sir Edward Villiers, abroad in the King's service, of purpose to avoid his trial touching some grievances complained of by the Commons, his Lordship was so far from that, that his Lordship did hasten his coming home; and, if anything blameworthy can be objected against him, his Lordship is as ready to censure him as he was Mompesson. His love of familiar illustration is to be found in various parts of the history: as when speaking of the commotion by the Cornish men, on behalf of the impostor Perkin Warbeck: "The King judged it his best and surest way to keep his strength together in the seat and centre of his Kingdom; according to the ancient Indian emblem, in such a swelling season, to hold the hand upon the middle of the bladder, that no side might rise." (Montagu).<sup>373</sup>

Francis Bacon died in the arms of Sir Julius Caesar, and of his funeral no account can be found, nor is there any trace of the site of the house where he died; yet Lovejoy states: "A few friends, faithful among the faithless, enthusiastic young disciples, among whom was Hobbes, the then budding philosopher of Malmesbury, Sir Thomas Meautys, his devoted Chaplain, Rawley, and servants

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373 Basil Montagu. *The Works of Francis Bacon*, Vol. I. 1850

whom adversity could not alienate, composed the [funeral] train which followed fallen greatness to its last resting-place.” It has been said that Bacon was buried in the same grave with his mother, in St. Michael’s church,<sup>374</sup> however, today’s St Albanians differ. On a research visit of the summer of 2008, the supervisors of St. Michael’s affirm that no body of Bacon or of his mother is buried there.

Bacon’s imagination was fruitful and vivid; but he understood its laws, and governed it with absolute sway. He used it as a philosopher. It never had precedence in his mind, but followed in the train of his reason. With her hues, her forms, and the spirit of her forms, he clothed the nakedness of austere truth. Life seemed a succession of splendid dramatic scenes, and the gravest business a well acted Court Masque; the mercenary place-hunter knelt to beg a favour with the devoted air of a Knight and even sober citizens put on a clumsy disguise of gallantry, and compared their royal mistress to Venus and Diana. Bacon’s wit was brilliant, and when it flashed upon any subject, it was never with ill-nature, which, like the crackling of thorns, ending in sudden darkness, is only fit for a fool’s laughter; the sparkling of his wit was that of the precious diamond, valuable for its worth and weight, denoting the riches of the mind. We may conclude that there is nothing more lamentable in the Annals of Mankind than that false position, which placed one of the greatest minds England ever possessed at the mercy of a mean King being James I., and a base Court favourite being Buckingham.

“Words are things; and a small drop of ink, falling like dew upon a thought, produces that which makes thousands, perhaps millions, think.” So Lord Byron wrote. Bacon’s birth may be wholly devoid of public interest; many great authors of time, and in explicit detail, have noted his life and works that still remain in a rustling forest of the Authorship controversy, and until this forest is deprived of trees, it shall continue to intrigue the reader, researcher, and writer. Possibly, Francis Bacon’s words that “this disease [controversy] requireth rather rest than any other cure,” stated in his *Advertisement touching Controversies* should be more thought upon. “If Lord Bacon could have foreseen that at some future time a dispute would arise concerning him, and especially as an author, he would have rested in entire security, to have his writings speak for him.”<sup>375</sup>

**Thomas Powell to Francis Bacon.  
To True Nobility and Tried Learning Beholden  
Francis, Lord Verulam, and Viscount St Albans.**<sup>376</sup>

O give me leave to pull the curtain by,  
That clouds thy Worth in such obscurity;  
Good Seneca, stay but a while thy bleeding,  
T’accept what I received at thy Reading:  
Here I present it in a solemn strain:  
And thus I pluck this curtain back again.

<sup>374</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I. p. 112, 1850

<sup>375</sup> A statement from the author of *Is There Any Resemblance Between Bacon and Shakespeare* printed in 1888

<sup>376</sup> Thomas Powell. *The Attorney’s Academy*, 3rd edition, 1630

**Bacon's philosophy** He had attracted considerable notice in Italy during his lifetime, is evident from his correspondence with Father Fulgentio, from which it appears that the Venetian philosophers were extremely inquisitive about his writings. (Tenison).<sup>377</sup> His correspondence with Father Baranzan proves that the *Novum Organum* was known, and had found eager readers in the north of Italy at a surprisingly early period. It was Francis Bacon, who raised the standard, and urged on the march of discovery; so that if any considerable improvements have been made in philosophy in this age, there has been not a little owing to that great man.<sup>378</sup> Yet the new-born Baconian Philosophy had but little chance in the world. Bacon had been right years before in his dislike of Platonism, though he was unjust to Plato himself. It was Proclus whom he was really reviling; Proclus as Plato's commentator and representative. The lion had for once got into the ass' skin, and was treated accordingly. The truth is that, as of old, many men talk of Robin Hood, who never shot in his bow; and many talk of Bacon, who never discovered a law by induction since they were born. As far as our experience goes, those who are loudest in their jubilations over the wonderful progress of the age, are those who have never helped that progress forward one inch, but find it a great deal easier and more profitable to use the results which humbler men have painfully worked out, as second-hand capital for hustling speeches and railway books, and flatter a mechanic's institute of self-satisfied youths, by telling them that the least instructed of them is wiser than Erigena or Roger Bacon. (Kingsley).<sup>379</sup>

**Bacon's prose** Any attempt at analysing Bacon's style convinces us of the futility of trying to separate matter and manner, if by matter we understand more than the mere subject of discourse. The charm of Bacon's writings lies in his "wit," in the broad old sense of the word, in which it means intellect as well as expression. The sagacity of the underlying thought on which we rest when we apprehend the meaning of his words is as potent an element in our impression of delight as the aptness of the phrase and the ingenuity of the allusion, it is the style, as including both matter and manner, that is the man. To read him, is to put ourselves in invigorating contact with an intellect of the utmost keenness and force, steadily centred but wide in its scope and alive at every point with a buoyant and intense vitality. Taking style in the narrower sense of "expression," but still as including both diction and method, we find that Bacon had more than one style. Essentially a man of calculation and contrivance, he adapted his style to his purposes.

Bacon's *Essays* have always been, as he himself says, the "most current" of his works. In substance the very quintessence of the worldly wisdom of his age, they have been most influential in the history of English prose. They have fixed the form of one of our chief kinds of prose writing in essay. The *Essays* are sometimes spoken of as if they were models of good prose for all purposes; but this, as Bacon himself would have been the first to discern, is an indiscriminate praise that is virtually a detraction, inasmuch as it obscures the adaptation of the expression to the design. We

<sup>377</sup> Tenison. *Baconiana*, pp. 196, 197

<sup>378</sup> *Specimen. Controvers. cap. i. sect. 5, apud Pope Blount Censura Celeb. Auctor. p. 635*

<sup>379</sup> Kingsley. *Sir Walter Raleigh and His Time*, 1859

miss in them the luminous sequence that we find in his exposition of more definite themes, the close coherence that made Ben Jonson say of his speeches that "his hearers could not cough or look aside without loss." The *Essays* are, as he said himself, "dispersed meditations," detached thoughts on such topics as Studies, Friendship, Ambition, Cunning, Praise, written down as they occurred, without any other connection than their general relevance to the topic. In the original edition of ten, this was indicated by prefixing to each separate meditation the now obsolete mark. Mr. Arber's careful *Harmony* of the various editions printed in parallel columns shows how he added to these reflections and illustrated them here and there by happy anecdotes and quotations at each revision. It was a natural incident of this dispersed way of writing that the expression of each thought should have a felicity of its own, independent of its relation to the others; and the author did not mar this by trying to force them into a sequence such as they might have had if one had risen out of another in a continuous stretch of thought. If we forget this, we are apt to do another injustice to Bacon, and to suspect him of a wilful and artful contravention of one of his own precepts.

In a passage which is quoted from the *Advancement of Learning*, Bacon deprecates "hunting more after words than matter," and after "the choiceness of the phrase" and "the illustration of the work with tropes and figures," rather than "weight of matter, width of subject, and depth of judgment." The words and the matter are certainly well matched in Bacon's *Essays*, but, as we can well suppose that it was the casual occurrence of a happy phrase or an apposite figure that moved him to take out his tablets and set his thoughts down, so it is really the choiceness of phrase and figure that has kept his wisdom from perishing. In weight of matter, and depth of judgment, Burghley's *Precepts to his Son* are at least equal to Bacon's *Counsels, Civil and Moral*; without the saving grace of wit in expression, Bacon's wisdom might have sunk like his kinsman's. And yet he could easily have defended himself from a charge of not "recking his own rede" against "hunting more after words than matter." These *Essays* are really not so much set compositions as collections of thoughts that have happily shaped themselves in epigrammatic and ornate phrase, that have flowered, as it were, spontaneously. Their diction has much in common with Lyly's *Euphuism*, which was the literary fashion of his youth, only there is more body in Bacon's epigrams, and his similitude, while often equally far-fetched, are not so unscrupulously fantastic and flimsy.

Bacon is distinguished on the one hand from Lyly by his incomparably greater weight of matter and depth of judgment, just as he is distinguished on the other from Burghley by his being an artist in choiceness of phrase. How dearly Bacon loved a brilliant phrase or an ingenious conceit in spite of his protest against hunting after words, is seen by the care with which he gathered and stored in his *Essays* any flower of speech that incidentally came to him. In reading his State Papers and private letters we often encounter felicities which have been thus carefully garnered. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the style of the *Essays* is Bacon's only style. For the reasons we have indicated, this is much more thickly ornamented, much more alive with epigram and ingenious fancy, and much more inconsecutive than when he wrote with a definite end in view.

In his *Advancement of Learning*, where he maps out and describes the provinces of knowledge, in his State Papers, where he has a policy to recommend, and in his pleadings, where he has a complicated base to present for judgment, what principally strikes us is the compact grouping of details and the luminous order of the whole. It is when we read these works of his that we understand the full force of Ben Jonson's famous eulogium: "He was full of gravity in his speaking. His language, when he could spare or pass by a jest, was nobly censorious. No man ever spoke more neatly, more prosily, more weightily, or suffered less emptiness, less idleness in what he uttered. No member of his speech but consisted of his own graces. His hearers could not cough or look aside from him without loss. He commanded when he spoke, and had his judges angry and pleased at his devotion. No man had their affections more in his power. The fear of every man that heard him was lest he should make an end."

A good way of appreciating the different styles that this wonderful wit had at command for different purposes is to compare his Essay, *Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates*, with the paper, *Of the True Greatness of the Kingdom of Britain*, which he presented to King James at his accession. "If his wit be not apt to distinguish or find differences," Bacon says in the Essay *Of Studies*, "let him study the Schoolmen." In his own set expositions he defines, divides, and subdivides with all the ferial precision of a Schoolman, but his strong, ever present sense of the necessity of keeping to a point saves him from becoming tedious. Thus his influence on expository prose told in the direction of what Jonson calls neatness and "prestness," and against superfluous finicking and irrelevant disquisition. And always anxious as he was to drive a clear impression home, his prose is much less involved in structure than that of many of his contemporaries. He does not, like Hooker, pile clause on clause; he shows a much sounder judgment of what a reader can take in without confusion. He does not seem to have had Hooker's ear for the music of long periods, which often betrayed the great churchman into intricacy of syntax. Thus, on the whole, Bacon's prose helped the tendency to avoid cumbrous and involved structure, the tendency that was finally confirmed by Dryden. (Minto).<sup>380</sup> [Also see Part IV: *Bacon's Works*].

No one of us, indeed, can deny the existence of a wide chasm between Bacon's prose and Shakespeare's poetry. The two sets of works seem at first sight to differ, not in degree only, but also in kind. They are as unlike as the caterpillar and the butterfly, now walking the earth and then mounting on wings into the air. In like manner the true poetic spirit implies a state of being very different from that in which the mind is ordinarily exercised. The poet is a man "beside himself" almost a second personality. Here, then, are two spheres in which every human soul may have a dual being. The seers of our race are those who inhabit both; that is, who look upon life with two angles of vision Reason and Imagination. Of men eminent at once in both of them, Milton, Goethe, and Poe are conspicuous examples. Milton's *Areopagitica* is a "cloth of gold," worthy of the author of *Paradise Lost*, or better still (according to some critics) of *Paradise Regained*. Goethe's mind worked in poetry and prose with equal power. He could soar into

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380 Minto. *English Prose*, Henry Craik, Vol. II. 1920



the highest regions of creative thought at one moment, and with trained scientific eyes detect a vertebra in a sheep's skull at another. Poe's lyric genius was the greatest America has given to the world of literature, but it did not prevent him from giving to it also, in feats of analytical legerdemain, most extraordinary and enduring effects in prose. The question now arises, was Bacon one of these rare spirits?

One commentator in the 1900's set the "dry light of intellect" in Bacon over against the "warm sunshine" of Shakespeare; another declared that the differences between the two minds are radical, the powers of one being analytical and those of the other synthetical. These two criticisms fairly illustrate the prevailing ignorance of Bacon's intellectual character. As to the first that Bacon's intellect was not affected by his heart nothing could possibly be at wider variance with the truth. Even Abbott, a severe critic, says in his *Life of Bacon*, that the "leading peculiarity of his style is its sympathetic nature." Whipple also testified to the same effect as follows: "Perhaps the finest sentence in his writings, certainly the one which best indicates the essential feeling of his soul, as he regarded human misery and ignorance, occurs in his description of one of the fathers of Solomon's House. 'His countenance,' he says, 'was as the countenance of one who pities men.'" <sup>381</sup> Ellis, one of the editors of Bacon's *Works*, associated with Spedding, tells us after a prolonged and dispassionate study of Bacon's writings, that a "deep sense of the misery of mankind is visible throughout all that he wrote. He has often been called a utilitarian, not because he loved truth less than others, but because he loved men more." It is often said that Bacon could not have written the Shakespearean dramas because, in paraphrasing the Psalms of David, he converted them into doggerel. But Milton also paraphrased the Psalms of David into English verse, and in doggerel as bad as Bacon's. To the list of testimonies, given by scholars and critics of high standing to Bacon's poetic powers:

- All his works, his essays, his philosophical writings, commonly so called, and what he has done in history, are of one and the same character, reflective, and, so to speak, poetical. What then is his glory? In what did his greatness consist? In this, we should say: that an intellect, at once one of the most capacious and one of the most profound ever granted to mortal, was in him united and reconciled with an almost equal endowment of the imaginative faculty. (Craik).
- Bacon, like Sidney, was a warbler of poetic prose. No English writer has surpassed him in fervor and brilliancy of style, in force of expression, or in richness and significancy of imagery. (Chambers).
- The poetic faculty was powerful in Bacon's mind. (Macaulay).
- No one who reads the *Essays* with care can fail to see that he was gifted with a wonderful reproductive imagination. The house he builds is a real house; we could make a plan of

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<sup>381</sup> *Literature of the Age of Elizabeth*, p. 334

his gardens. Even abstractions, like envy, ambition, vain glory, deformity, are animated by his touch, and move before us like living characters. (Store & Gibson) <sup>382</sup>

- Bacon is almost Shakespeare in philosophic garb, so resplendent is his imagination and so versatile his genius. (*Edinburgh Review*, 1854).
- It has been well said that Bacon's *Essays* seem like scraps escaped from Shakespeare's desk. (Ruggles).
- Another virtue of the book [Bacon's *Essays*] is one which is not frequently found in union with the scientific or philosophical intellect; *viz.*, a poetical imagination. Bacon's similes, for their aptness and their vividness, are of the kind of which Shakespeare, or Goethe, or Kichter might have been proud. (Blackie).
- To this Bacon would bring something of that high poetical spirit which gleams out at every page of his philosophy. (Knight).
- Reason in him works like an instinct; the chain of thought reaches to the highest heaven of invention. (Hazlitt).
- What he conceives as a poet he utters as a prophet. (West).
- We have only to open the *Advancement of Learning* to see how the Attic bees clustered above the cradle of the new philosophy. Poetry pervaded the thoughts, it inspired the similes, it hymned in the majestic sentences of the wisest of mankind. (Lytton).
- The truth is that Bacon was not without the fine frenzy of the poet. Had his genius taken the ordinary direction, I have little doubt that it would have carried him to a place among the great poets. (Spedding).
- Lord Bacon was a poet. (Shelley).

The following poem was put to music by John Dowland (1562–1626) English composer, virtuoso lutenist, and skilled singer. Between 1609 and 1612 he entered the service of Theophilus, Lord Howard de Walden, and in 1612 he was appointed one of the “musicians for the lutes” to James I. Mrs. Potts, in her *Promus*, states that the poem was probably written by Francis Bacon.

### **The Retired Courtier**

**By**

**Francis Bacon (?)**

His golden locks hath Time to silver turned;  
 O time too swift! O swiftness never ceasing!  
 His youth against time and age hath ever spurned,  
 But spurned in vain; youth waneth by increasing.  
 Beauty, strength, youth, are flowers but fading seen,  
 Duty, faith, love, are roots, and ever green.

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382 Introduction to *Bacon's Essays*, p. 81

His helmet now shall make a hive for bees,  
 And lovers' sonnets turn to holy psalms,  
 A man-at-arms must now serve on his knees,  
 And feed on prayers which are age's alms;  
 But though from court to cottage he depart,  
 His saint is sure of his unspotted heart.  
 And when he saddest sits in homely cell,  
 He'll teach his swains this carol for a song:  
 Blest be the hearts that wish my sovereign well!  
 Curst be the soul that thinks her any wrong!  
 Goddess, allow this aged man his right,  
 To be your beadsman now that was your knight.

**Bacon's quoting** When Bacon quotes an author as "saying" anything we are always to understand the words "in effect". (Spedding). <sup>383</sup>

**Bacon's reasons for concealment** <sup>384</sup> With Bacon himself, a desire to rise in the profession of the law, or his ambition for high place in the State, the plan of life he had chosen to follow, the low reputation of a play writer, in that age, and the mean condition and estate of all poor poets, the need of a larger liberty and a more daring freedom of thought and expression than he could have ventured to take, without some danger to his fortunes, or even to his personal liberty, at times, if it had been known that he was the author of these plays, and more especially, perhaps, a desire that his reputation, both with his contemporaries and with after times, should finally rest upon his acknowledged writings and his philosophical works in particular, as of greater dignity and better becoming his station and the civil honours he sought to attain, in accordance with the ideas of that age. These, not to dwell upon other reasons of a philosophical and critical nature, and of a higher and more disinterested character, are of themselves, perhaps, a sufficient explanation of his wish to cover this authorship, and to remain a concealed poet, in his own time; and especially in the earlier part of his career, when the private arrangement, if it existed, must have been made.

In Bacon's dedication of the *Colours of Good and Evil* to Lord Mountjoy, in 1595–97, he expressly tells us that it was his "manner and rule to keep state in contemplative matters." Sir Edward Coke was not alone among those in high places, at that day, whose opinion was, that play writers and stage players were fit subjects for the grand jury as "vagrants," and that "the fatal end of these five is beggary, the alchemyst, the monopolist, the concealer, the informer, and the poetaster"; and as it was, Coke and the like of him took "the liberty to disgrace and disable his law," and constantly sneered at his "book-learning." Even the Queen herself seized upon it

<sup>383</sup> *Works*, Vol. II. p. 459

<sup>384</sup> Nathaniel Holmes. *The Authorship of Shakespeare*, 1866

as an excuse for refusing him promotion, that "Bacon," as she said, "had a great wit, and much learning, but that in law he could show to the uttermost of his knowledge, and was not deep;" as if inferring the one thing from the other, or as if a man could not know law, and, at the same time, know anything else.

In general, it may be admitted that Bacon was in some degree unsuited for a life of executive activity in the administration of affairs. At a later day, he confessed as among the errors of his life "this great one which led the rest, that knowing myself by inward calling to be fitter to hold a book than play a part I have led my life in civil causes, for which I was not very fit by nature, and more unfit by preoccupation of mind." In the state of things that existed in the reigns of Elizabeth and James (to be illustrated in the particular history of the play of *Richard II.*), it will not be difficult to see, that an open avowal of this authorship might have been fatal to all his prospects of elevation in the State, on which he considered the success of his efforts for the advancement of science and the benefit of mankind in a great measure to depend. "But power to do good," he says, "is the true and lawful end of aspiring; for good thoughts (though God accept them), yet towards men are little better than good dreams, except they be put in act; and that cannot be, without power and place as the vantage and commanding ground."

The *Novum Organum*, magnificently dedicated to the King, (having passed "the file of his Majesty's judgment," and been found to be "like the wisdom of God that passeth all understanding,") would attract the attention of Europe; but these plays, the "wanton burthen of the prime," which could never pass the royal file, must be thrown upon the stage as "But hope of orphans, and unfather'd fruit." They had to take their place, and stand trial upon their own merits, in the open theatre; and this Bacon knew they would do, safely enough, and work out their own salvation, at least for the present. Towards the close of his life, the scene would be changed, and the matter is to be considered as it would then stand in his view.

He is now working in good earnest for the next ages. He will first revise, finish, and republish his former works, and then devote the remainder of life to his greater philosophical labours. He renounces all worldly honours, and mere fame with his contemporaries loses nearly all attraction for him. He seeks a full pardon of his sentence, and a restoration to his seat in the House of Lords, that "a cloud" may be lifted from his name; but when, finally, the summons comes, his answer is: "I have done with such vanities." We have a very distinct intimation in his own words as to what his opinion then was, in respect to fame of this kind; for in his dedicatory epistle to Bishop Andrews, his "ancient and private acquaintance," whom he held "in special reverence," prefixed to that Shakespearean *Dialogue Touching an Holy War*, written in 1622, he gives an explicit account of his writings and purposes. He compares his fortunes to those of Demosthenes, Cicero, and Seneca, and chooses for himself the example of Seneca, like himself, a learned poet, moralist, statesman and philosopher, who, being banished into a solitary island, "spent his time in writing books of excellent argument and use for all ages," having determined, as he says, "(whereunto I was otherwise inclined) to spend my time wholly in writing; and to put forth that poor talent,

or half talent, or what it is, that God hath given me, not as heretofore to particular exchanges, but to banks and mounts of perpetuity, which will not break. Therefore, having not long since set forth a part of my *Instauration*, which is the work, that in mine own judgment (*si nunquam fattit imago*) I do most esteem, I think to proceed in some new parts thereof. I have a purpose therefore (though I break the order of time) to draw it down to the sense, by some patterns of a Natural Story or Inquisition.”

But besides these natural stories, which were probably to be something like his *New Atlantis*, and some other works particularly named, there was still another class, for which the world might “scramble” and “set up a new English inquisition” and upon which he continues in these words: “As for my *Essays* and some other particulars of that nature, I count them but as the recreations of my other studies, and in that sort purpose to continue them; though I am not ignorant that those kind of writings would with less pains and embracement (perhaps) yield more lustre and reputation to my name than those other which I have in hand. But I account the use that a man should seek of the publishing of his own writings before his death, to be but an untimely anticipation of that which is proper to follow a man, and not to go along with him.” Again, speaking of his philosophy in general, he says: “For myself, nothing which is external to the establishment of its principles is of any interest to me. For neither am I a hungerer after fame, nor have I, after the manner of heresiarchs, any ambition to originate a sect; and, as for deriving any private emolument from such labours, I should hold the thought as base as it is ridiculous. Enough for me the consciousness of desert, and that coming accomplishment of real effects which fortune itself shall not be able to intercept.”

He cares little now for any mere lustre of reputation. It is very possible, of course, that all these expressions had reference only to some other prose compositions of a popular character. They do not necessarily amount to any positive allusion to the Shakespearean plays; but when considered with reference to the entire mass of evidence, to prove the fact that he was the author of them, it must strike the mind of any reader with the force of a very pregnant suggestion, that he intended (in his own mind, at least,) to include them in the same category with the *Essays* as among those other unnamed particulars. The work of revising the *Essays* was continued, and the new and enlarged edition appeared in 1625. If the Folio of 1623 were printed under his supervision, his part of the work must have been still in progress, if not entirely completed, at the date of this epistle to Bishop Andrews stated above. [Also see Part IV: *Bacon's Works*].

Bacon's poetical works were in the possession of the world as “Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies,” and as “Shakespeare's Sonnets and Poems;” and so he would let them remain. They had had their trial already and stood out all appeals, and the wit that was in them could no more be hid than it could be lost. These “feigned histories or speaking pictures,” which had for one object, perhaps, “to draw down to the sense” of the theatre and the popular mind things which “flew too high over men's heads” in general, in other forms of delivery, would effectually do their own proper work; and they might be left to take care of

themselves. "And there we hope," gives the Folio Preface, "to your divers capacities, you will find enough, both to draw, and hold you." For him, not to be understood would be all the same as not to be known: "Read him, therefore, and again and again: And, if then, you do not like him, surely you are in some manifest danger not to understand him." It is certainly conceivable, that a mind like his should care but little for any lustre that might be added to his name, or his memory, by these writings; or, at least, that he should be willing to wait until it should shine forth with an illumination sufficiently brilliant and clear to reveal by its own light the soul and genius of himself. In the meantime, he would take care to keep "the memory of so worthy a Friend and Fellow alive," as this "our Shakespeare" had come to be.

The following Sonnet, perhaps, may represent the true state of his mind and feeling, near the close of his life:

### Sonnet 146

Poor soul, the centre of my sinful earth,  
 Fool'd by these rebel powers that thee array,<sup>385</sup>  
 Why dost thou pine within, and suffer dearth,  
 Painting thy outward walls so costly gay?  
 Why so large cost, having so short a lease,  
 Dost thou upon thy fading mansion spend?  
 Shall worms, inheritors of this excess,  
 Eat up thy charge? Is this thy body's end?  
 Then, soul, live thou upon thy servant's loss,  
 And let that pine to aggravate thy store;  
 Buy terms divine in selling hours of dross:  
 Within be fed, without be rich no more,  
     So shalt thou feed on death, that feeds on men,  
     And death once dead, there's no more dying then.

Dodd's comments on this Sonnet is of interest:<sup>386</sup> "Is it not ludicrous to think that this Canto could possibly have been written by Shaksper of Stratford as a personal utterance to his mother? As "her neglected child"? "her poor infant's discontent"; "I, thy babe"; "Play the mother's part, kiss me, be kind" are the heart cries of a son who is cut to the quick by an intolerable position. Francis Bacon, in a letter to a friend thus complains bitterly of his non-success with the Queen: "To be like a child following a bird which, when it is nearest flyeth away and lighteth a little before, and then the child after it again. I am weary of it." [Also see Sonnet 19].

The Shakespeare works have been the admiration of lovers of literature for centuries. No other works have attracted to themselves so much conflicting criticism, and so much

385 Array: to afflict, to ill-treat, to bring to an evil condition

386 Alfred Dodd. *The Personal Poems of Francis Bacon*, 1936

senseless exaggeration. So widely have commentators differed with regard to them that, if their countervailing opinions were eliminated, the residuum would be inconsiderable, and were the ravings of delirious devotees gathered into a single volume, it would be a curious addition to the library of the alienist. We are told that the works were “the Greatest Birth of Time”;<sup>387</sup> that their author was “the only Exemplar of his Species”; that “there is but one Christ, there has been but one Shakespeare”; that “Shakespeare’s service, if not worship, is now acknowledged over the World”; and a quarto of bulky proportions has been published echoing the praises of devotees during the first century of the world’s knowledge of him, which, if continued to our time, would form a library by itself of forbidding magnitude. (Ingleby).<sup>388</sup> Moreover, an immense body of literature has grown up treating of every phase of the works in question, which, with numerous re-emended editions, was estimated in 1885 to comprise at least ten thousand volumes. Since that time the number has largely increased. Some of these works possess elements of real value, but all are more or less misleading. Let us briefly quote from several.

- Religion. Their author’s knowledge is said to have been incomparable, and a volume of nearly five hundred pages has been given to the world crowded with biblical excerpts which profess to find a parallel in his works. Referring to the Stratford actor, whatever else the poet had or lacked, he must have brought to his work a mind richly stored with the thoughts and words of the English Bible. The spontaneous flow of scriptural ideas and phrases which are to be found everywhere in the plays, reveals the fact most clearly that the mind of Shakespeare must have, indeed, been “saturated” with the word of God. And, if this knowledge of Scripture was acquired in manhood the presumption would be in favour of Shakespeare’s personal piety; if in youth, it would be a strong testimony in favour of the religious influences of his home and the training given by his parents and schoolmasters. (Carter).<sup>389</sup> Some writers carry adulation to much greater extremes. Says Downing: “I see no sign that the most enlightened religious views of the present were any secret to Shakespeare. The position of supreme enlightenment, amid the wars, murders, massacres, mutual persecutions, barbarous controversies and jargonings, that then devastated the world, in the name of a generally misunderstood religion, must have been very moving to the heart of Shakespeare, since it was hopeless for him to attempt to breathe one syllable of the wisdom that would have redeemed the world from its madness and unhappiness. To develop and reconstruct Christianity in the light of the

387 The title originated with Bacon, who, as early as 1586, “put together,” as he says, “A youthful essay which, with vast confidence, I called by the high sounding title, *The Greatest Birth of Time*.” Dean Church remarks upon this, “In very truth the child was born, and, for forty years grew and developed.” R. W. Church. *Bacon*, p. 170. New York, 1884

388 (a) C. M. Ingleby, LL.D. *Shakespeare’s Centurie of Prayse*. London, 1879 (b) Frederick J. Furnivall, M.A. *Some Three Hundred Fresh dilutions to Shakespeare*. London, 1886 (3) C. M. Ingleby et al. *The Shakespeare Allusion Book*. New York and London, 1909

389 Thomas Carter, Dr. Theol. *Shakespeare and Holy Scripture*, pp. 3–4. London, 1905

Reformation and Renaissance, this about the year 1598, I infer from all the evidence, became the great purpose and life work of Shakespeare; to be achieved, first, by living the developed life himself for our example; secondly, by certain symbolical works, namely: *The Sonnets*, already largely composed and ready to his shaping hand, and those which subsequently took form as *The Tempest*, *Winter's Tale*, and *Cymbeline*. These were to veil, till the fullness of time, his pregnant ideas of the Development and Reconstruction, together with himself as the necessary central figure and Messianic Personality of the Scene.”<sup>390</sup> And again: “I will show that the profane Actor was a Holy Prophet. Nay, I say unto thee more than a Prophet, the Messiah. Heine, a Hebrew, first spoke of Stratford as the northern Bethlehem; I will show that Heine spoke no more than he knew.” (Clelia).

<sup>391</sup> It may be well to remark that the author of *Shakespeare and Holy Scripture*, in which hundreds of passages from the Shakespeare works are paralleled by passages from the Bible, finds a rival in the author of *Shakespeare's Relation to Montaigne*,<sup>392</sup> who parallels many of the same passages by others in the celebrated Frenchman's *Essays*. We had selected a number of examples of these parallels between Shakespeare and Holy Scripture with corresponding ones from Montaigne, in order to show to what extremes such efforts may be carried; but, to avoid prolixity, omit them.

- Law. The author of the Shakespeare works, we are told, was a great lawyer. Says Lord Campbell: “Having concluded my examination of Shakespeare's juridical phrases and forensic allusions, on the retrospect, I am amazed not only by their number, but by the accuracy and propriety with which they are uniformly introduced. There is nothing so dangerous as for one not of the craft to tamper with our Freemasonry.”<sup>393</sup> It is proper to remark that Bacon was a friend of Harvey, and often must have discussed with him his then novel theory. On one occasion the doctor paid the philosopher the witty compliment that he “wrote philosophy like a Lord Chancellor.” The amusing old gossip, Aubrey, imagined that the remark was intended to be derisive, missing the better meaning that a Lord Chancellor stood for the highest authority.
- Natural History. The scientific knowledge possessed by the author of the Shakespeare works, especially of natural history, has been commented upon, and a large volume has been published with a reprint of portions of works on natural history of his time; each word mentioned by Shakespeare, and the term “natural history” has been taken in its widest sense, as including not only fauna but flora, as well as some precious stones.<sup>394</sup>

390 (a) Charles Downing. *The Messiahship of Shakespeare*, pp. 104, 113. London, 1900 (b) Rev. Dr. Scadding. *Shakespeare the Seer The Interpreter, etc.*, p. 53 et seq. Toronto, 1864

391 Clelia. *God in Shakespeare*, p. 15. London, 1890

392 (a) Charles H. Grandgent. *The Relation of Shakespeare to Montaigne*. Baltimore, 1902 (b) *The Long Disordered Knowledge, etc., of Shakespeare. Ibid.* London, n.d.

393 John Lord Campbell. *Shakespeare's Legal Acquirements, etc.*, p. 127. London, 1859

394 H. W. Seager, M.B. *Natural History in Shakespeare's Time*, p. 5. London, 1886



- Nature. His knowledge of gardens and plants was wide, and a book of nearly four hundred pages embellished with a frontispiece of an ideal *New Place*, and sumptuous garden, which in the actor's day would have set Stratford wild, has already passed through three editions.

There is no doubt that the author of the Shakespeare works was a great poet and a great philosopher; that he possessed a mind stored with all the lore of his age, lingual, biblical, legal, scientific, historical, medical, and musical; indeed, that he was in power of expression the greatest literary genius that has yet adorned the world of letters; nor is it an idle claim that there was living in London at the time the works were written, one man, and one man only, who in a large degree exemplified these requirements:

1. A philosopher <sup>395</sup>
2. A "concealed poet," to use his own words <sup>396</sup>
3. A learned linguist <sup>397</sup>
4. Biblical student <sup>398</sup>
5. Lawyer <sup>399</sup>
6. Scientist <sup>400</sup>
7. Historian <sup>401</sup>
8. Author of treatises on medicine <sup>402</sup>
9. Natural history <sup>403</sup>
10. Gardens <sup>404</sup>
11. Music <sup>405</sup>

This man was Francis Bacon, who took all knowledge for his province. Most of the sentiments, however, which we have quoted and we have spared the reader by selecting as few as possible to illustrate our subject would be the grossest exaggeration if applied to the greatest genius of any age. There is no knowing to what extremes devotees of the Stratfordian cult might have carried their efforts, had not a halt been called by Bacon's introduction to them as a claimant to the authorship of "The Greatest Birth of Time." Not only have their unwise panegyrics ceased, but since the light has been turned upon the object of their devotion, they have bent their efforts to the Sisyphean task of proving that he was deficient in the knowledge which they had

395 *Novum Organum*. Spedding. Vol. I. pp. 129–93

396 *Poesy-part of Learning*. Spedding. Vol. VI. pp. 202–06; Vol. VI. pp. 440–44

397 *De Augmentis*. Spedding. Vol. IX. pp. 112–14; Vol. X. p. 137

398 *Bacon's Creed and Essay on Unity*. Spedding. Vol. XIV. pp. 41–57; Vol. X. pp. 86–92

399 *Professional Works*. Spedding. Vol. XV

400 *De Augmentis Scientiarum*. Spedding. Vol. I. p. 3

401 *History of Henry VII*. Spedding. Vol. XI

402 *Advancement of Learning*. Spedding. Vol. VI. pp. 236–54; Vol. IX. pp. 23–47

403 *Natural History*. Spedding. Vol. VI. pp. 409–18; Vol. X. pp. 405–18

404 *Gardens*. Spedding. Vol. IV. pp. 354–460

405 *Experiments in consort touching music*. Spedding. Vol. IV. pp. 225–98

hitherto ascribed to him; in fact, that it was not the result of study and intellectual training, but being the common possession of the time in which he lived he simply helped himself there from. It would seem that rightly to avail one's self of such a varied store would require not only a mind "saturated" with knowledge, according to Furnivall, but intellectual training of a high degree. Especially do they now disparage the classical and legal erudition displayed in the works which they formerly extolled. Doubtless, unprejudiced minds will prefer the opinions of Upton, Collins, Baynes, Lord Campbell, Justice Wilde, Judge Holmes, and other eminent scholars and jurists, to those of partisans who have shown themselves to be so untrustworthy. Of these we hear less hope than of those who deck the object of their devotion with meretricious garlands, though we agree with Tolstoy that their "effort to discover in him non-existent merits, thereby destroying aesthetic and ethical understandings, is a great evil, as is every untruth."<sup>406</sup>

**Bacon's religion** Protestant. Among the plans for the benefit of religious reform which Paolo Sarpi, by means of Francesco Biondi, had proposed to James I., in 1609, one was for the foundation of a Protestant College or seminary on the borders of Italy, where Protestant missionaries might be trained. This plan had won the approval of Francis Bacon, who had suggested that in case the judges decided against the validity of Thomas Sutton's will, some of his estate might be used for the purpose of these Protestant seminaries.<sup>407</sup>

**Bacon's Royal Society** This Society, as is well known, originated in certain informal meetings during the Civil Wars (according to Dr. Wallis in 1645), though it did not receive its Charter of Incorporation till 1662. Bishop Sprat, its earliest historian, in a work written in 1667, speaks of Bacon as having "had the true imagination of the whole extent of this enterprise, as it is now set on foot." And then he proceeds to say: "In whose books there are everywhere scattered the best arguments that can be produced for the defence of Experimental Philosophy; and the best directions that are needful to promote it. All which he has already adorned with so much art; that if my desires could have prevailed with some excellent friends of mine, who engaged me to this work: there should have been no other Preface to the History of the Royal Society, but some of his writings." The passage is too long to quote at length, but will be found in Dr. Sprat's *History of the Royal Society*, pp. 35, 36, and in Tenison's *Baconiana*, pp. 264–266.

What Sprat, notwithstanding his eulogium of the philosophical works in general, says of the *Sylva Sylvarum* is very true: "He seems rather to take all that comes, than to choose; and to heap rather than to register." But, he adds, though "he had not the strength of a thousand men, I do allow him to have had as much as twenty." In another place (p. 144), after complimenting Lord Clarendon and the other Law Officers of the Crown on their share in drawing up the Charter of the Royal Society, Sprat goes on to say: "But it is enough to declare that my Lord Bacon was a Lawyer, and that these eminent officers of the Law have completed this foundation of the Royal

<sup>406</sup> Leo Tolstoy. *Shakespeare*, p. 6. New York and London, 1906 (2) Baxter. *The Greatest Literary Problems*, 1915

<sup>407</sup> Spedding. *Works*, IV. p. 254

Society: which was a work well becoming the largeness of his Wit to devise, and the greatness of their Prudence to establish.” The allusion here is to the *New Atlantis*. In Cowley’s *Ode* to the Royal Society, Bacon’s name is equally prominent:

Some few exalted Spirits this latter Age has shown,  
                     That labour’d to assert the Liberty  
 (From Guardians, who were now Usurpers grown)  
 Of this Old Minor still, captiv’d Philosophy;  
                     But ‘twas Rebellion call’d to fight  
                     For such a long oppressed Right.  
                     Bacon at last, a mighty man, arose  
 Whom a wise King and Nature chose  
                     Lord Chancellor of both their Laws,  
 And boldly undertook the injur’d Pupil’s cause.  
                     Nor suffer’d Living men to be misled  
                     By the vain shadows of the Dead  
                     From these and all long Errors of the way,  
                     In which our wandering Predecessors went,  
 And like th’ old Hebrews many years did stray  
                     In Desarts but of small extent,  
                     Bacon, like Moses, led us forth at last,  
                     The barren Wilderness he past,  
                     Did on the very Border stand  
                     Of the blest promis’d Land,  
 And from the Mountain’s Top of his Exalted Wit,  
                     Saw it himself, and shew’d us it.

It should be noticed that Sprat’s book received the sanction of the Royal Society, and that copies of it were sent by them to foreign Princes and other eminent persons on the continent. Hence Liebig’s sneer at Sprat <sup>408</sup> unless he is prepared to extend it generally to the members of the Royal Society at that time, is entirely out of place. But there is much more evidence to the same effect. The celebrated mathematician, Dr. Wallis, in the very interesting account of some passages of his own *Life* <sup>409</sup> says: “About the year 1645, while I lived in London, I had the opportunity of being acquainted with divers worthy Persons, inquisitive into Natural Philosophy, and other parts of Humane Learning; and particularly of what hath been called the New Philosophy or Experimental Philosophy.” He then proceeds to give the names of his associates and their places of meeting. “Our business was to Discourse and consider of Philosophical Enquiries, and such

<sup>408</sup> *Allgemeine Zeitung*, March 7, 1864

<sup>409</sup> Published in Appendix, Num. XI., to Hearne’s Preface to Peter Langtoft’s Chronicle 29

as related thereunto. Some of which were then but new discoveries, and others not so generally known and embraced, as now they are, with other things appertaining to what hath been called The New Philosophy; which from the times of Galileo at Florence, and Sir Francis Bacon (Lord Verulam) in England, hath been much cultivated in Italy, France, Germany, and other parts abroad, as well as with us in England.” In the Dedication to the Royal Society of his *Scepsis Scientifica* [Scientific Thoughts] in 1665, Glanvill says: “For you really are what former ages could contrive but in wish and Romances; and Solomon’s House in the *New Atlantis* was a Prophetic Scheme of the Royal Society.” Complimentary allusions to Bacon, whom he evidently regards as the great light of modern philosophy, are of constant occurrence in Glanvill’s works. Mr. Napier cites one more, taken from the *Plus Ultra* or the *Progress and Advancement of Knowledge* since the days of Aristotle (1668), having special reference to the Royal Society. After several remarks on the philosophy and aims of Bacon, he proceeds: “This was a mighty design, groundedly laid, wisely expressed, and happily recommended by the Glorious Author, who began nobly, and directed with an incomparable conduct of Wit and Judgment: but to the carrying it on, it was necessary there should be many Heads and many Hands, and those formed into an Assembly, that might intercommunicate their Trials and Observations, that might jointly work, and jointly consider; that so the improvable and luciferous Phaenomena, that lie scatter’d up and down in the vast Champaign of Nature, might be aggregated and brought into a common store. This the Great Man desired, and form’d a Society of Experimenters in a Romantic Model, but could do no more; his time was not ripe for such performances.” And from the *Plus Ultra*, pp. 87, 88: “These things therefore were consider’d also by the later Virtuosi, who several of them combined together, and set themselves on work upon this grand Design.”

Oldenburg, the first Secretary of the Society, in Number 22, p. 391 (1666–67), giving an extract from a letter: “The ingenious Author of this Letter, as he expresses an extraordinary desire to see the Store-House of Natural Philosophy more richly fraughted (a Work begun by the single care and conduct of the excellent Lord Verulam, and prosecuted by the Joint-undertakings of the Royal Society).” He frequently alludes to Bacon, as having given the chief impulse to the study of Experimental Philosophy, as, for instance, in the Prefaces to the Transactions for 1670, 1672, 1677. Thus, in the Preface for 1670, he says that “his greatest Reputation rebounded first from the most intelligent Forrainers in many parts of Christendome;” in that for 1672, “when our renowned Lord Bacon had demonstrated the methods for a perfect Restauration of all parts of Real Knowledge, the success became on a sudden stupendous, and Effective Philosophy began to sparkle, and even to flow into beams of bright-shining Light, all over the World.” And, lastly, in that for 1677, “many of the chief Universities in Christendome have already formed themselves into Philosophical Societies, and have so largely contributed their aids to advance the Lord Bacon’s Design for the Instauration of Arts and Sciences, that it is now become above my abilities.”

Boyle, who was himself called a Second Bacon, and who lent his rooms for the meetings of the Royal Society during the latter part of its Oxford career, is constant in his allusions to

“our illustrious Verulam,” “that profound naturalist the Lord Verulam,” “so judicious a friend to philosophy and mankind, as Sir Francis Bacon,” “our famous experimenter, the Lord Verulam himself.” Indeed Boyle seems to have been regarded, in a special sense, as a disciple of Bacon. In a letter to him, quoted by Mr. Napier, from Dr. Beal, who was himself elected to the Royal Society in 1662, the writer says: “You have particularized, explicated, and exemplified those fair encouragements and affectionate directions, which Lord Bacon in a wide generality proposed.” Dr. Beal’s Letters, published amongst the Letters from Several Persons to Mr. Boyle, in the volume of Boyle’s *Collected Works*, are somewhat lengthy, are full of allusions to Bacon. Thus, he speaks of Boyle as “relieving Lord Bacon’s *Sylva*, and his *Novum Organum*, which oft-times want your aid,” and, in another letter, there is a passage bearing on the connexion between Bacon’s designs and the establishment of the Royal Society: “And let me say to you, that if you give these things in charge amongst your acquaintance, that each man in his way may add to the search of others, then you do fully prosecute the Verulamian design; then our labour is joined and collegiate, and not always running in the narrowness of single endeavours.” Maclaurin, again, in his Account of *Newton’s Philosophical Discoveries* (p. 61) says: “It has been observed that Mr. Boyle was born the same year that Lord Bacon died, as if he had been destined to carry on his plan.” Dr. Robert Hooke (1635–1703), who succeeded Oldenburg as Secretary of the Royal Society, and was amongst the most distinguished of its early members, amongst his *Posthumous Works* is published one entitled *The Present State of Natural Philosophy and the Method of Improving it*, which is described by Dr. Whewell as an “attempt to adapt the *Novum Organum* to the age which succeeded its publication.” The whole of this treatise is in the lines of the *Novum Organum*, and much of it is a mere translation of its language. And yet Hooke seldom mentions Bacon, another proof out of many how little the writers of that time think it necessary to cite by name the authors from whom they borrow or to whom they are under obligations. However, unlike nowadays, there were no copyright infringement laws then, that held the author to cite their references. In one place, however,<sup>410</sup> he announces his design as follows: “Some other course therefore must be taken to promote the Search of Knowledge. Some other kind of Art for Enquiry than what hath hitherto been made use of, must be discovered; the Intellect is not to be suffered to act without its Helps, but is continually to be assisted by some Method or Engine, which shall be as a Guide to regulate its Actions, so as that it shall not be able to act amiss: Of this Engine, no Man except the incomparable Verulam hath had any thoughts, and he indeed hath promoted it to a very good pitch; but there is yet somewhat more to be added, which he seemed to want time to complete.” Hooke’s work, like its prototype, was unfinished.

Testimonies of this kind might easily be multiplied to almost any extent. Such are those of John Evelyn, an early member of the Royal Society, and celebrated as the author of *Sylva Numismata* the well-known Diary Dr. Joshua Childrey, who, in a letter to Oldenburg, preserved by Antony Wood, says “he first fell in love with the Lord Bacon’s philosophy in the year 1646,”

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<sup>410</sup> *Posthumous Works*, p. 6

and who, in 1661, published a work entitled *Britannia Baconica*, or the “Natural Rarities of England, Scotland, and Wales, historically related, according to the precepts of the Lord Bacon;” together with many other writers. The authorities cited are, however, amply sufficient to prove the two points which should be established:

1. That the foundation of the Royal Society in England, and possibly also that of some similar societies on the Continent, was due to the impulse given by Bacon to the study of experimental science and the plans which he devised for its prosecution.
2. That some of the more eminent men who were amongst the earliest members of that society, Wallis, Boyle, Hooke, &c., were deeply imbued with the spirit of Bacon’s teaching, and ready fully to recognise their obligations to him.

If these facts be established, there can be no question as to the reality of Bacon’s influence on the progress of science in the generation immediately succeeding his own, whatever we may regard the nature of that influence as having been. Nor was the New Philosophy without its influence on the Universities, much as those bodies were occupied at this time with other questions, and deeply rooted as were their prejudices in favour of the old learning. Even if we pass over the letter of the University of Oxford, written on receipt of Bacon’s *De Augmentis* in 1623, in which he is likened to a literary Hercules, who has further advanced the pillars of learning, deemed by others immovable, as savouring, perhaps, too much of official flattery; and even if we reject, as testimony to himself, and, therefore, perhaps, partial, what he says in his letter to the King about the reception of the *Advancement of Learning* “in the Universities here and the English Colleges abroad,” we have still sufficient evidence to show that Bacon’s works were producing a real and perceptible influence. The ready welcome accorded to the London savans in Oxford in 1648 and 1649,<sup>411</sup> the fact that they were joined by several Oxford men, and the uninterrupted meetings of the incipient Royal Society in Oxford till the dispersion of several of its members in 1658, would alone furnish satisfactory evidence of the spread of the New Philosophy in one, at least, of the Universities.

And yet the Juniors do not seem, at any rate in some of the Colleges, to have profited much from this intellectual activity of their seniors.<sup>412</sup> But Dr. Sprat expressly tells us (p. 53) that, besides being “frequented by some Gentlemen of Philosophical Minds, whom the misfortunes of the Kingdom and the security and ease of a retirement amongst Gown-men had drawn thither, the University had, at that time, many members of its own, who had begun a free way of reasoning,” an expression which undoubtedly denotes the Baconian, as opposed to the Aristotelian or traditional method. In describing their meetings, he proceeds: “By this means

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<sup>411</sup> See Wallis’ account

<sup>412</sup> Bourne. *Life of Locke*, Vol. I. pp. 47, 48 and see Locke’s account of the arid and unstimulating character of his studies during the earlier years of his academical life, as given in his confidences to Lady Masham and Le Clerc. Locke, in later years, joined the scientific circle of which Boyle was the centre

there was a race of young men provided, against the next age, whose minds, receiving from them their first impressions of sober and generous knowledge, were invincibly armed against all the enchantments of Enthusiasm. But what is more, I may venture to affirm that it was in good measure by the influence which these Gentlemen had over the rest that the University itself, or, at least, any part of its Discipline and Order, was saved from ruin.”

At a period a little later than the publication of Sprat's book, Dr. Beal, writing to Boyle, November 27, 1671 has a passage which will be read with some interest by many Oxford men, and which, as it has not been noticed before, is transcribed at length: “At my request a young Oxonian prepared me a list of fit, capable, and hopeful persons, addicted to the design of the Royal Society, and willing to entertain correspondences, and to assist in them. They seemed to me by their qualifications, and number, very considerable; some in every College, and in every Hall. Only in one College, there was but one named; but it is excused, that his list was much too short, and that he wanted time to complete it, and for some reasons he would not be seen to advise with others for fuller information. There are excellent professors, some lecturers, and very many students of useful arts amongst them. And in time they may have their meetings in some of their public schools, after fit lectures; and the wings of the Stubbians are already broken, and their reputation withers, as Dr. Bathurst told me.” <sup>413</sup>

Napier, thinks that the “New Philosophy” had made still greater progress at Cambridge. This conclusion is based mainly on a passage in Antony Wood, <sup>414</sup> who, in his *Life of Glanvill*, “wonders, considering that that house [Exeter College] was then one of the chief nurseries for youth in the University, why he should afterwards lament that his friends did not first send him to Cambridge, because, as he used to say, that New Philosophy and the Art of Philosophising were there more than here in Oxon, and that his first studies in this University did not qualify him for the world of action and business.” This evidence may not be of much value as settling the claims of the rival Universities, but, at all events, it is sufficient to show that Cambridge had already a reputation for the “New Philosophy.” Of this fact, perhaps, we receive additional testimony in Baker's *Reflections upon Learning*, first published in 1699. Baker, the author, was a Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and is now well known for his history of that College, in a published work edited by one Mr. Mayor. In the former work, *Chapter on Logic*, after making some interesting remarks on the Method of Bacon, he proceeds on p. 59: “After the way of free thinking” (notice, again, this expression) “had been laid open by my Lord Bacon, it was soon after greedily followed, for the Understanding affects Freedom as well as the Will, and men will pursue liberty, though it ends in confusion.” This reflexion, however, may have simply a general reference, and may not have been specially suggested by the experience of the writer's own University. A still stronger indication, than either of these two, of the way which the New Philosophy had made in Cambridge, in the middle of the seventeenth century, is to be found in

<sup>413</sup> Boyle. *Works*, Ed. of 1744, Vol. V. p. 498, b

<sup>414</sup> Bliss' Ed. of the *Athenae Oxonienses*, 1817, Vol. III. p. 1244

the testimony of Isaac Barrow (1652), subsequently the first Lucasian Professor of Mathematics, and the immediate predecessor of Newton. In an academical exercise, written in the above year, when Barrow was about twenty-two years of age, on the thesis *Cartesiana Hypothesis*, he passes the highest eulogium on Bacon, and shows, as Mr. Whewell says “that he had read the *Novum Organum* in a careful and intelligent manner, and presumed his Cambridge hearers to be acquainted with the work.” The passages in this exercise, referring to Bacon, “may be regarded,” as Dr. Whewell also remarks, “as expressive of the opinions which were then current among active-minded and studious young men.”<sup>415</sup> And this will close with Socrates’ saying: “A man talking, shows more clearly his conditions, than does his face”.

**Bacon’s works at Lincoln’s Inn library** The Society of Lincoln’s Inn has in its library a very large number of pamphlets and other publications of a similar nature. Some of these, *e.g.*, reports of trials, are included in the general catalogue, but the bulk of them had not been catalogued according to modern requirements, though a manuscript slip-catalogue rendered them available to a certain extent. Following is a short catalogue list from that library upon some works of Francis Bacon.<sup>416</sup>

- 1600: Lent. The Learned Reading of Sir Francis Bacon, One Of her Majesty’s learned Counsel at Law, upon the Statute of Uses: being his double Reading to the Honourable Society of Gray’s Inn. 42 Elizabeth. 4to, pp. 58. London: 1642. Brydall, 24, Fo. 23. Another edition: 8vo, pp. xvi, 67. London: 1785. Carleton, 16. No. 4.
- 1601: A Declaration of the Practises and Treasons, attempted and committed by Robert, late Earle of Essex and his Complices against her Majesty and her Kingdoms; with the very Confessions, etc. By Francis Bacon. 4to, pp. 126. London: 1601. Brydall, 31. Fo. 375.
- Circa 1603. Certain Considerations touching the better Pacification, and Edification of the Church of England. Dedicated to his Most Excellent Majesty. By Francis Bacon. 4to, pp. 42; not numbered. 1640. Hill, 89. No. 12.
- 1610: The Office of Constables. Written by Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, his Majesty’s Attorney General in the year of our Lord 1610. Being an Answer to the Questions proposed by Sir Alexander Hay. 8vo, pp. 1 8. 1641.
- 1618–21: A Charge given by Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, late Lord Chancellor of England, at a Sessions holden for the Verge, (*viz.* Twelve Miles round the King’s Mansion House) in the Reign of the late King James; declaring the Latitude of the Jurisdiction thereof, and the Offences therein inquireable, as well by the Common Law, as by several Statutes herein mentioned. Engraved vignette, C.R., crown, etc. 4to, pp. 20. London: 1676. Hill, 18. No. 1.

<sup>415</sup> Thomas Fowler. *Bacon’s Novum Organum*, 1879

<sup>416</sup> W. Paley Baildon. *Catalogue Of Pamphlets, Tracts, Proclamations, Speeches, Sermons, Trials, Petitions From 1506 To 1700*, in the library of Lincoln’s Inn, published in 1908



- 1629: *The Lawyers Light: or, a due direction for the Study of the Law* written by J[ohn] Doddridge]; to which is annexed for the affinity of the subject, another Treatise, called the *Use of the Law* by Lord Bacon. 4to, pp. x, 119. London: 1629. Hill, 8. No. 4.
- 1630: *A Collection of some Principal Rules and Maxims of the Common Laws of England, with their latitude and extent. Explicated by Sir Francis Bacon, then Solicitor General to the late renowned Queen Elizabeth, and since Lord Chancellor of England. Dedication to Queen Elizabeth.* 4to, pp. xviii, 104. London: 1630.
- 1630: *The Use of the Law, provided for Preservation of our Persons, Goods, and Good Names, according to the Practise of the Laws and Customs of this Land. By the L. Verulam, Viscount of S. Albans, &c.* 4to, pp. vi, 84. London: 1630.
- 1630: *The Elements of the Common Laws of England, Branched into a double Tract: the one containing a Collection of some principal Rules and Maxims of the Common Law; the other the Use of the Common Law, for preservation of our Persons, Goods, and good Names. By the late Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, Lo. Verulam and Viscount S. Alban.* 4to, pp. xviii, 104; vi 84. London: 1630.
- 1637: *R.P. Emanuelis Thesauri Societate Jesu, Caesares; et ejusdem varia carmina.* 2nd ed. Dedication to Viscount St. Albans, Lord Keeper, by G. Herbert, Public Orator at Cambridge. 8vo, pp. iii, 151. Oxford: 1637. Brydall, 15. Fo. 252.
- 1641: May 15. *Three Speeches of Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, Solicitor General, after Lord Verulam, Viscount Saint Alban, concerning the Post-Nati, Naturalization of the Scotch in England, Union of the Laws of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland.* Engraved frontispiece, Bacon in Chancellor's Robes. 4to, pp. 88 (90). London: 1641. Hill, 101. No. 2.
- 1641: *A Wise and Moderate Discourse concerning Church Affairs. As it was written, long since, by the famous Author Bacon of those Considerations, which seem to have some reference to this.* 4to, pp. 47. 1641. Hill, 89. No. 6.
- 1641: *Leycester's Commonwealth*, 4to, pp. v, 182. 1641. Brydall, 24. Fo. 162. Usually but wrongly attributed to Robert Parsons the Jesuit. A copy of this work was discovered in the *Northumberland Manuscript*.
- 1642: May 1st Sir Francis Bacon his Apologie, in certain imputations concerning the late Earle of Essex. Written to the Earle of Devonshire, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. 4to, pp. 19. London: 1642. Brydall, 14. Fo. 120. Supplied from the British Museum copy.

**Baconian Creed** Twenty-nine reasons for believing that Bacon wrote Shakespeare and did Francis Bacon write Shakespeare? written by Mrs. Pott:

1. That nothing in his life makes it impossible for Bacon to have written the plays.
2. That chronological order, dates, and other particulars coincide with facts in the life of Bacon.
3. The hints given by the author's experiences applicable to Bacon and not with Shaksper.

4. That Bacon was a poet.
5. That Bacon was addicted to the theatre, got up Masques, and wrote *The Conference of Pleasure*, *The Gesta Grayorum*, *A Masque of an Indian Prince*.
6. The Earls of Southampton and Pembroke are not shown to have any intimacy with Shaksper but they had with Bacon.
7. Many of the wits and poets acknowledge Bacon their chief.
8. That Ben Jonson used the same words in addressing both.
9. That in the time of Bacon's poverty, 1623, Ben Jonson tried to push the sale of Shakespeare's works.
10. That Bacon had some connexion with Shaksper.
11. That he uses the alphabet.
12. That Sir Toby Matthew's letter from abroad adds: "P.S. The most prodigious wit that ever I knew of my nation, on this side of the sea is of your Lordship's name, though he be known by another."
13. That he called himself a concealed poet to Sir John Davies.
14. The knowledge in the plays is that of Bacon.
15. That the subjects which engross them are the same.
16. That the observations on character are the same.
17. Bacon's studies of any time introduced into plays of the same date.
18. In several editions of a play, Bacon's increased knowledge shown in the later editions.
19. Vocabulary very much the same.
20. Baconian ideas and groups of ideas appear in the plays.
21. Cowden Clarke's ninety-five points of Shakespeare's style common to Bacon.
22. Shakespeare grammar of Dr. Abbott serves for Bacon.
23. Figures of speech frequently the same.
24. The *Promus* notes do not appear in Bacon's works, but in Shakespeare's plays.
25. Superstitious and religious belief the same.
26. Bacon's favourite authors Shakespeare's also.
27. Striking words from the plays fit the character and circumstances of Bacon.
28. That the Folio of 1623 included plays never before heard of.
29. That the difficulties which have to be explained away are much less in the case of Bacon than of Shaksper.

The most logical *Life* of Shaksper ever written was that by George Steevens, the great Shakespearean commentator, if you retract the authorship issue. It consists of the following sentence: "All that is known with any degree of certainty concerning Shaksper is, that he was born at Stratford-on-Avon, married and had children there; went to London, where he commenced actor, and wrote poems and plays; returned to Stratford, made his will, died, and was buried." This was commented by George Stronach in his *Mr. Sidney Lee and the Baconians*, p. 6, 1904.

There will be fare and profound difficulty in compiling any kind of life to a person that never existed. The person called Shaksper definitely existed: he was an actor; he was the man who married Hathaway; he was son to John Shaksper; he was the father to his children; he was the resident of Stratford. He was not, definitely, without doubt, the author of the Shakespearean Literature that entails the Plays and Sonnets sealed with the name Shakespeare, with or without the hyphen. That researchers, historians, biographers, scholars, students and the humble reader, complex two names to one individual, is a travesty to Shaksper's memory and work as an actor of his time, and a dishonourable and intentional attempt, to bury the truth from William Shakespeare's paintings of the English language. Here is a pretty jest that would rest our suspicions: A Lawyer [Bacon] and his Clerk [Shaksper] riding on the road, the Clerk desired to know what was the chief point of the Law. His Master said if he would promise to pay for their suppers that night, he would tell him; which was agreed to. *Why then*, said the Master, *good witnesses are the chief point in the Law*. When they came to the Inn, the Master bespoke a couple of fowls for supper; and when they had supped, told the Clerk to pay for them according to agreement. *O Sir*, says he, *where's your witness?*<sup>417</sup>

**Baconian decendents** The supposition has been that all American Bacon's are descendants of Sir Francis Bacon but this is a mistake as Bacon never had any issue. In 1640 there was a man by the name of Michael Bacon who immigrated from England to America with his three sons and settled in some one of the New England states.<sup>418</sup>

**Baconian importance** In Henslowe's *Diary* we can offer these importances: Caesar, Julius. ("mr Seser"). Dr., later (1603) Sir, Julius Caesar, judge of the Court of Admiralty and Master of Requests, sat in various parliaments from 1589 to 1622, was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1606, Master of the Rolls in 1614, and died in 1636. In 1597 Henslowe was "going up and down to St Catherine's to see him about the changing of our commission". This is not likely to refer to the internal arrangements of the Admiral's Company at the time of their partial amalgamation with Pembroke's Men, but may possibly or probably have to do with Henslowe and Alleyn's attempts to secure the reversion of the Mastership of the Game of Hears, *etc.*, in which matter we learn, June 4, 1598 that "doctor seasser hath done nothing" (MS., II. i). On March 1, 1615–16 he and Francis Bacon signed a discharge as commissioners of new buildings (Mun. 170). On August 24, 1620 Alleyn met him at dinner at the Bishop of Winchester's, and on November 11 met the Bishop at his house.<sup>419</sup> Leicester, Lord. Chettle borrowed money "to arrest one with Lord Lester," November 3, 1598[?] (51 V 10). Robert Dudley, however, died in 1588 and the title lapsed till his nephew Robert Sidney became first Earl of the fifth creation in 1618. If "Lester" is rightly interpreted as Leicester it can only be supposed that it refers to Sir Robert Dudley, the son of Elizabeth's favourite by Douglas widow of Lord Sheffield, who about

<sup>417</sup> *Complete London Jester*, ed. 1771, p. 102

<sup>418</sup> Taylor Arthur L. & Bacon Cassius F. *Bacon Family Genealogy*, 1922

<sup>419</sup> MS., IX; Young, II. pp. 187, 193

1597 was vainly endeavouring to establish his legitimacy and consequent right to the earldoms of Leicester and Warwick.

**Baconian form** The two modes in which Bacon speaks of the *form*, namely as *ipsissima res* and as a law, differ only, though they cannot be reconciled, as two aspects of the same object. With regard to the doctrine of *forms*, it is in the first place to be observed that it is not mentioned as a part of Bacon's system, either in *Valerius Terminus* or in the *Partis secundæ Delineatio*, or in the *De Interpretatione Naturæ Sententiæ Duodecim*, although in the two last-named tracts the definition of science which is found at the outset of the second book of the *Novum Organum* is in substance repeated. This definition makes the discovery of *forms* the aim and end of sciences; but in both cases the word *form* is replaced by *causes*. In the *Advancement of Learning* (1605) *forms* are spoken of as one of the subjects of Metaphysique: "whosoever knoweth any *Form*, knoweth the utmost possibility of super inducing that nature upon any variety of nature."

**Bergeny House** On December 9, 1558 Sir Nicholas Bacon writes to Dr. Parker: "I would wish that you should repair to London with as convenient speed as you can, where you shall find me at Burgeny house in Paternoster Row." This was the London residence of the Earls of Abergavenny and was, according to Stow, "one great house built of stone and timber at the north end of Ave Mary Lane." In the reigns of Edward II., and III., it was the residence of John, Duke of Bretagney and Earl of Richmond, and in the reign of Richard II., of the Earl of Pembroke. The house is the one that afterwards became the Stationers' Hall and was destroyed in the Great London Fire (1666). [Also see *Fortunes of fire*.]

**Bi-literal alphabet** The idea of a *bi-literal alphabet*, which Bacon seems to claim as his own, is employed, though in a different manner, by Porta. His method is in effect this: he reduces the alphabet to sixteen letters, and then takes the eight different arrangements *aaa, aba, &c.*, to represent them; each arrangement representing two letters indifferently: the ambiguity arising from hence he seems to disregard. In this manner he reduces any given word or sentence to a succession of *a's* and *b's*. At this point his method, of which he has given several modifications, departs wholly from Bacon's. (Spedding). <sup>420</sup> "Those works of the Alphabet are in my opinion of less use to you where you are now, than at Paris; and therefore I conceived that you had sent me a kind of tacit countermand of your former request." (Bacon). <sup>421</sup> Spedding confesses "What those works of the alphabet may have been, I cannot guess, unless they related to Bacon's cipher, in which, by means of two alphabeta, one having only two letters, the other having two forms for each of the twenty-four letters, any words you please may be written so as to signify any other words." <sup>422</sup>

<sup>420</sup> Spedding. *Works*, Vol II. Appendix

<sup>421</sup> Rawley. *Resuscitatio*, 1657, Bacon's letter to Tobie Matthews

<sup>422</sup> Spedding. *Works*, Vol. I. p. 557

**Baron of Verulam** By patent, dated Wanstead, July 11, 1618 Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor, was created Baron of Verulam.

**Bolton's Academy** In the year 1624, in which James I., gave his first approval to Bolton's Academy, Bacon was engaged on the composition of his *New Atlantis*, in the course of which he described the organization of a Solomon's House or academy, at Bensalem, an imaginary island in the southern seas. The old antiquarian association showed some signs of renewed life in 1638 and 1659, and it was finally and effectively restored by the foundation of the Society of Antiquaries in 1717.<sup>423</sup>

**Boscovich Theory** Forms the basis of the ordinary mathematical theories of light, of heat, and of electricity. This theory supposes all bodies to be constituted of inextended atoms or centres of force, each of which attracts or repels and is attracted or repelled by all the rest. All the phenomena of nature are thus ascribed to mechanical forces, and all the differences which can be conceived to exist between two bodies, gold, say, and silver, can only arise either from the different configuration of the centres of force, or from the different law by which they act on one another. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum IV).

**Book's logic** I never ordered the book; if I did you didn't send it; if you sent it I never got it; if I got it I paid for it; if I didn't I won't.

**Book plates** Most probably had their origin in Germany several of the earliest plates being designed by the great Albert Dürer himself. The most notable of these is the ex-libris of his friend Bilibaldus Pirckheimer, the Nuremberg jurist, of whom he also engraved a portrait on copper in the year 1524. This book plate is not signed, but the best authorities agree in considering Dürer to have been its designer, although it is not generally thought that the wood block was cut by him. The first English book plates are considerably later than this the earliest known being that of Sir Nicholas Bacon. This beautiful ex-libris, bears the arms of Bacon quartering Quaplade, with a crescent for a difference, and was engraved in 1574 to be placed in the books presented by Sir Nicholas to the University of Cambridge. "It is," said Bacon "a reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay; or to see a fair timber tree sound and perfect: how much more to behold an ancient noble family which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time."

**Bracelets trochisk of vipers** made into little pieces of beads, which according to Bacon, "did great good inwards, especially for pestilent agues, it is like they will be effectual outwards, where they may be applied in greater quantity" against the plague.

**Bribes** In Lovejoy's Preface,<sup>424</sup> he says, "There is room for a sketch of this great type of official bribe-takers, the writer has exhibited this extraordinary man [Bacon] climbing to the Wool-

<sup>423</sup> *Shakespeare's England*, Vol. I., 1916

<sup>424</sup> Lovejoy Benjamin G. *Francis Bacon (Lord Verulam) A Critical Review His Life And Character*, 1888

sack and descending to the prison-cell, through the channels of unsatisfied ambition and greed for wealth, while giving to the world principles of philosophy and morality which conferred immortality alike upon his fame and his infamy. Certainly it was irregular, to say the least, for a general confession to be made, in qualified terms, to a charge which had not been formally presented to the accused, who had urged this formality as a necessary precedent to the making of either a submission or defence; so the House went into a committee of the whole, and the twenty-three charges were read.”

Dr. Draper, in his *Intellectual Development of Europe* says: “It is true that the sacred name of philosophy should be severed from its long connection with that of one who was a pretender in science, a time-serving politician, an insidious lawyer, a corrupt judge, a treacherous friend, a bad man.”

We have the offense of bribery referable to any person concerned in the administration of justice. This though, is a limited view, for there are others who are susceptible to the temptation and crime, such, for instance, as legislative or executive servants of a government. But was a Lord Chancellor (that Bacon was at the time) a judge? In the correspondence of Bacon, and to his notes touching his proposed interview with the King when he was condemned, it will be found that he used the word “judge” as applicable to himself in the role of a defendant. “The High Court of Chancery,” says Blackstone,<sup>425</sup> treating of the judicial system of England, which was the same in Bacon’s day, “is, in matters of civil property, by much the most important of any of the King’s superior and original courts of justice.” Judges can sit at his feet and learn to perform their functions as all should, and few do, perform them. The sectarian can learn from his controversial tracts the lesson of charity. And no man can read his popular works without meeting with some thought which is worth preserving, some lesson worth learning. In accounting for his alleged moral frailty we should not forget that he was the favourite son of an influential father; was reared in comparative affluence; was encouraged to cultivate his great natural gifts for enlistment in the advancement of knowledge and the agreeable service of his country. If we confine our judgments to his writings, then must we bow before the scholar, lawyer, reformer, statesman, moralist and philosopher. Bacon was a profound thinker and writer upon moral, social and political subjects. He was a historian, and well informed as to the lives of England’s Kings, their favourites, advisers and servants. He was a teacher of Kings, favourites, advisers and subjects. Truth and honesty belong to no age; and his contemporary, Shakespeare, were to furnish the two pillars upon which the literary fame of the Elizabethan period rests. (Lovejoy).

Of similar misfortune struck one Lionel, son of Thomas Cranfield, who was originally bred a Merchant. His introduction at Court was, we find by the following passage extracted from Mr. Chamberlain’s next Letter, owing to the Earl of Northampton: “Sir Thomas Waller, the Lieutenant of Dover Castle, is lately dead of a burning fever, and his place they say bestowed upon one Sir Lyonell Cranfield, a Merchant of this town of Ingram’s profession, who is grown in

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425 Bl. Com. Bk. III., p. 47

great favour of the Lord Privy Seal, and rides ordinarily in his coach with him; and by his means was Knighted on Sunday last." His after rise is attributed to the favourite Villiers, as was Bacon, with whom he was connected by their marrying two sisters. In 1616, "for his great services" (perhaps in the loan of money) he was made a Master of Requests; he was next advanced to be Master of the King's Wardrobe, and Master of the Wards; was made a Privy Councilor and joint Commissioner of the office of Treasurer with George Calvert (the Secretary of State), in 1619; was created Baron Cranfield of Cranfield. co. Bedford, in July 1631; confirmed Lord Treasurer in the following October; and created Earl of Middlesex in 1622. His fall, as his rise, was effected by the influence of Buckingham, who seconded his impeachment before the Parliament in 1624. He was found guilty of bribery, extortion, oppression, and other misdemeanors committed in his office of Treasurer. His sentence was very similar to that of Bacon but the fine imposed on him was greater, namely, £50.000. Like Bacon, he retained his titles, which descended successively to two of his sons, and then became extinct. He survived about twenty years in peaceful retirement, and died in 1645. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, where a splendid monument is erected to his memory, with recumbent effigies of him and his second wife, Buckingham's sister-in-law.

"Sir Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Alban, had been often questioned during this Parliament in the Upper House, for his gross and notorious bribery, and though he had for divers weeks abstained from coming to the Parliament House, yet had the broad seal still remained with him till this first day of May, [1621] in the afternoon; and he, by that means, as yet remained Lord Chancellor of England. The four Lords that came for it were Henry Viscount Mandeville, Lord Treasurer, Lodowick Stewart, Duke of Lennox, Lord Steward of the King's household, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain of the same household, and Thomas Earl of Arundel, Earl Marshal of England; they, coming to York House to him, where he lay, told him they were "sorry to visit him upon such an occasion, and wished it had been better." "No, my lords," replied he, "the occasion is good;" and then delivering them the great seal, he added, "It was the King's favour that gave me this, and it is my fault that hath taken it away: *Rex dedit, culpa abstulit*," or words to that effect. So leaving him, the said four Lords carried the gage they had received to Whitehall, to the King, who was overheard by some near him to say upon their delivery of it to him, "Now, by my soul, I am pained at the heart where to bestow this; for as to my lawyers, I think they be all knaves." Which it seemeth his Majesty spake at that time to prepare a way to bestow it on a clergyman, as the Marquis of Buckingham had intended; for otherwise there were at this present divers able wise lawyers, very honest and religious men, fit for the place, in whom there might easily have been found as much integrity, and less fawning and flattery than in the clergy; and, accordingly, Doctor Williams, now Dean of Westminster, and before that time made Bishop of Lincoln, was sworn Lord Keeper, and had the great seal delivered to him.

"Never had any man in those great places of gain he had gone through, having been Attorney General before he was Lord Chancellor, so ill husbanded the time, or provided for himself. His

vast prodigality had eaten up all his gains; for it was agreed by all men, that he owed at this present at least 20,000*l.* more than he was worth. Had he followed the just and virtuous steps of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Knt., his father, that continued Lord Keeper of the Great Seal some eighteen years under Queen Elizabeth, of ever blessed memory, his life might have been as glorious as by his many vices it proved infamous. For though he were an eminent scholar and a reasonable good lawyer, both which he much adorned with his eloquent expression of himself and his graceful delivery, yet his vices were so stupendous and great, as they utterly obscured and out-poised his virtues. He was immoderately ambitious and excessively proud, to maintain which he was necessitated to injustice and bribery, taking sometimes most basely of both sides. To this latter wickedness the favour he had with the beloved Marquis of Buckingham emboldened him, as I learned in discourse from a gentleman of his bedchamber, who told me he was sure his Lord should never fall as long as the said Marquis continued in favour. His most abominable and darling sin, I should rather bury in silence than mention it, were it not a most admirable instance how men are inflamed by wickedness, and held captive by the devil. He lived, many years after his fall, in his lodgings in Gray's Inn, in Holborn, in great want and penury."

D'Ewes here specifically charges Bacon with an abominable offence, in language too gross for publication. He states that it was supposed by some, that he would have been tried at the bar of justice for it; and says, that his guilt was so notorious while he was at York House, in the Strand, and at his lodgings in Gray's Inn, Holborn, that the following verses were cast into his rooms:

Within this sty a hog doth lie,  
That must be hang'd for villany." <sup>426</sup>

**Britannicis** The *Great Harry*, a ship built in 1514 and burnt by accident in 1553. (Bacon, *Hist. Vent*). [Also see Part I: *Ships*.]

**Brittaine** Britain. In the edition of 1622 the word is spelt *Britaine*. In modern histories it is always spelt either *Bretagne* of Brittany. (Bacon, *History of King Henry VII.*).

**British coins** In William Camden's *Brittania*, <sup>427</sup> describing certain early British coins, of which there are plates, he tells us: "The first is Cunobelins, who flourished under Augustus and Tiberius, upon which (if I mistake not) are engraven the heads of a two-faced Janus; possibly because at that time Britain began to be a little refined from its barbarity. The second, likewise, is Cunobelins, with his face and name; and on the reverse, the mint-master, with the addition of the word *Tascia*, which in British signifies a *tribute-penny* (as I am informed by D. David Powel, a man admirably skilled in that language), perhaps from the Latin *taxatio*, for the Britains do not use the letter X. The third is also the same Cunobelins, with a horse and Cuno, and with an ear of corn, which seems to stand for *Camalodunum*, the palace of Cunobelin. The fourth, by the

<sup>426</sup> James Orchard Halliwell: *The autobiography of Sir Simonds D'Ewes*, Vol. I., 1845

<sup>427</sup> Ch. *Conjecture upon British Coins*, p. 138



Ver, seems to have been coined at Verulam. The fifth, likewise, is Cunobelins. The seventh, which is Cunobelins, with this inscription, *Tase Novanei*, with a woman's head, I dare not positively affirm to have been the tribute-money of the Trinovantes, who were under his government; Apollo, with his harp, and the name of Cunobelin on the reverse, being to my mind what I have somewhere observed of the god Belinus; namely, that the ancient Gauls worshipped Apollo under the name of Belinus. And this is confirmed by Dioscorides, who expressly says that the Herba Apollinaris (in the juice whereof the Gauls used to dip their arrows) was called in Gaulish *Belinuntia*. From which I durst almost make this inference, that the name of Cunobelin, as also of that of Cassibelan, came originally from the worship of Apollo, as well as Phœbitius and Delphidius. The twentieth is of Cunobeline, son of Theomantius, nephew to Cassibelan, by the British writers called Kymboline."

It is believed that the ancient Britons lived on this spot for many centuries before Christ; they built a town, dug the ditch, put up palisades where those walls are, made covered ways out of it for their cattle, and were reigned over by many Princes, whose coins we find in the soil, one of whom was the *Cymbeline* of Shakespeare.<sup>428</sup>

**Brotherhood title** The title of the Brotherhood is derived from Rosa-Crux, a red rose affixed to a cross, presumably of gold. So many intellectual subtleties have been employed by fanciful theorists in attempts to explain the precise signification of these ancient symbols, believed to be older than the Christian era that their more obvious and truer significance has been unnecessarily obscured. To the Rosicrucians of the age of Elizabeth, it hardly seems questionable that the rose was the symbol of silence, as among the ancients it was originally derived from the pagan tradition that the god of Love made the first rose, which he presented to the god of Silence. From this tradition originated the custom of carving a rose on the ceilings of banquet halls, or rooms where people met for gayety and diversion, to intimate that under it, whatever was spoken or done was not to be divulged; hence our term *sub rosa* used to indicate secrecy. The Cross, of course, signified salvation, to which the Society of the Rose-Cross devoted itself by teaching mankind the love of God and the beauty of Brotherhood, with all that they implied.

**Brownists** The Brownists (so called from Robert Brown, their leader) were a religious sect that objected to the rites, ceremonies, and discipline of the English Church. They were the forerunners of the Puritans.

As for those we call Brownists, being when they were at the most, a very small number of very silly and base people, here and there dispersed, they are now (thanks be to God), by the good remedies that have been used, suppressed and worn out. (Bacon, *Observations on a Libel*, 1592).

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<sup>428</sup> Charles Henry Ashdown. *The Gossiping Guide to St. Albans*, p. 24, 1891

## C

**Cæser's assassination** How to extinguish envy he knew excellently well, and thought it an object worth purchasing even at the sacrifice of dignity. He did not put off his mask, but so carried himself that he turned the envy upon the other party. At last, whether satiated with power or corrupted by flattery, he aspired likewise to the external emblems thereof, the name of King and the crown, which turned to his destruction. (Bacon, *Imago Civilis Julii Cæsaris*).

So we receive from him, as a Monument both of his power and learning, the then reformed computation of the year; well expressing that he took it to be as great a glory to himself to observe and know the law of the heavens as to give law to men upon the earth. (Bacon, *Adv*).

**Capias Utlagatum** A Jewish goldsmith and moneylender sues for his bond for £300 on Bacon's departure from the Tower on business of the Learned Counsel, being the investigation of John Stanley and Valentine Thomas which allege to a conspiracy of the assassination of the Queen, by the Popish refuges in Spain. Bacon is arrested by the sheriff. In those days, every shire had a sheriff, which word, being of the Saxon English, is as much as to say shirereeve, or minister of the county. His function or office was twofold, namely; one Ministerial and two Judicial. Bacon's anger is expressed to Robert Cecil in the following letter: <sup>429</sup>

It May Please Your Honour.

I humbly pray you to understand how badly I have been used by the enclosed, being a copy of a letter of complaint thereof, which I have written to the Lord Keeper. How sensitive you are of wrongs offered to your blood in my particular, I have had not long since experience. But herein I think your Honour will be doubly sensitive, in tenderness also of the indignity to her Majesty's service. For as for me, Mr. Sympson might have had me every day in London; and therefore to delay me, while he knew I came from the Tower about her Majesty's special service, was to my understanding very bold. And two days before he brags he before me, because I dined with sheriff More. So as with Mr. Sympson, examinations at the Tower are not so great a privilege, *eundo et redeundo*, as sheriff More's dinner. But this complaint I make duty; and to that and have also informed my Lord of Essex thereof; for otherwise his punishment will do me no good. So with signification of my humble duty, I commend your Honour to the divine preservation.

Fra. Bacon

*From Coleman Street.*

After Bacon's release from Coleman Street comes within a few days after an arrangement is made regarding the debt. Upon this case, Coke and Bacon blow in an altercation at the Bar of the Court of the Exchequer. This being that Coke had taken great offence because without his consent, brief and fee, Bacon presumed to make a motion about re-seizing the lands of a

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429 Birch. *Letters of Francis Bacon*, 1763

relapsed recusant in which the crown was concerned. The altercation between Bacon and Coke is presumed by Spedding to be caused due to Bacon's arrest for debts. Bacon gives the account:

"He accosteth me by saying, "Mr. Bacon, if you have any tooth against me, pluck it out, for it will do you more hurt than all the teeth in your head will do you good." I answer in a cold manner. "Mr. Attorney, I respect you; I fear you not: and the less you speak of your own greatness, the more I will think of it." "I think scorn to stand upon terms of greatness towards you, who are less than little, less than the least." He replies, adding other such strange light terms, with that insolence which cannot be expressed. I am self-possessed. "Mr. Attorney, do not depress me so far; for I have been your better, and may be again when it please the Queen." With this, he spake neither I nor him self could tell what, as if he had been born Attorney General, and in the end bade me not meddle with the Queen's business but with mine own, and that I was unsworn. With this, I conclude on that "Sworn or not sworn is all one to an honest man; I have ever set my service first, and my self second; and I wish to God you would do the like." "It were good to clap a *capias utlagatum* upon your back." He fumes. "I thank God you cannot, but you are at fault and hunt upon an old scent." [Also see Part I: *Capias Utlagatum*]

**Carre's wedding Masque** When the infamous Carre was about to be married to the equally infamous Lady Frances Howard, the divorced wife of the son Essex, Bacon had talked to Carre in order to obtain the Mastership of the Wards and had failed. He therefore tried before the wedding to curry favour by offering to provide a Masque similar to the gorgeous pageant produced by the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn on the occasion of the marriage of the Elector Palatine and the Princess Elizabeth on February 14, 1613. These Masques were usual on such occasions. At the week's festivities which took place at the marriage of the Prince of Orange with Charles I's daughter (whose son was to dethrone the Stuarts), a great scaffolding for the show was erected outside Whitehall Banqueting House. During that whole week Strafford lay awaiting his doom, vainly imploring the King, for whose service he was about to die, and whose protection had previously been promised him, to refuse to sign the Attainder. The mills of God do not always grind slowly, for within eight years that same scaffold was re-erected on the same spot, and the King himself ascended it. Bacon absolutely tried to get the Masque performed by the four Inns of Court. But three of these bodies had an instinct that both bride and bridegroom would be in the Tower as convicted murderers within a very short period, and held aloof. So Bacon by a letter in his own hand, thus commits his own Inn.

It may please your good L.

I am sorry the joint masque from the four Inns of Court faileth. Nevertheless because it faileth out that at this time Gray's Inn is well furnished of gallant young gentlemen, your L. may be pleased to know that rather than this occasion shall pass without some demonstration of affection from the Inns of Court, there are a dozen gentlemen of Gray's Inn that out of the honour which they bear to your Lordship and my Lord Chamberlain (father of the bride) to whom at their last

masque they were so much bounden, will be ready to furnish a masque, wishing it were in their power to perform it according to their minds.

Fr. Bacon

Gray's Inn found only the composers and performers, the cost (some £2,000 then), being borne by Bacon personally. The expression, the Gentlemen of Gray's Inn were "much bounden" to the Lord Chamberlain at their last masque seems to indicate some kind of sociality between that Inn and the Players. Indeed one of them, Ben Jonson, was Bacon's guest at York House on the proudest day of his life: his sixtieth birthday.

**Castle of Kenilworth** Alfred Dodd's <sup>430</sup> comment will set the reader to an interest on this historical topic.

There is little doubt that Francis Bacon was present with the Court at the entertainment of the Queen at Kenilworth Castle, August 1572 and in July 1575. There are two accounts of *The Princely Pleasure of Kenilworth* obviously from the same hand, by some person who signs himself Laneham and Geo. Gascoign. The descriptions are replete with the exuberance of youth. The writer is a poet, full of the joy of life, with an extensive vocabulary and imaginative wit.

Laneham <sup>431</sup> was possessed of inside information and he could not have been an ordinary outsider. The little descriptive booklet was suppressed on the instructions of the Master of Requests, whose agent, W. Patten, writes to Lord Burlghey that "with the exception of six copies to Mr. Wilson, two to his Lordship and the Lord Keeper Bacon, I have not let more than three copies pass." So we know the Laneham book was thus brought directly into relation with the Bacon Circle.

One of the scenes in the Kenilworth Pageant is described in *Midsummer Night's Dream*. These descriptions are so akin, even the "Melody of the Seven-sorted Music of the Dolphin," that Shakespeare must have known of the suppressed book. The commentators are virtually agreed that the author of the plays must have seen the revels and devices at Kenilworth to have written the passage in the *Dream*, that he and Laneham were one and the same or that he had read his book. <sup>432</sup> There is not the slightest evidence that the actor of Stratford saw the Kenilworth revels at the age of eleven, but Francis Bacon, as one of the inner circle, is certain to have been present.

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<sup>430</sup> Alfred Dodd. *Francis Bacon's Personal Life Story*, p. 76–77

<sup>431</sup> "If we take the last syllable of the name as an open hint, "Ham," we may not be far wrong in assuming the identity of the writer as Bacon, for is not Bacon, "Ham?" And if we remember that the word "lean" was sounded like the first syllable "Lane" we get the anonymous letter writer jesting at the name of Bacon. He is a "Lean Ham," *i.e.*, Laneham. This idea of laying with words to convey other meanings was quite characteristic of Francis Bacon's humour. Ordinarily, it would seem to be very far-fetched, but these diamond words appear as punning in Shakespeare; and the very word "Ham," with other words such as PIG, SOW, SHOAT, are given repeatedly in the Initial Captials of the Shakespeare Text usually with a message that the author is playing with his name and wants the reader to know that his real name is "Bacon." We must remember that Ben Jonson records that Francis Bacon could not let an opportunity pass for making or cracking a joke." Alfred Dodd. *Francis Bacon's Personal Life Story*, 1930

<sup>432</sup> It should be remembered that the booklet was suppressed and only thirteen in total copies were circulated

And if we take the hint of *Lean Ham*<sup>433</sup> as the cover name for Bacon, there is at least a strong presumption that the young Francis was present, wrote the description anonymously, and thus early embarked on a career of concealed authorship. Such scenes of splendour would necessarily quicken the imagination necessary to dramatic invention. Mr. Furnivall, who was editor to the modern edition in 1907 of *LeanHam's* account, says: "The Letter is written by one London mercer, Robert Laneham, to another, Master Humfrey Martin, and describes the visit of Queen Elizabeth to her favourite, and Laneham's patron, the Earl of Leicester, at Kenilworth Castle for nineteen days, from Saturday the 9th to Wednesday July 27, 1575. The castle itself, its grounds and appointments, the pageants presented before the Queen, as well as an ancient minstrel with a solemn song, prepared for her, but not shown to her (pp. 36–42), are all described by Laneham with great gusto; but he has unluckily left out the last week of the fun, as he took such slender notes of what went on (p. 43). Laneham is a most amusing, self-satisfied, rollicking chap. He tells us his history; that he went to school both at St. Paul's (Colet's school) and St. Anthony's [where Whitgift was, tutor to Francis Bacon at Trinity College], was in the fifth form, got through Aesop's *Fables*, read Terence, and began Virgil, then served Master Bomsted a Mercer in London, then traded in sundry countries among others, "in Frauns and Flaunders long and many a day" (p. 1) and so got languages, which helped his Latin (p. 61). Leicester took him up, for his ready tongue and merry ways, no doubt, as well as his knowledge of Langagez gave him apparel, even from his own back, got him allowance in the stable, got him made Doorkeeper of the Council Chamber, helped him in his license to import beans duty free, and let his father serve the stable, that is, as I suppose, supply it with grain and fodder, so that our worthy says, "I go now in my silks, that else might ruffle in my cut canves [or poor men's clothes]: I ride now a horse's back, that else many times might manage it a foot: am known to their honours, and taken forth with the best, that else might be bidden to stand back myself." (p. 57).

Laneham tells us besides how he spent his days at Kenilworth; and in this account, pages 58–61, the full character of the man comes out in a most amusing way. The reader should turn at once to the passages, and enjoy them: the "jolly and dry a mornings," the being "by and by in the bones of any listener, or prier, the seating his friends, but "let the rest walk, a god's name"; his airing his languages before the foreigners, being, "in afternoons and a nights, always among the Gentlewomen," showing off before company, dancing, playing, singing, making eyes and sighs at Mistress, whose name he won't tell, being able to "gratify the matters as well as the proudest of them," give us the very man. Stories I delight in," says he (p. 61); Music he loves: "take ye this by the way, that for the small sky in music that God hath sent me, (yee know it is somewhat) ill set the more by myself while my name is Laneham and grace a god. Ah music is a noble Art." (p. 35).

His patron Leicester was perfection in his eyes (pp. 56–8), and Kenilworth nearly Paradise (p. 48–53). He enjoyed the beautiful country round him (p. 2–3), revelled in all the show and

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<sup>433</sup> "*Laneham* is said to be a youth of fourteen whom the Kenilworth Revels were held in 1575. This was the age of Francis Bacon. Who *Laneham* was no one knows." Alfred Dodd. *Francis Bacon's Personal Life Story*, 1930

bustle about him, delighted in the conceits of the pageants, rejoiced in the stag-hunts (p. 13–16) thought the bear baiting fine sport (p. 16–18), threw himself into the rough fun of the country bride-ale and Coventry play (p. 20–26), quizzed the performers (p. 22–24), took often the old minstrel (p. 40), drank lots of good ale and wine (p. 8–45), eat to his fill (p. 59); and in the best of spirits with everything about him, and especially with himself, the excellent Robert Laneham, Gent., wrote this Letter about the whole affair to his friend Master Martin, one of the jovial set they both belonged to in London. No doubt if there'd been a Superfine Review in his day, it would have called him a coxcomb, reproved him for his vulgarity, and perchance written an article on his females, as its present representative has on our workingmen's wives and daughters in their holiday-excursions. For my part, I am content to take Robert Laneham and enjoy him as he is; and I only wish that twenty others like him had left us such genuine pictures of the country life and sports of Elizabeth's time. As for his writing so much about himself, I only wish my contemporaries would follow his example, and believe that posterity will enjoy what they write, as much as we do like bits in the writings of our predecessors. Let men be themselves in their writings, and let critics, and "un-suited-to-the-dignity-of-print," etcetera, be blowed."

Mr. Pettigrew, in his inquiry into the particulars connected with the death of Amy Robsart, thus aptly quotes from Dryden: "We find but few historians, of all ages, who have been diligent enough in their search for truth; it is their common method to take on trust what they distribute to the public, by which means a falsehood once received from a famed writer becomes traditional to posterity." Amy Robsart never was Countess of Leicester, inasmuch as her husband was not created an Earl till three years after her death, nor did she appear at the Kenilworth revels, for the reason that that splendid castle was not possessed by her husband till he became an Earl, and the Kenilworth revels did not take place till fifteen years after her death. Nor was her marriage with Lord Robert Dudley kept secret, as related by Scott; on the contrary, her marriage was publicly solemnized in the presence of the youthful King Edward VI., and the incidents connected with the event were noted down by him in his diary, the original of which, among other numerous relics of the past, is to be found stored in the manuscript department of the British Museum. It is much to be regretted that Sir Walter Scott should, in professing to write a historical romance, have so seriously perverted historical facts. If, as probably was the case, he conceived the idea that a secret marriage would add to the interest of his work, he might have chosen an actual, instead of a supposed, secret marriage, as the former did exist at the period of Elizabeth's visit to Kenilworth.

In 1573, thirteen years after the death of Lady Amy Dudley, and two years previous to the Kenilworth revels, Leicester had privately married Douglas Howard, Lady Sheffield, which marriage was kept a profound secret. In 1574 a son was born as the fruit of that marriage, and in the year following (1575) Elizabeth made her celebrated visit to Kenilworth. This, therefore, might have formed a real and legitimate plea for Sir Walter to have worked up his secret marriage, without sacrificing to the object he had in view the memory of poor Amy, who had been in her

grave for fifteen years. Dr. Beattie, in his *Castles of England*,<sup>434</sup> tells us that “The romance of Kenilworth, it is probable, has brought within the last [forty] years more pilgrims to this town and neighbourhood pilgrims of the highest rank than ever resorted to its ancient shrine of the virgin, more Knights and dames than ever figured in its tilts and tournaments.” Moreover, how parallel would this be that fits like a glove upon Stratford, and poor Shaksper the actor? It is, perhaps, not too much to say that the mystery connected with the death of Amy Robsart will probably never be cleared up. Conjectures only may be started. The coroner’s inquest, that was assembled immediately after her decease, failed to elicit more than that she met with an untimely death, by some “mischaunce;” further, that inquest did not succeed in unravelling the mystery, though every effort appears to have been then made. There was no undue haste, nor does there appear to have been any undue influence exercised to bias or to thwart the investigation.

The funeral of Amy Robsart took place at the Church of Our Lady at Oxford, on Sunday, September 22, 1560 of which may be found among the Dugdale MSS. in the Ashmolean Collection. In whatever manner the death of Leicester’s wife took place, it is certain that, on his becoming a widower, his ambition raised him to the hopes of marrying the Queen; and that there was a general opinion, both at home and abroad, of her Majesty’s inclination to the match. Indeed it was not disclaimed by Elizabeth herself. The Queen took much pains to vindicate Leicester from the aspersions that were cast upon him. An instance of that may be found in her answer to Mr. Jones, who had been sent with despatches from Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, then Ambassador in France, who says that, in reference to the report that Lord Robert had caused his wife to be privately murdered, “She thereupon told me that the matter had been tried in the country, [coroner’s inquest] and found to be contrary to that which was reported, saying that he was then in the Court, and none of his at the attempt at his wife’s house, and that it fell out as should neither touch his honesty nor her honour.” Some years afterwards (in 1585) letters signed by Burghley and the rest of the Council were sent to the justices of the peace for the suppression of the libels in circulation against Leicester, and a letter with the Queen’s sign manual was sent to the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen of London, to the same effect.

That *Leycester’s Commonwealth* was a most virulent libel, everyone must admit. Yet Ashmole, whose statement has been quoted by most subsequent writers, not satisfied with adopting the Commonwealth story as his own, has added some statements at direct variance with the truth, for instance, “That as soon as ever she was murdered, they made great hast to bury her, before the Coroner had given in his Inquest (which the Earl himself condemned, as not done advisedly) which her father, or Sir John Robertsett (as I suppose) bearing of, came with all speed thither, caused her corpse to be taken up, the Coroner to sit upon her, and further enquiry to be made concerning this business to the full, but it was generally thought that the Earl stopped his mouth, and made up the business betwixt them.” It so happens that her father, Sir John Robsart, had then been dead above three years, for Leicester came into possession of the Robsart estates in

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<sup>434</sup> Imperial 8vo, London, 1812

January 1557. Then, again, "That as soon as ever she was murdered, they made great hast to bury her, before the Coroner" and that her father "caused her corpse to be taken up, the Coroner to sit upon her". The Commonwealth story says, "My good Lord would needs have her taken up again and reburied." All which is evidently false; there is nothing in Leicester's letters to Blount to warrant such an inference.<sup>435</sup>

**Canonbury House** Is generally supposed to have been built in 1362, ten years after Edward III., had exempted the priory of St. Bartholomew from the payment of subsidies in consequence of their great outlay in charity. Stow says that William Bolton (prior from 1509 to 1532) rebuilt the house, and probably erected the well-known brick tower, as Nichols, in his *History of Canonbury*, mentions that his rebus, a bolt in a tun, was still to be seen cut in stone, in two places, on the outside facing the mansion was much altered by Sir John Spencer, who came to reside there, in splendour, about 1599, and it is now divided into several houses: Canonbury Place having absorbed the grand old residence, and portioned out its relics of bygone grandeur. A long range of tiled buildings, supposed to have been the stables of the old mansion, but which had become an appendage to the Canonbury Tavern, was pulled down in 1840. A tradition once prevailed at Islington that the monks of St. Bartholomew had a subterranean communication from Canonbury to the priory at Smithfield. This notion had arisen from the discovery of brick archways in Canonbury, which seem to have been only conduit heads, and had really served to lead water to the priory. After the Spencers, the Lord Keeper Coventry rented this house. In 1635 we find the Earl of Derby detained here, and prevented from reaching St. James's by a deep snow.

**Cecil's death** The following account was written by Sir Simonds D'Ewes<sup>436</sup> regarding Robert Cecil's death: "And therefore, when I consider in what a general hate, almost of all sorts, he [Robert Cecil] died, and what infamous libels were made of him after his death, instead of funeral elegies, I cannot but conceive that the first ground of the people's hatred to him arose from their love formerly borne to Robert de Ebrouis or D'Evereux, Earl of Essex, who was beheaded within the Tower of London, upon the 25th day of February, in the year 1601; of whose death and destruction no man doubted but that his subtle head, actuated by his father's principles, had been the contriver and finisher, howsoever his cousin Francis Bacon, the then solicitor-general, much hated also for his ungrateful treachery to that Earl, did afterwards labour by a printed apology,<sup>437</sup> colourably inscribed to Charles Lord Mountjoy, Earl of Devonshire, to purge both himself and the said Earl of Salisbury from that imputation."

Several of these "infamous libels" that D'Ewes refers to have been preserved. The following epitaph may be given as a specimen of the spirit in which most of them were penned:

<sup>435</sup> Adlard George. *Amye Robsart and the Earl of Leicester; A Critical Enquiry*, 1870

<sup>436</sup> James Orchard Halliwell: *The autobiography of Sir Simonds D'Ewes*, Vol. I., 1845

<sup>437</sup> Bacon's *Apologie in certaine imputations concerning the late Earle of Essex*, 1604



Here lies, thrown for the worms to eat,  
 Little bossive Robin, that was so great:  
 Not Robin Goodfellow, nor Robin Hood,  
 But Robin, the encloser of Hatfield Wood;  
 Who seem'd as sent from ugly fate,  
 To spoil the prince and rob the state:  
 Owning a mind for dismal ends,  
 As traps for foes, and tricks for friends.

**Cecil vs Essex vs Bacon** What will predispose the reader to believe the worst of Cecil, is a confidential letter written by him to his intimate friend Carew, in which he suggests to the latter an act of treachery that can be characterized by no other epithet than diabolical. It appears that a certain young Earl of Desmond, who had been sent over from England to Ireland, seemed likely to prove a costly and inconvenient encumbrance, instead of enabling the English to conciliate or suppress the Irish. Cecil therefore suggests to Carew that it may be possible to decoy the young nobleman into some act of treason, and then to make away with him:

Sir,

It shall be an easy matter for you to colour whatsoever you shall do in that kind by this course. You may either apostate (*sic*) some to seek to withdraw him who may betray him to you, or, rather than fail, there may be some found out there to accuse him. And that may be sufficient reason for you to remand him or to restrain him, under colour of which they [the Irish] shall be more greedy peradventure to labour for him but all that is here said is mine own and known to no soul living but the writer whose hand I use at this present, in regard of a fluxion in one of mine eyes.

If this is Cecil, it may be thought Essex might well have felt his life endangered by such an enemy always at the Queen's ear. (Abbott); <sup>438</sup> not to mention how much Bacon must have dreaded the crafty Cecil.

**Central fire in the Earth** The heaven, from its perfect and entire heat and the extreme extension of matter, is most hot, lucid, rarefied, and moveable; whereas the earth, on the contrary, from its entire and unrefracted cold, and the extreme contraction of matter, is most cold, dark, and dense, completely immovable. The rigors of cold, which in winter time and in the coldest countries are exhaled into the air from the surface of the earth, are merely tepid airs and baths, compared with the nature of the primal cold shut up in the bowels thereof. (Bacon, *De Principiis atque Originibus*).

**Chancellor of England** On January 4, 1617–18 Francis Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, was made Chancellor of England, the Seal being delivered again to him by the name of Chancellor.

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<sup>438</sup> Abbott. *Bacon and Essex*, p. 245

**Chillingham Castle** The property of the Earl of Tankerville in the 1800's, was re-built in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and was a heavy square structure of four stories in the wings, and three in the centre. The apartments small, and the communications irregular. Here stood several good portraits, a full-length of Francis Bacon, when Lord Chancellor; another of Lord Treasurer Burghley; a gaudy painting of Buckingham, in a white satin gilded vest, gold and white striped breeches, effeminate and fantastical; a good portrait of King Charles; and a good picture of James II., of the most unhappy countenance.<sup>439</sup>

### **Chronological Summary in Bacon's Life**

<u>Event/Month</u>	<u>Year</u>
Birth, January 22	1560–61
Admitted to Trinity College, Cambridge, April	1573
Left Trinity College, December	1575
Admitted to Gray's Inn, June 27	1576
With Sir Amyas Paulet in France, September 25	1576–79
Death of Sir Nicholas Bacon, February	1579
Student of Gray's Inn	1579
Utter Barrister of Gray's Inn, June 27	1582
Enters Parliament	1584
First intervention in Church controversies	1584
Bencher of Gray's Inn	1586
Reader of Gray's Inn	1588
Attained reversion of the Register's Office, in the Star Chamber, October	1589
Connection with Essex begins	c.1591 (Spedding)
Resists Government on Subsidies	1593
Queen's Council Learned, Extraordinary	1594
Receives estate from Essex	1595
Regularly employed as Queen's Council Learned	1597
Essex's Irish campaign	1599
Double Reader of Gray's Inn	1600
Essex's Rebellion	1601
Essex's trial and execution	1601
Knighted	1603
Appointed King's Counsel	1604
Marriage	1606
Solicitor General	1607

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<sup>439</sup> Hutchinson's *History of Northumberland*, p. 237

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Registrar of Star Chamber	1608
Attorney General	1613
Connection with Villiers (later Duke of Buckingham)	c.1615
Appointed Counsellor of State	1616
Lord Keeper	1617
Lord Chancellor and Baron Verulam	1618
Viscount St. Albans	1621
Parliament attacks referees on monopolies	1621
First charge of bribery, March 14	1621
Condemned, May 3	1621
Death, April 9	1626

**Ciphers** “The virtues of them, whereby they are to be preferred, are three; that they be not laborious to write and read; that they be impossible to decipher; and, in some cases, that they be without suspicion.” (Bacon).<sup>440</sup> Science concerned with data communication and storage in secure and usually secret form. It encompasses both cryptography and cryptanalysis. The term cryptology is derived from the Greek *kryptós* (“hidden”) and *lógos* (“word”). Security obtains from legitimate users being able to transform information by virtue of a secret key or keys. *i.e.*, information known only to them. [Also see Part I: *Cypher*.]

The earliest writer on ciphers, except Trithemius whom Bacon quotes, is John Baptist Porta, whose work *De occultis literarum notis* was reprinted in Strasburg in 1606. The first edition was published when Porta was a young man. The species of ciphers which Bacon mentions are described in this work. What he calls the *ciphra simplex* is doubtless that in which each letter is replaced by another in accordance with a secret alphabet.<sup>441</sup> The wheel cipher is described in chapters 7, 8, 9. It is that in which the ordinary alphabet and a secret one are written respectively on the rim of two concentric disks, so that each letter of the first corresponds in each position of the second (which is movable) to a letter of the secret alphabet. Thus in each position of the movable disk we have a distinct cipher, and in using the instrument this disk is made to turn through a given angle after each letter has been written. The *ciphra clavis* is described by Porta,<sup>442</sup> is a cipher of position; that is, one in which the difficulty is obtained not by replacing the ordinary alphabet by a new one, but by deranging the order in which the letters of a sentence or paragraph succeed each other. This is done according to a certain form of words or series of numbers which constitute the key. The cipher of words was given by Trithemius and in another

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<sup>440</sup> Advancement of Learning, Bk. II

<sup>441</sup> Porta. Bk. II. Ch. 5

<sup>442</sup> Bk. II. pp. 15–16

form by Porta.<sup>443</sup> It is a cipher which is meant to escape suspicion. Each letter of the alphabet corresponds to a variety of words arranged in columns. Any word of the first column followed by any of the second, and that followed by any of the third, &c., will make, with the help of a non-significant word occasionally introduced, a perfectly complete sense; and by the time the last alphabet has been used, a letter on some indifferent subject has been written.

**Condemned** On May 3, 1621 Bacon was condemned upon a charge of corruption to which he pleaded guilty; to pay a fine of £40,000; to be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's pleasure; to be forever incapable of sitting in Parliament or holding office in the State; and to be banished for life from the verge of the Court. [Also see *Bacon's Pedigree*.] When Montague's *Life* appeared, the reaction against Pope's extra-judicial verdict had set in, and what was then required was a complete restatement of all the facts, without undue bias or favouritism. This Montague's *Life* was not; it was sketchy and imperfect, and the advocacy of Bacon, although earnest and sincere, was so feeble and incomplete, that it became an easy prey for any critical terrier who might take a sportive delight in tearing it to pieces. Macaulay's *Essay on Bacon* is a review of Basil Montague's *Life*, and this same sportive delight is only too manifest.

Thomas Babington Macaulay was an epigrammatist, even more determined than Pope. Not once or twice, not in dealing with Bacon only, but repeatedly, he hoisted some smart antithesis as the mainsail of his literary bark, and throwing away ballast and rudder, drifted away right merrily wherever the antithesis might carry him. Never did he light upon a more appetising antithesis than Pope's lines, "Wisest, brightest, meanest;" here was an unexampled opportunity for epigrammatic effect. The contrast between the magnificent qualities, which made Bacon the wisest and brightest of the souls of men, and the base qualities which made him the meanest and most sordid, was for Macaulay an irresistible temptation. Here was a brilliant picture, full of startling contrasts, dazzling lights and deepest shadows, a picture of an intellect quite without parallel in the world's history, associated with the most grovelling and contemptible moral character. And with this as a starting point no calumny is too gross, no misrepresentation too glaring to heighten the contrast. If Bacon, as a young man, writes to his venerated uncle Lord Burghley a letter of modest yet dignified self-justification, Macaulay says he abases himself in the dust and "bemoans himself in language suitable to a convicted thief." If Bacon is present, unavoidably, in a subordinate capacity, when a prisoner is tortured, the whole responsibility is attributed to him; he is pictured as taking a fiendish delight in the cruel spectacle: he goes to the Tower to "listen to the yells of Peacham." If Buckingham writes half a dozen brief and perfunctory lines about some case pending before Bacon as Chancellor, Buckingham "dictates his decisions." Macaulay could only have derived this information from the letters of the time, which was inserted by Abbott in 1885, when he published two books entitled *Francis Bacon An Account of his Life and his Works*. Within Abbott's preliminary introduction, he goes into Bacon's weakness as Lord Chancellor, and how Buckingham manipulated

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443 Bk. II. Ch. 19. And in a different shape, Bk. V. Ch. 16

many cases. Nathaniel Holmes confers that “only some three years before the attack on Bacon, we find Buckingham and Coke fomenting charges of the like nature, and with the same corrupt and wicked purpose of creating a vacancy to be filled by some new minion, and putting up the same pretence of corruption in taking bribes, of money, a ring, a cabinet, a piece of plate, and the like, against the Lord Chancellor Egerton (Ellesmere), nearly breaking the old man’s heart; and it might have been as successful with him as it was with Bacon afterwards, had not the King himself come to his relief, and defeated the scheme by giving an Earldom to Egerton and the Seals to Bacon.” The real truth of the matter was that the age began to discover that an ancient custom needed to be reformed, because it began to be felt as a grievance and an abuse. Old black letter laws fallen obsolete, practically superseded by custom almost equally ancient, and now lying more dead than asleep, were suddenly revived and put in force, and all at once what had been a lantern to the feet became a net in the path. (Holmes). <sup>444</sup>

Macaulay’s concern if Bacon accepts gifts from suitors; his servants are jackals and decoys hunting up garbage and prey for their insatiable and unscrupulous master. And so the reviewer piles up the agony of detraction by absolute invention of charges never dreamed of before; calumnious accusations are tossed off in reckless profusion from this nimble pen, and Bacon’s memory is stabbed, racked, hacked, twisted, tortured, scarified, scorched, charred and carbonised; and all in order that a literary rope-dancer may amuse himself and his readers at Bacon’s expense. It is, indeed, provoking that such a life as Bacon’s should be made the occasion not for calm judicial criticism, with that strong bias in his favour which so great a benefactor and so transcendent a genius has an inalienable right to expect, but an occasion simply for literary pyrotechnics.

**Conference of Pleasure** On the Queen’s birthday, in 1592, at a *Conference of Pleasure* (so called) in Gray’s Inn, Bacon delivered a speech on Love. He was then nearly thirty-two years of age. He then expressed the true sentiments of his heart.

**Curiously binded rare treasure** The Athenæum Library, Bury St. Edmund’s, there is a book which is bound in the skin of the man whose biography its pages contain. The story is familiar to many, especially in the Eastern Counties, where a melo-drama is founded on the incidents. A man named Corder murdered his sweetheart, Maria Martin, in the Red Barn near Bury St. Edmund’s, and Mrs. Martin some time after dreamt three successive nights that her daughter was buried under the Red Barn. She persuaded her husband to go and dig for the body, with the result that he found the corpse. By this time Corder was married, and while taking breakfast with his wife the detectives arrested him. A great excitement was manifested during the trial. Eventually, as every one expected, the prisoner was found guilty and sentenced to death. The doctor who dissected the body after execution, hearing that a life of Corder was being prepared, sent of the murderer’s skin properly cured to the author. When ready, a copy of the book was bound up in this covering and presented to the above library. This novel work is esteemed a rare treasure, especially by relic-hunters.

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<sup>444</sup> Nathaniel Holmes. *The Authorship of Shakespeare*, 1866

## D

**De Augmentis Scientiarum** I have ever observed it to have been the office of a wise patriot, among the greatest affairs of the State, to take care of the Commonwealth of learning. For schools, they are the seminaries of State; and nothing is worthier the study of a statesman than that part of the republic which we call the advancement of letters. Witness the care of Julius Cæsar, who, in the heat of the civil war, writ his books of Analogy, and dedicated them to Tully. This made the late Lord St Alban entitle his work *Novum Organum*; which, though by the most of superficial men, who cannot get beyond the tide of nominals, it is not penetrated nor understood, it really openeth all defects of learning whatsoever, and is a book *Qui longum noto scriptori porriget ævum*. My conceit of his person was never increased toward him by his place or honours. But I have and do reverence him for the greatness that was only proper to himself, in that he seemed to me ever, by his work, one of the greatest men, and most worthy of admiration, that had been in many ages. In his adversity I ever prayed that God would give him strength; for greatness he could not want. Neither could I condole in a word or syllable for him, as knowing no accident could do harm to virtue, but rather help to make it manifest. (Ben Jonson).

**De Mirabil. Potest. Artis et Naturæ** Author Roger Bacon; the published translation into English was arranged in 1618 and became a possession of the occult philosopher, Dr. John Dee. [Also see *Dee's library*; Part II: *Dee John. Dr.*]

**Dead faith in Aristotle** Among Bacon's belief on the dead faith of Aristotle, can be named Pierre De La Ramée (1515–1572). [Also see Part II: *Ramus Petrus; Campanella Thomas.*]

**Dee's library** Dr. John Dee's own account of the pillage of his library, and of its value, is to be found in the *Brief Note and Abstract* of his career (drawn up in 1592) which is printed by Hearne in Joh. Glastoniensis (II. 500). On page 529, we read: "The divers books of my late library, printed & anciently written, bound & unbound, were in all near 4.000: the fourth part of which were the written books." He values them at £2.000. "And, to make this valuation probable unto your Honour, behold yet here these four written books, one in Greek, this great volume; two in French; and this in High Dutch. They cost me and my friends for me 533lib. What is then to be thought of the value of some one hundred of the best of all the other written books, of which some were the autographa of excellent & seldom heard-of Authors? The furniture of the said library was of my getting together in above fourty years time from divers places beyond the seas, & some by my great search and labour gotten here in England." Dee then gives some account of his mathematical instruments, and of two collections of Irish and Welsh deeds (the latter, apparently rescued from a half-ruined church). On page 534 he values his lost books (above 500) "I mean such as may be gotten for money" at above 150.<sup>445</sup>

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445 M.R. James. *Lists of Manuscripts Formerly Owned by Dr. John Dee*, 1921

In 1842, Halliwell-Phillipps edited for the Camden Society a volume entitled *The Diary of Dr. John Dee*. To the diary itself, which extends with considerable gaps over the years (1554) 1577 to 1601, was appended the catalogue of Dee's manuscript library, taken from an autograph MS., in the Gale Collection at Trinity College, Cambridge. Dee was not merely an alchemist and spiritualist, but a really learned man, and one who had done his best, by petitions and otherwise, to stimulate interest in the rescuing of manuscripts from the dissolved monastic libraries and to induce the sovereign to establish a central national collection of them.

John Dee was born in 1527 and when the diary begins, we find him living at Mortlake. In 1583 (on September 21) he left England, with the impostor Edward Kelly, for Bohemia and Poland, whence, after a most unsuccessful and detrimental sojourn, he returned to Mortlake in December 1589. In 1595 he was made Warden of Manchester College. In 1604 he came back to Mortlake and in 1608 he died there in poverty.

In 1583, he started for the Continent. As soon as he was fairly off, a raid was made upon his house by the less respectable residents in Mortlake (among the better sort he seems to have been popular and well-liked), his books were, to some extent, dispersed, and valuable scientific instruments broken or stolen. On his return six years later he was able to recover, it is said, three fourths of the books, but the apparatus was gone forever. The cause of the raid was no doubt Dee's dealings with spirits, which not unnaturally earned for him the reputation of being a sorcerer.<sup>446</sup> The catalogue of 1583, then, cannot be regarded as a full record of the manuscripts which Dee possessed at the time of his death. Some volumes are entered in it which were lost or destroyed soon after it was made, and, on the other hand, during the twenty-five years that elapsed between its making and Dee's death, it is not to be supposed that he did not make additions to his collection.

There are, in fact, volumes in existence which contain his name, with dates of acquisition long subsequent to 1583. He may have parted with some of his treasures under stress of poverty during the years immediately preceding his death: his biographers say that he did, but the fact is not of great importance as regards any investigation. It is of more interest to learn what happened to the library when he was gone. Upon this some light is thrown by Archbishop Ussher's correspondence.

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<sup>446</sup> The marginal notes written by Dee in the MS., of this catalogue at Trinity College relate in some cases to this spoliation. One such, which occurs only once in the list of MSS., but very often indeed in that of the printed books is "J. Davis spoyle". There are variants of this: *e.g.* on folio 3 of the MS., apropos of a work of Cusanus, "Jo. Davis took (with others) by violence out of my house after my going", followed by the sentence, through which Dee has drawn a line, "He hath got the Mathematical part of Cusan." Again, "Jo. Davis sent me one volume home, the other lacketh." "Jo. Davis spoil he hath not yet restored, as may appear by his letters." Other like notes are "Mr. Jak restored", "Widow Gardiner (or Gardiner's Widow) restored." Davis, Gardiner, and Jak are all mentioned in the *Diary*. In October 1579 Davis figures as one of the persons who are continually being "reconciled" to Dee: in February 1583 he is one of a group who confer with Walsingham about the North-West Passage, and in March he goes off to Devonshire. Robert Gardiner in May 1582 has revelations vouchsafed to him about the philosopher's stone, and seems to have been in Dee's employment. In May 1590 Thomas Jack restores to Dee part of his "magnes stone" and in July sends him back a hammer

Sir Henry Bourghier, writing to Ussher in 1624 (sixteen years after Dee's death), speaks of Dee's library, which "hath been long litigious, and by that means unsold" <sup>447</sup> In another letter on March 23, 1624 he says "Vettius Valens in Greek is Mr. Selden's now, but was sometimes Dr. Dee's, but the rest of his books will be had very shortly, as many as are worth the having." In October 1626 Dr. Bainbridge, Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, writes to the Archbishop: "I am bold to enter your Grace's bibliotheca with the humble request that I may have the names of such mathematical books as were Dee's." He adds that he had seen in London a list of bare titles of Dee's books, and had been to Sir Robert Cotton, but his books were not yet ordered in a catalogue.

From these passages can be gathered that litigation (consequent most likely on Dee's debts) had prevented the dispersion of the library until 1625 (probably February 1626), and that, when it was finally sold, Ussher and Cotton had made considerable purchases. Selden, we see, also bought at least one book. We find Dee books too in the collections of Digby, Ashmole, Savile (Sir Henry, who died before Dee) but there is a yet more important purchaser. The number of volumes from this source which have made their way to the Corpus Christi College in Oxford cannot fail to arrest attention. It constitutes by far the largest portion of Dee's library that is to be found in any one place. A document exists, <sup>448</sup> which shows that a number of Dee's MSS., were offered for sale to the College by Brian Twyne, the famous Oxford antiquary, who was a Fellow of the Society. The purchase was declined, but the books were ultimately bequeathed by Twyne to the College. Twyne's special reason for buying the books may be rested upon John Twyne, his grandfather, schoolmaster, mayor, and antiquarian of Canterbury, who had procured a good many MSS., from the dissolved library of St. Augustine's Abbey there, and these had afterwards come into Dee's hands. Brian Twyne knew this, and desired to recover and keep together his grandfather's collections. Certain it is that many of the Dee-Twyne-Corpus Christi books are from St. Augustine's, less certain that they were owned by John Twyne. Brian Twyne, by the way, did not succeed in securing all the St. Augustine's MSS., that Dee owned. The most important one, the catalogue of the Abbey library, went to Ussher at Dublin.

We find stray volumes making their way into the libraries of Pepys, Gale, Harley, and Sloane (one at Lambeth must have been bought by Bancroft before Dee's death). One can be found in a foreign library, and that belonged to Kenelm Digby. Two others, doubtful, are among Queen Christina's MSS., in the Vatican. There is more however, to be said about the growth of the collection. There are two lists of Dee's MSS., earlier than 1583: one is in a small notebook of his at Corpus Christi College, Oxford (MS. 191). This book contains:

- List of MSS., owned by Dee in 1556.
- List of MSS., borrowed by him from Peterhouse, Cambridge, to be returned in 1558.
- Contents of a MS., borrowed from Dr. Hathar.
- Contents of a MS., borrowed from Queen's College, Oxford.

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<sup>447</sup> *Works*, Vol. X, p. 227

<sup>448</sup> C.C.C., Oxford, MS. 280, p. 235



- List of MSS., bought by him from John Leland's library in 1556, and from other sources.
- Alchemical books read by him in 1556.

The other list is contained in the British Museum MS., Add. 35213 (formerly Phillipps 10701). It is the volume from which Mr. Gilson printed the very interesting catalogue of the MSS., of *Long Harry Savile of Banke (d.1617)*. On ff. 1–4 it contains a roughly-written list of Dee's books, written and printed, in his autograph, the MSS., being entered on ff. 3b and 4. This second list cannot be far removed from the first list in date. The first list is, in any case, of greater importance, since it shows the sources whence some of Dee's MSS., came. Halliwell-Phillipps gave identifications (not always correct) of twenty-two MSS., and the means of identification vary. Sometimes we have Dee's signature in full; but often we have to depend on subsidiary marks: autograph notes are not uncommon; other books bear an A or the astrological sign of Jupiter thrice repeated or a mark like, a small ladder. Sometimes names of owners, like P. Saunders, whom we know to have been Dee's associates, combine with the contents of a MS., to ensure an identification. Often the contents of the MS., are the only guide. One feature, it is true, Halliwell-Phillipps has omitted to notice, with few exceptions the entries of MSS., up to No. 67 have a T prefixed to them. The others have in most cases the letters Fr. These same letters, T and Fr., are prefixed to the entries of printed books, which of course fill the greatest part of the MS. Could "Fr." well stand for Francis?

**Disappointment** I do confess, since I was of any understanding, my mind hath in effect been absent from that I have done; knowing myself by inward calling to be fitter to hold a book than to play a part. I have led my life in civil causes for which I was not very fit by nature, and more unfit by the preoccupation of my mind. (Bacon, *Prayer*).

**Discoveries** An action not likely to have been thought of beforehand pre Bacon's times: gunpowder, silk, and the mariner's compass are notably remarked by him. "That the discovery of new works or active directions not known before is the only trial to be accepted of; and yet not that neither in case where one particular giveth light to another, but where particulars induce an axiom or observation, which axiom found out discovereth and designeth new particulars. That the nature of this trial is not only on the point whether the knowledge be profitable or no, but even upon the point whether the knowledge be true or no. Not because you may always conclude that the axiom, which discovereth new instances is true; but contrariwise you may safely conclude that, if you discover not any new instance, it is vain and untrue. That by new instances are not always to be understood new recipes, but new assignations; and of the diversity between these two." (Bacon, *Val. Term*).

**Discoveries (1641)**  
**De Shakespeare Nostrati**  
**By**  
**Ben Jonson**

I remember the players have often mentioned it as an honour to Shakespeare, that in his writing, whatsoever he penned, he never blotted out a line. My answer hath been, "Would he had blotted a thousand," which they thought a malevolent speech. I had not told posterity this but for their ignorance, who choose that circumstance to commend their friend by wherein he most faulted; and to justify mine own candour, for I loved the man, and do honour his memory on this side idolatry as much as any. He was, indeed, honest, and of an open and free nature; had an excellent fancy, brave notions, and gentle expressions, wherein he flowed with that facility that sometime it was necessary he should be stopped. "Sufflaminandus erat" as Augustus said of Haterius. His wit was in his own power; would the rule of it had been so too. Many times he fell into those things, could not escape laughter, as when he said in the person of Caesar, one speaking to him: "Caesar, thou dost me wrong." He replied: "Caesar did never wrong but with just cause;" and such like, which were ridiculous. But he redeemed his vices with his virtues. There was ever more in him to be praised than to be pardoned.

**Dominus Verulamius** One, though he be excellent and the chief, is not to be imitated alone; for never no imitator ever grew up to his author; likeness is always on this side truth. Yet there happened in my time one noble speaker who was full of gravity in his speaking; his language, where he could spare or pass by a jest, was nobly censorious. No man ever spake more neatly, more presly, more weightily, or suffered less emptiness, less idleness, in what he uttered. No member of his speech but consisted of his own graces. His hearers could not cough, or look aside from him, without loss. He commanded where he spoke, and, had his judges angry and pleased at his devotion. No man had their affections more in his power. The fear of every man that heard him as lest he should make an end. (Ben Jonson's merit on Francis Bacon).

**Doubtful recommendation** Whoever buys this Book will say, there's so much money thrown away: The Author thinks you are to blame to buy a Book without a Name; and to say truth, it is so bad, a worse is no where to be had. (From the title-page of an anonymous book, 1667).

## E

**Earliest notice of drama** According to Matthew Paris, the story of St. Catherine was dramatized about the commencement of the twelfth century, by one Geoffrey, a learned Norman then in England, in a play which was acted at Dunstable at that period. This is the earliest notice of the drama in Britain which has been discovered.<sup>449</sup> This Geoffrey was Geoffrey de Gorham, a Bishop

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<sup>449</sup> Halliwell-Phillipps. *Outlines of Shakespeare's Life*, p. 321

of St. Albans, who built Gorhambury Abbey, and from which Bacon's seat and park borrowed its name. In fact, the earliest notice of the drama in England takes us to Temple House, Bacon's home, built within a stone's throw of the site of Geoffrey de Gorham's Abbey.

**Elizabethan forgeries** See Part II: *Ireland William-Henry*.<sup>450</sup>

**Elizabethan grammar** Elizabethan English, on a superficial view, appears to present this great point of difference from the English of modern times, that in the former any irregularities whatever, whether in the formation of words or in the combination of words into sentences, are allowable. In the first place, almost any part of speech can be used as any other part of speech. An adverb can be used as a verb, "They askance their eyes"; as a noun, "the backward and abysm of time"; or as an adjective, "a seldom pleasure." Any noun, adjective, or neuter verb can be used as an active verb. You can "happy" your friend, "malice" or "foot" your enemy, or "fall" an axe on his neck. An adjective can be used as an adverb; and you can speak and act "easy," "free," "excellent:" or as a noun, and you can talk of "fair" instead of "beauty," and "a pale" instead of "a paleness." Even the pronouns are not exempt from these metamorphoses. A "he" is used for a man, and a lady is described by a gentleman as "the fairest she he has yet beheld."

Every variety of apparent grammatical inaccuracy meets us. *He* for *him*, *him* for *he*; *spoke* and *took*, for *spoken* and *taken*; plural nominatives with singular verbs; relatives omitted where they are now considered necessary; unnecessary antecedents inserted; *shall* for *will*, *should* for *would*, *would* for *wish*; *to* omitted after "I ought" inserted after "I durst;" double negatives; double comparatives ("more better.") and superlatives; such followed by *which*, *that* by *as*, *as* used for *as if*; *that* for *so that*; and lastly, some verbs apparently with two nominatives, and others without any nominative at all.

To this long list of irregularities it may be added that many words, and particularly prepositions and the infinitives of verbs, are used in a different sense from the modern. On a more careful examination, however, these apparently disorderly and inexplicable anomalies will arrange themselves under certain heads. It must be remembered that the Elizabethan was a transitional period in the history of the English language. On the one hand, there was the influx of new discoveries and new thoughts requiring as their equivalent the coinage of new words (especially words expressive of abstract ideas); on the other hand, the revival of classical studies and the popularity of translations from Latin and Greek authors suggested Latin and Greek words (but principally Latin) as the readiest and most malleable metal, or rather as so many ready-made coins requiring only a slight national stamp to prepare them for the proposed augmentation of the currency of the language. Moreover, the long and rounded periods of the ancients commended themselves to the ear of the Elizabethan authors. In the attempt to conform English to the Latin frame, the constructive power of the former language was severely strained. The necessity of avoiding ambiguity and the difficulty of connecting the end of a long sentence

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<sup>450</sup> Ernest Law. *Some Supposed Forgeries*, 1911

with the beginning, gave rise to some irregularities, to the redundant pronoun, the redundant “that”, and the irregular “to”.

But, for the most part, the influence of the classical languages was confined to single words, and to the rhythm of the sentence. The syntax was mostly English both in its origin and its development, and several constructions that are now called anomalous (such as the double negative and the double comparative have, and had from the earliest period, an independent existence in English, and are merely the natural results of a spirit which preferred clearness and vigour of expression to logical symmetry. Many of the anomalies above mentioned may be traced back to some peculiarities of Early English, modified by the transitional Elizabethan period. Above all, it must be remembered that Early English was far richer than Elizabethan English in inflections. As far as English inflections are concerned the Elizabethan period was destructive rather than constructive. Naturally, therefore, while inflections were being discarded, all sorts of tentative experiments were made: some inflections were discarded that we have restored, others retained that we have discarded. Again, sometimes where inflections were retained the sense of their meaning and power had been lost, and at other times the memory of inflections that were no longer visibly expressed in writing still influenced the manner of expression. (Abbott). <sup>451</sup>

**Elizabethan Inns** There were five great Inns, or common osteryes, turned to play-houses more famous than the rest, which were regularly used by the best London troupes within London and the suburbs. These five were the Bell and the Cross Keys, hard by each other in Gracechurch Street; the Bull in Bishopsgate Street; the Bell Savage on Ludgate Hill, and the Boar’s Head in Whitechapel Street without Aldgate. <sup>452</sup> Soon after 1580, the authorities of London received permission from Elizabeth and her Privy Council to thrust the players out of the city, and to pull down all playhouses and dicing-houses within their liberties: which accordingly was effected; and the playhouses in Gracious Street, the Bell and the Cross Keys, Bishopsgate Street, the Bull, that nigh Paul’s, that on Ludgate Hill, the Bell Savage, and the Whitefriars were quite put down and suppressed by the care of these religious senators. <sup>453</sup> On September 5, 1557 the Privy Council instructed the Lord Mayor of London that some of his officers do forthwith repair to the Boar’s Head without Aldgate, where, the Lords are informed, a lewd play called *A Sackful of News* shall be played this day, and to arrest the players, and send their playbook to the Council. During the year 1573 there were various fencing contests held at the Bull in Bishopsgate; an area that in 1594 Anthony Bacon resigned to in his final days. <sup>454</sup>

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<sup>451</sup> Abbott E.A. *A Shakespearean Grammar*, 1870

<sup>452</sup> Howes in continuation of Stow’s *Annals* p. 1004

<sup>453</sup> Richard Reulidge. *A Monster Lately Found Out and Discovered*, 1628

<sup>454</sup> All we have of Anthony’s final days is his residence that was in Crotched Friars and shared with his servant, William Lawson. This fact very much disturbed his good mother, who feared lest his servants might be corrupted by the plays to be seen at the Bull near by

And of Taine's description of the play-houses in Bacon's time: "Great and rude contrivances, awkward in their construction, barbarous in their appointments; but a fervid imagination supplied all that they lacked, and hardy bodies endured all inconveniences without difficulty. On a dirty site, on the banks of the Thames, rose the principal theatre, the Globe, a sort of hexagonal tower, surrounded by a muddy ditch, on which was hoisted a red flag. The common people could enter as well as the rich; there were six-penny, two-penny, even penny seats; but they could not see it without money. If it rained, and it often rains in London, the people in the pit: butchers, mercers, bakers, sailors, apprentices, received the streaming rain upon their heads. I suppose they did not trouble themselves about it; it was not so long since they began to pave the streets of London, and when men, like these, have had experience of sewers and puddles, they are not afraid of catching cold. While waiting for the piece, they amuse themselves after their fashion, drink beer, crack nuts, eat fruits, howl, and now and then resort to their fists; they have been known to fall upon the actors, and turn the theatre upside down. At other times, when they were dissatisfied, they went to the tavern, to give the poet a hiding, or toss him in a blanket. When the beer took effect, there was a great upturned barrel in the pit, a peculiar receptacle for general use. The smell rises, and then comes the cry, "Burn the huniper!" They burn some in a plate on the stage, and the heavy smoke fills the air. Certainly the folk there assembled could scarcely get disgusted at anything, and cannot have had sensitive noses."

In the time of Rabelais there was not much cleanliness to speak of. Remember that they were hardly out of the Middle Ages, and that in the Middle Ages man lived on a dunghill. A noted cut-purse, such a one as is tied to a post on the stage, for all people to wonder at, when at a play they are taken pilfing.<sup>455</sup> Above them, on the stage, were the spectators able to pay a shilling, the elegant people, the gentlefolk. These were sheltered from the rain, and, if they chose to pay an extra shilling, could have a stool. To this were reduced the prerogatives of rank and devises of comfort; it often happened that there were not stools enough; then they lie down on the ground; this was not a time to be dainty. They play cards, smoke, insult the pit who give it them back without stinting, and throw apples at them into the bargain. The scene is not much different than how Victorian spectators occupied their theatres, "crowded to suffocation. Some boys stand on the broad wooden banisters; jump on each others' backs to obtain a good place. The walls echo with shouts and whistles. 'Silence! Ord-a-a-r!' A child jabs his way up into the crowd, jumps up on to the shoulders of those before him and disappears into the body of the gallery. At the foot of the staircase stands a group of boys that beg for return theatre checks. Girls' bonnets hang over an iron railing in front. Lads in the back seats pitch orange peel and nutshells into them. A good aim is rewarded with a shout of laughter. The orchestra begins to play. It's impossible to hear a note of music. A fight begins and every one rises whistling and shouting. A stamping of feet; 'Silence! Ord-a-a-r!' (Lochithea).<sup>456</sup>

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<sup>455</sup> *Kemp's Nine Daies Wonder*, 1600

<sup>456</sup> Lochithea. *Arrow to the Moon*, 2004

**Elizabethan letters** The Elizabethan was a letter writing age, and people for the most part preserved their correspondence, unless there came to be a risk in keeping it, when they promptly put it out of reach of a Privy Council Warrant, and its search officer. For some such cause Anthony Bacon must have destroyed the concluding portion of his papers, and for an equally good reason his brother Francis made away with his stage correspondence. He was good at suppressing awkward matters, such as the nature of his wife's misconduct, and his scrivenery business; of which, oddly enough, the only record under his hand also exists in the Lambeth Palace collection. Yet he kept it going till 1609, and even touted for work for it, though then a rich man. Someone seems to have hinted this last to Spedding, but he brushed the suggestion aside. Yet, had he coupled it with the letter to Anthony in 1594, on which he never comments at all, he would have been very near the discovery which, in abler hands, may yet have more to tell us. So great was Bacon's ascendancy over the minds of men, that those who knew both secrets, the stage and the Scrivenery, dared only refer to it with bated breath. The Liege spy wrote it to the Cecils, but they kept it dark; even the unhappy Essex, when denouncing the Bacons as his betrayers, dared say no more than "they play me on the stage and now they print me." The Queen knew well enough whom he alluded to.

Both the Bacons impecunious, running a public scrivenery in touch with the stage and its actors, for which Essex paid, and horribly afraid of their termagant mother who sat upon them like a conscience. Anthony Bacon received all the letters, deciphered and had them fair-copied, then forwarded them, usually through Bacon, to Essex, who returned instructions from which Anthony framed, enciphered and dispatched the replies. The Scrivenery was in full work on November 15, 1593 as on that day Essex sent one Lawson to Twickenham with letters to be deciphered and returned. Essex was never intrusted with the cipher of which there are specimens on the Bacon MSS., at Lambeth Palace Library. (Thorpe).

**Elizabethan London** The leading feature of Elizabethan London was that it was a great port. William Camden writing in his *Britannia* remarked that the Thames, by its safe and deep channel, was able to entertain the greatest ships in existence daily bringing in so great riches from all parts, "that it striveth at this day with the Mart-townes of Christendome for the second prise, and affordeth a most sure and beautiful Roade for shipping". (Holland).

Below the great bridge of London, one of the wonders of Europe, we see this shipping crowding the river in the maps and views of London belonging to the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The Tower and the bridge were the city's defences against attack by water. Near the Tower was the Custom House, where peaceful commerce paid its dues; and between the Custom House and the bridge was the great wharf of Billingsgate, where goods were landed for distribution. Near the centre of the bridge was a drawbridge, which admitted vessels to another great wharf, Queenhithe, at a point midway between London Bridge and Blackfriars. Between the bridge and Queenhithe was the Steelyard, the domain of the merchants of the Hanseatic League. Along the river front were numerous other wharves, where barges and lighters unloaded goods which they brought from the

ships in the road, or from the upper reaches of the Thames. For the river was the great highway of London. It answered the needs of commerce, and it furnished the chief means of transit. The passenger traffic of Elizabethan London was carried on principally by means of rowing-boats. A passenger landed at the point nearest to his destination, and then walked; or a servant waited for him with a saddle-horse. The streets were too narrow for coaches, except in two or three main arteries. The characteristic of present-day London, at which all foreigners most marvel, is the amount of traffic in the streets. In Elizabethan London this characteristic existed in the chief highway the Thames. The passenger-boats were generally described as "wherries," and they were likened by Elizabethan travellers to the gondolas of Venice; for instance, by Coryat, in his *Crudities*, who thought the playhouses of Venice very beggarly compared with those of London, but admired the gondoliers, because they were "altogether as swift as our rowers about London."

The maps of the period reveal the extraordinary number of "stairs" for landing passengers along both banks of the river, besides the numerous wharves for goods. John Stow, the author of the *Survey of London*, published first in 1598, and again in a second edition in 1603, describes the traffic on the river. "By the Thames," he says, "all kinds of merchandise be easily conveyed to London, the principal storehouse and staple of all commodities within this realm. So that, omitting to speak of great ships and other vessels of burthen, there pertaineth to the cities of London, Westminster, and borough of Southwark, above the number, as is supposed, of 2,000 wherries and other small boats, whereby 3,000 poor men at the least be set on work and maintained." Many of these Watermen were old sailors, who had sailed and fought under Drake. The Armada deliverance was recalled by Drake's ship, which lay in the river below the bridge. The voyage of the Earl of Essex to Spain, the expeditions to Ireland and to the Low Countries, formed the staple of the gossip of these old sailors who found employment in the chief means of locomotion in Elizabethan London. There was only the single bridge, but there were several ferries. The principal ferry was from Blackfriars and the Fleet river to a point opposite on the Surrey side, called Paris Garden stairs nearly in a line with the present Blackfriars Bridge. At Westminster was another, from the Horseferry Road to a point a little west of Lambeth Palace almost in the line of the present Lambeth Bridge. The river was fordable at low tide at this point; horses crossed here whence the name Horseferry and possibly other cattle, when the tide was unusually low. The sea is the home of piety. Coast towns, ports, and havens, reached after voyages of peril, are invariably notable for their places of worship, and for customs which speak touchingly like the blessing of fishermen's nets, for instance of lives spent in uncertainty and danger. Thus, the leading characteristic of Elizabethan London being its association with the sea and its dependence on the river, we find that its next most striking characteristic was the extraordinary number of churches it contained.

The great cathedral predominated more pronouncedly than its modern successor. From the hill on which it was based it reared its vast bulk; its great spire ascended the heavens, and the multitude of church towers and spires and belfries throughout the city seemed to follow it. The

houses were small, the streets were narrow; but to envisage the city from the river, or from the Surrey side, was to have the eye led upwards from point to point to the summit of St. Paul's. The dignity and piety of London were thus expressed, in contradiction to human foibles and failings so conspicuous in Elizabethan drama. The spire of St. Paul's was destroyed by lightning early in the reign of Elizabeth; and the historian may see much significance in the fact that it was not rebuilt, even in thanksgiving and praise for the deliverance from the Great Armada. The piety of London dwindled until it flamed forth anew in the time of the Puritan revolt. The bridge was carried on nineteen arches. It had a defensive gate at the Southwark end, and another gateway at the northern end. In the centre was a beautiful chapel, dedicated to Thomas a Becket, and known as St. Thomas of the Bridge. Houses were built on the bridge, mostly shops with overhanging signs, as in the streets of the city. Booksellers and haberdashers predominated, but other trades were carried on also. After the chapel, the most conspicuous feature of the bridge was Nonesuch House, so called to express the wonder that it was constructed in Holland entirely of wood, brought over the water piece by piece, and put together on the bridge by dovetailing and pegs, without the use of a single metal nail.

Adjoining the northern gateway was an engine for raising water by means of a great wheel operated by the tide. Near the Southwark end were corn-mills, worked on the same principle, below the last two arches of the bridge. The gateway at the Southwark end, so well shown in Visscher's view of London, was finished in 1579, and the traitors' heads, which formerly surmounted a tower by the drawbridge, were transferred to it. Travellers from the south received this grim salutation as they approached the bridge, which led into the city; and when they glanced across the river, the Tower frowned upon them, and the 'Traitors' Gateway, like teeth in an open mouth, deepened the effect of warning and menace. But these terrors loomed darkling in the background for the most part. They belonged rather to the time when the sovereign's palaces at Westminster and at the Tower seemed to hold London in a grip. The palace at Westminster now languished in desuetude; the Tower was a State prison, and with some ironical intent, perhaps also the abode of the royal beasts, lions, tigers, leopards, and other captives. The Queen passed in her royal barge down the river with ceremonious pageantry from her palace of Whitehall; the drawbridge raised, the floating court passed the Tower as with lofty indifference on its way to *Placentia*, her Majesty's palace at Greenwich. Out of the silence of history a record speaks like a voice, and tells us that here, in 1594, Shaksper and his fellows performed at least two comedies or interludes before her Majesty, and we know even the amounts that were paid them for their services.

In the Survey of John Stow we have three separable elements: the archaeology and history of London, Stow's youthful recollections of London in the time of Henry the Eighth, and Stow's description of the great change which came over London after the dissolution of the religious houses, and continued in process throughout his lifetime. The mediaeval conditions were not remote. He could remember when London was clearly denned by the wall, like a girdle, of which the Tower was the knot. No heroic change had befallen; the wall had not been cast down into its



accompanying fosse to form a ring-street, as was done when Vienna was transformed from the mediaeval state. London had simply filled up the ditch with its refuse; its buildings had simply swarmed over the wall and across the dike; shapeless and haphazard suburbs had grown up, till the surrounding villages became connected with the city. Even more grievous, in the estimation of Stow, was the change which he had witnessed within the city itself. The feudal lords had departed, and built themselves mansions outside the city. The precincts of the dissolved religious establishments had been converted into residential quarters, and a large proportion of the old monastic gardens had been built upon. The outlines of society had become blurred. Formerly, the noble, the priest, and the citizen were the defined social strata. Around each of these was grouped the rest of the social units in positions of dependence. A new type of denizen had arisen, belonging to none of the old categories the typical Elizabethan Londoner.

The outward aspect of Elizabethan London reflected this social change. On the south of the city, along the line of Thames Street, the wall had entirely disappeared. On the east and west it was in decay, and was becoming absorbed in fresh buildings. Only on the north side of the city, where it had been re-edified as late as 1474, did the wall suggest its uses for defence. In the map of Agas, executed early in the reign of Elizabeth, this portion of the wall, with its defensive towers and bastions, appears singularly well preserved. Thus the condition of the wall suggested the passing of the old and the coming of the new order. The gates which formerly defended the city, where the chief roadways pierced the wall, still remained as monuments, and they were admirably adapted to the purpose of civic pageantry and ceremonial shows. Indeed, the gateway on the Oxford road was rebuilt in 1586, and called Newgate, "from the newness thereof," and it was the "fairest" of all the gates of London. It is reckoned that this was the year that Shaksper came to London from Stratford-on-Avon; and the assumption is generally allowed that he entered the city by Newgate, which would be his direct road.

A new gate, of an artistic and ornamental character, set in the ancient wall, was a sign and a symbol of the new conditions in London, of which Shaksper himself was destined to become the chief result. Some of the City Guilds are entitled to be called "learned societies" as the Apothecaries, the Parish Clerks, the Stationers, and the Surgeons. By the learned societies of London, were voluntary bodies existing with or without royal patronage, but relying wholly for support on the contributions of their members, which have taken upon themselves the promotion of knowledge in one or more of its branches. The earliest which can be traced is that Society of Antiquaries which was founded in 1572, the fourteenth year of Queen Elizabeth, at the house of Sir Robert Cotton, under the presidency of Archbishop Parker. It counted among its members Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, William Camden, Sir William Dethicke, Garter, William Lambarde, James Ley, Earl of Marlborough, John Stow, Mr. Justice Whitelock, and other antiquaries of distinction. It is said that James I. became alarmed for the arcana of his Government and, as some thought, for the established Church, and accordingly put an end to the existence of the society in 1604. (Ordish).<sup>457</sup>

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<sup>457</sup> Ordish. *Elizabethan London*, 1908

**Elizabethan merits** Francis Bacon is described to have been of the middling stature; his forehead spacious and open, but from the cast of his disposition and intenseness of mental application, early impressed with the characters of age; his eyes lively and penetrating; and his whole appearance generally pleasing, he had the air of a good man, and soon acquired, with those who knew him, the estimation due to a great man. His conversation was various, always adapted to times and persons, and distinguished for facility and propriety. These Excellencies accompanied him into public, where the natural dignity of his aspect, and the gracefulness of his elocution, irresistibly commanded the attention and sympathies of his hearers. One of those extraordinary beings who are alike gifted with the eloquence of the pen and of the tongue, whether he applied his powers to private entertainment, or the instruction and persuasion of society, he could not fail to obtain an uncommon portion of admiration and esteem. <sup>458</sup>

### Cowley on Francis Bacon

From these and all long-errors of the way  
 In which our wandering predecessors went,  
 And like old Hebrews many years did stray  
     In deserts but of small extent,  
 Bacon like Moses led us forth at last;  
     The barren wilderness he passed;  
     Did on the very borders stand  
     Of the blest promised land;  
 And from the mountain-top of his exalted wit,  
     Saw it himself, and showed us it.

How dearly Bacon loved a brilliant phrase or an ingenious conceit, in spite of his protest against hunting after words, is seen by the care with which he gathered and stored in his *Essays* any flower of speech that incidentally came to him. (Minto). <sup>459</sup> Fischer, writing from Heidelberg on January 1856, tells us how the German people saw Bacon as a philosopher: <sup>460</sup> "Francis Bacon is still regarded by his countrymen as the greatest philosopher of England; and in this opinion they are perfectly right. He is the founder of that philosophy which is called the realistic, which exercised so powerful an influence upon even Leibnitz and Kant, to which Kant especially was indebted for the last impulses to his epoch-making works, and to which France paid homage in the eighteenth century. Now this very philosopher, of the first rank among the realists, is not only still without that acknowledgment in Germany, which is his due, but he has never even been treated of by any German in a thorough and satisfactory manner. In our histories and compendia of modern philosophy, Bacon plays either no part at all, or at best but a very insignificant and

<sup>458</sup> P.L.C. *Francis Bacon's Verulamiana*, 1803

<sup>459</sup> Minto. *English Prose*, Henry Craik, Vol. II. 1920

<sup>460</sup> Kuno Fischer. *Francis Bacon of Verulam*, 1857

subordinate part, as one among others who made his appearance during the strange transition from mediaeval to modern philosophy. Some rank him with the natural philosophers of Italy, with whom Bacon, if we regard the principal point, has scarcely more in common than the expression "natural philosopher;" and from whom he is distinguished not only by his mode of thought, which is entirely different, but also by his relation to antiquity, which in this case offers a fitting standard. Others express his relation to modern philosophy by placing him by the side of the German mystic, Jacob Bohme, with whom he has nothing in common but the first letter of his name. In a word, most of the opinions respecting Bacon, which are uttered among the Germans, especially those most prominent, are as superficial as they are unsatisfactory and incorrect. If this had not been the case I should have had some reasons the less for writing this, in which I endeavour to do justice to the importance of Bacon."

And to continue upon the same stream of Fischer, Goethe well stated that "A talent is cultivated in seclusion, a character in the stream of the world"; to which should be stated to the home of Baconian science that was the school, not of talent, but of character, that is to say, it was worldly life on a grand scale. William Camden's comments on Bacon is that he was "Of person very corpulent, most quick wit, singular prudence, admirable eloquence, retentive memory, and another pillar to the Privy Council. This corpulency of body grew on him in his old age, to which the Queen alluding used to say, 'Sir Nicholas' Soul lodges well.'" The learned Bayle says: "Francis Bacon was one of the greatest geniuses of his age." Mr. Voltaire styles him: "The father of experimental philosophy, and the greatest writers of our nation, as well as those of other countries, conspire in giving him the noblest character imaginable." The Duke of Buckingham (Sheffield) in particular allures us: "That all his works are for expression as well as thought; the glory of our nation and of all latter ages." Bowechier Wrey Savile: "Inasmuch as neither Bruno's *Spaccio*, nor the fragments of Parmenides' poem, *On Nature*, which have come down to us, were known in an English dress at the beginning of the seventeenth century (Toland's translation of Bruno's *Spaccio* did not appear until 1713), it would seem to show that the author of *Hamlet* must have been acquainted with both Greek and Italian, as was the case with the learned Francis Bacon." Dr. Rawley, who was his Chaplain, observes, that he "was eminent for the sharpness of his wit, his memory, judgment, and elocution, so that Sir Walter Raleigh once said before the doctor, that 'the Earl of Salisbury was an excellent speaker, but no good pen-man; the Earl of Northampton, and the Lord Henry Howard, excellent pen-men, but no good speakers; but that Sir Francis Bacon was eminent in both.' Bacon read much, and with great judgment, and after a moderate relaxation of his mind from study, returned to it with fresh vigour, and would not suffer any moment to escape him without improvement. His conversation was extremely delightful and instructive. When his office called him, as he was one of the King's Council, to charge any offenders, he did it with the greatest lenity; and in civil affairs, as Counsellor of State; he never engaged his mailer in any severe or precipitate courses. Neither was he less in favour with the subject than with his Sovereign; for he was always acceptable to the House of Commons

when he was a member thereof. He was religious, free from malice, which as he said himself, he never bred nor fed. No revenger of injuries. He never endeavoured to remove others from their places, or accused any man to his Prince." In Bacon's Will & Testament, he has this remarkable passage, "for my name and memory, I leave it to men's charitable speeches and to foreign nations and the next ages."<sup>461</sup>

In regards to those persons who delved into Bacon's biography, of the earliest accounts is certain to be Dr. William Rawley, his personal friend, who assisted him in literary work during the last five years of his life. We then have James Spedding who informs us, that Rawley was a kind of literary secretary to Bacon. This biography was written in 1657, thirty-one years after Bacon's death, and was prefixed to the edition of the *Resuscitatio*. It is an interesting record of the writer's personal impressions, derived from long intimacy and close companionship; and it is, according to Spedding, next to Bacon's own writings, "the most important and authentic evidence concerning him that we possess." The reader will find it reprinted in this edition. [See Chapter entitled *The Life of the Right Honourable Francis Bacon*.] Other biographies were prefixed to the editions of Bacon's works published in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Malet's is especially interesting, and contains valuable descriptions of Bacon as he appeared to those who met him in society. How much authority is to be assigned to this very precious information it is not easy to say. The completest account of Bacon's life is undoubtedly that written by Spedding. This is really a supplement to the magnificent edition of Bacon's *Works* in seven volumes, that later came out in a crown edition of fifteen volumes, edited by Spedding in conjunction with Ellis and Heath. In this splendid edition the editors have prefixed to each of Bacon's works an explanatory introduction, giving an account of its history and purpose. These various prefaces are really parts of Bacon's biography, almost as much as the seven subsequent volumes, which contain the record of his life in detail. For Spedding's plan being to publish a preface to everything, he found that by editing all the minor writings he could collect speeches, pamphlets, State papers, dramatic devices and masques, letters and private notes or memoranda, and prefixing to these also their proper historic introductions, he could fuse together these minor writings, and the connecting thread of narrative becomes essentially a history of all that is known about Bacon himself. Nothing can be more masterly than the way in which this is done. Spedding's work is a monument of patient industry and historic learning, and is, in fact, a very important contribution to the history of the times in which Bacon lived. It is, indeed, impossible to understand Bacon's life without constant reference to the historical, political, and social framework in which it is set; and much of the damaging criticism which has been written about Bacon, when the entire story is coherently told, is easily traceable to imperfect knowledge or entire misunderstanding of the history of which Bacon's life forms a part, and a mistaken idea of the share he was led to take in it. Those who find the seven or fifteen volume edition, containing Bacon's life, with the incorporated *opuscula*, too costly or too cumbrous, may content themselves with an abridgement

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<sup>461</sup> Thomas Wotton. *The Baronetage of England*, Vol. I. 1886

of the same work, prepared for the American public, and published in two 8vo volumes of about 700 pages each, and entitled: *Francis Bacon, his Life and Times*, extracted from the edition of his occasional writings, revised, corrected, and to some extent supplemented by Spedding himself. It is a curtailed edition of the larger work, made by omitting most of the letters and tracts, and giving all Spedding's connecting narrative with such modifications as were required to form a continuous and unbroken history.

Before Spedding's edition appeared, Basil Montague's was the most complete edition of Bacon's writings, and to this, also, a biography is prefixed. Montague's edition was unfortunately published when the public mind had been pre-occupied by Pope's random lines about Bacon: "If parts allure thee, think how Bacon shined, the wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind." This one couplet has done more injury to Bacon's fame than any one single circumstance connected with him, not even excepting his fall, and his condemnation by the House of Lords in 1621. It was a poisoned dart, which, feathered by the smooth rhythm and epigrammatic charm of Pope's style, readily took lodgement in the minds of whole generations, not merely of Pope's readers, but of those who could only quote at second hand the *bon mots*, the winged words, and the proverbial sayings with which he enriched the English language. Pope's distich is the fruitful germ out of which sprung Macaulay's *Essay*, Lord Campbell's *Life*, and the general consensus of denunciation still going on in all sorts of prints, reviews, magazines, histories, moral essays, pamphlets, and newspapers, most of which are merely echoes and reverberations of the sentiment launched forth by Pope with such fatal skill.

Ben Jonson says of Bacon: "Yet there happened in my time one noble speaker, who was full of gravity in his speaking. His language (where he could spare or pass a jest) was nobly censorious. No man ever spake more neatly, more pressly, more weightily, or suffered less emptiness, less idleness, in what he uttered. No member of his speech, but consisted of his own graces. His hearers could not cough, or look aside from him, without loss. He commanded where he spoke; and had his judges angry and pleased at his devotion. No man had their affections more in his power. The fear of every man that heard him was, lest he should make an end." And, after referring to Lord Ellesmere, Jonson continues: "But his learned and able (though unfortunate) successor, (*i.e.*, Bacon) is he who hath filled up all numbers, and performed that in our tongue, which may be compared or preferred either to insolent Greece, or haughty Rome. In short, within his view, and about his times, were all the wits born, that could honour a language, or help study. Now things daily fall, wits grow downward, and eloquence grows backward: so that he may be named, and stand as the mark and day of our language. My conceit of his person was never increased toward him by his place, or honours: but I have and do reverence him, for the greatness that was only proper to himself, in that he seemed to me ever, by his work, one of the greatest men, and most worthy of admiration, that had been in many ages. In his adversity I ever prayed God would give him strength; for greatness he could not want. Neither could I condole in a word or syllable for him, as knowing no accident could do harm to virtue, but rather help to make it manifest."

Thomas Bushell, his servant, in a letter to Mr. John Eliot, printed in 1628, in a volume called *The First Part of Youth's Errors*, says: "Yet lest the calumnious tongues of men might extenuate the good opinion you had of his worth and merit, I must ingenuously confess that myself and others of his servants were the occasion of exhaling his virtues into a dark eclipse; which God knows would have long endured both for the honour of his King and the good of the Commonalty; had not we whom his bounty nursed, laid on his guiltless shoulders our base and execrable deeds to be scanned and censured by the whole senate of a state, where no sooner sentence was given, but most of us forsook him, which makes us bear the badge of Jews to this day. Yet I am confident there were some Godly Daniels amongst us. As for myself, with shame I must acquit the title, and plead guilty; which grieves my very soul that so matchless a Peer should be lost by such insinuating caterpillars, who in his own nature scorned the least thought of any base, unworthy, or ignoble act, though subject to infirmities as ordained to the wisest." In Fuller's *Worthies* it is written: "He was a rich Cabinet filled with Judgment, Wit, Fancy and Memory, and had the golden Key, Elocution, to open it. He was singular in singulis, in every Science and Art, and being In-at-all came off with Credit. He was too Bountiful to his Servants, and either too confident of their Honesty, or too conniving at their Falsehood. 'Tis said he had two Servants, one in all Causes Patron to the Plaintiff, the other to the Defendant, but taking bribes of both, with this Condition, to restore the Money received, if the Cause went against them. Such practices, though unknown to their Master, cost him the loss of his Office."

In *The Lives of Statesmen and Favourites of Elizabeth's Reign* it is said: "His religion was rational and sober, his spirit public, his love to relations tender, to Friends faithful, to the hopeful liberal, to men universal, to his very Enemies civil. He left the best pattern of Government in his actions under one King and the best principles of it in the Life of the other." In the year 1631 there was published in Paris, by the firm of Antoine de Sommaville and Andre' de Soubron, a book entitled *Histoire Naturelle de Mre. Francois Bacon, Baron de Verulan (sic), Vicomte de Saint Alban et Chancelier d'Angleterre*. At first one might imagine that this was a translation of Bacon's *Sylva Sylvarum*, but a very slight examination shows that this is not the case. It is a treatise on natural history in French that has no counterpart in English. The translator, who in the licence to print is said to be Pierre Amboise, tells us, in the address to the reader, that he had been aided for the most part in his translation by the author's manuscripts; but the manner of obtaining these is not explained, nor is any explanation offered of the interesting fact that these manuscripts have never appeared in English. The book is dedicated by D.M. to the Monseigneur de Chasteauneuf, who was Ambassador Extraordinary to England from France in 1629 and 1630; but who D.M. is, or whether he had anything more to do with the work than write the epistle dedicatory, and if more, what more, there is nothing whatever to show. The following is a translation of the dedication:

**To Monseigneur de Chasteauneuf, Keeper of the Seals of France.**

Monseigneur,

This Chancellor, whom we have so often brought over to France, has never yet left England with so much zeal to make known to us his wonders as now since he has known the rank that we have assigned to your virtues: so that now his History, with all the fine embellishments it has formerly obtained from his pen, appears before your eyes, in like manner as did that magnificent and studious Queen, who in order to see the greatness of a Prince-Philosopher undertook a voyage with all the pomp and circumstance of which she was capable. These are the fruits of a land where you have shown those of your prudence: or rather it is a treasure of which I can claim no more than the smallest part, since being devoted entirely to you, and having discovered it during your Embassy, it should not fall into other hands than your own.

One opinion from you of his superiority will be enough for his Glory; and I feel assured that your Name on the front of this work will make it last throughout Centuries, an end that we should not attain though we endured to the end of the World. We should value it doubtless as we value those pictures that are preserved in galleries, not for the merit of the painting, but for the portraiture of him whom they represent to our eyes. If Mr. Bacon had lived in our times, I do not doubt but that he would have taken your actions as the model for his.

And so, Monseigneur, I do not think I am far from his intentions if today I offer to you his works. It is true that it would have been easy for this great man to have found a better pen than mine to have shown forth his Genius, but I am sure when entering your house he could not have chosen a man more desirous of appearing on every occasion.

Monseigneur,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

D.M.

The Advertisement au Lecteur then follows:

**Address to the Reader.**

This work of Mr. Bacon's, though posthumous, does not the less deserve to be recognized as legitimate, since it has the same advantages as those that have been brought to light whilst he was living. If the Author had had the desire to see it there, we should have seen this work in the press at the same time as his other books, but having designed that it should grow more, he had intended to defer the printing until the completion of all his works.

This is a Natural History where the qualities of metals and minerals, the nature of the elements, the causes of generation and decay, the different actions of bodies upon each other, are treated with so much brilliancy, that he seems to have learned the science at the school of the first man.

Of a truth, if in this he has rivalled Aristotle, Pliny, and Cardan, he has nevertheless borrowed nothing from them, as though he had intended to make it plain that these great men have not treated the subject so fully, but that there still remain many things to be said.

For my part, though I have no intention of establishing the reputation of this Author at the expense of Antiquity, I think I may always truly say that in this subject he has had a certain advantage over them; since the greater number of the Ancients, who have written upon nature, have been content to retail to us that which they have learnt from others: and, without reflecting that very often that which has been given to them as a true description is very far from the truth, they have preferred to bolster up with their arguments the tales of others rather than themselves to make original research. But Mr. Bacon, instead of stopping at the same boundaries as those who have preceded him, will have Experience joined with Reason. And to effect this he had a country house somewhat close to London, which he retained only in order to carry on his Experiments. In this place he had an infinite number of vases and phials; some of which were filled with distilled waters, others with plants and metals in their native state some with mixtures and compounds; and leaving them exposed to the air throughout all seasons of the year, he observed carefully the different effects of cold or of heat, of dryness and of moisture, the simple productions and corruptions, and other effects of nature.

It is in this way that he has found out so many rare secrets, the discovery of which he has left to us; and that he has exposed as false so many axioms that until now have been held as inviolable among the Philosophers. If, in order to make the meaning clear, I have used in this translation many words more Latin than French, the Reader should lay the blame chiefly upon the sterility of our language, which is so defective that many things often remain unexpressed unless we have recourse to foreign languages. I shall be pleased also if the Reader will take notice that in this translation I have not exactly followed the order observed in the original English, for I have found so much confusion in the disposition of the matter that it seemed to have been broken up and dispersed rather by caprice than by reason.

Besides, having been aided for the most part by the Manuscripts of the Author, I have deemed it necessary to add to, or to take from, many of the things that have been omitted or augmented by the Chaplain of Mr. Bacon, who after the death of his Master, printed in a confused manner all the pages that he found in his cabinet. I say this, so that those who understand English will not accuse me of inaccuracy, when they encounter in my translation many things that they do not find in the original.

The Life then follows:

**Discourse on the Life of M. Francis Bacon, Chancellor of England.**

Those who have known the quality of M. Bacon's mind from reading his works, will—in my opinion—be desirous to learn who he was, and to know that Fortune did not forget to recompense



merit so rare and extraordinary as was his. It is true, however, that she was less gracious to his latter age than to his youth; for his life had such happy beginning, and an end so rough and strange, that one is astonished to see England's principal Minister of State, a man great both in birth and in possessions, reduced actually to the verge of lacking the necessities of life.

I have difficulty in coinciding with the opinion of the common people, who think that great men are unable to beget children similar to themselves, as though nature was in that particular inferior to the art which can easily produce portraits that are likenesses: especially as history teaches us that the greatest personages have often found in their own families heirs of their virtues as well as of their possessions. And indeed, without the need of going to search for far away examples, we see that M. Bacon was the son of a father who possessed no less virtue than he: his worth secured to him the honour of being so well-beloved by Queen Elizabeth that she gave him the position of Keeper of the Seals, and placed in his hands the most important affairs of her Kingdom. And in truth it pains me to say that soon after his promotion to the first-named dignity, he was the principal instrument that she made use of in order to establish the Protestant Religion in England.

Although that work was so odious in its nature, yet if one considers it according to political maxims, we can easily see that it was one of the greatest and boldest undertakings that had been carried out for many centuries: and one ought not the less to admire the Author of it, in that he had known how to conduct a bad business so dextrously, as to change both the form of Religion, and the belief, of an entire Country, without having disturbed its tranquility. M. Bacon was not only obliged to imitate the virtues of such an one, but also those of many others of his ancestors, who have left so many marks of their greatness in history that honour and dignity seem to have been at all times the spoil of his family. Certain it is that no one can reproach him with having added less than they to the splendour of his race.

Being thus born in the purple [*ne parmy les pourpres*] and brought up with the expectation of a great career [*l'esperance d'une grande fortune*], his father had him instructed in a *bonnes lettres* with such great and such especial care, that I know not to whom we are the more indebted for all the splendid works [*les beaux ouvrages*] that he has left to us: whether to the mind of the son, or to the care the father had taken in making him cultivate it. But, however that may be, the obligation we are under to the father is not small. Capacity [*jugement*] and memory were never in any man to such a degree as in this one: so that in a very short time he made himself conversant with all the knowledge he could acquire at College. And though he was then considered capable of undertaking the most important affairs [*capable des charges les plus importants*] yet, so that he should not fall into the usual fault of young men of his kind (who by a too hasty ambition often bring to the management of great affairs, a mind still full of the crudities of the school), M. Bacon himself wished to acquire that knowledge which in former times made Ulysses so commendable, and earned for him the name of Wise; by the study of the manners of many different nations.

I wish to state that he employed some years of his youth in travel, in order to polish his mind and to mould his opinion by intercourse with all kinds of foreigners. France, Italy, and Spain, as the most civilized nations of the whole world were those whither his desire for knowledge [curiosite] carried him. And as he saw himself destined one day to hold in his hands the helm of the Kingdom [le timon du Royaume] instead of looking only at the people and the different fashions in dress, as do the most of those who travel, he observed judiciously the laws and the customs of the countries through which he passed, noted the different forms of Government in a State, with their advantages or defects, together with all the other matters which might help to make a man able for the government of men. Having by these means reached the summit of learning and virtue, it was fitting that he should also reach that of dignity. For this reason, some time after his return, the King, who well knew his worth, gave him several small matters to carry out, that might serve for him as stepping-stones to high positions: in these he acquitted himself so well that he was in due course considered worthy of the same position that his father vacated with his life. And in carrying out the work of Chancellor he gave so many proofs of the largeness of his mind, that one can say without flattery that England owes to his wise counsels, and his good rule, a part of the repose she has so long enjoyed. And King James, who then reigned, should not take to himself alone all the glory of this, for it is certain that M. Bacon should share it with him.

We may truly say that this Monarch was one of the greatest Princes of his time, who understood thoroughly well the worth and value of men, and he made use to the fullest extent of M. Bacon's services, and relied upon his vigilance to support the greater part of the burden of the Crown. The Chancellor never proposed anything for the good of the State, or the maintenance of justice, but was carried out by the Royal power; and the authority of the Master seconded the good intentions of the servant; so that one must avouch that this Prince was worthy to have such a Minister, and he worthy of so great a King. Among so many virtues that made this great man commendable Prudence, as the first of all the Moral virtues, and that most necessary to those of his profession, was that which shone in him the most brightly. His profound wisdom can be most readily seen in his books, and his matchless fidelity in the signal services that he continuously rendered to his Prince. Never was there man who so loved equity, or so enthusiastically worked for the public good as he: so that I may aver that he would have been much better suited to a Republic than to a Monarchy, where frequently the convenience of the Prince is more thought of, than that of his people. And I do not doubt that, had he lived in a Republic, he would have acquired as much glory from the citizens, as formerly did Aristides and Cato, the one in Athens, the other in Rome.

Innocence oppressed found always in his protection a sure refuge, and the position of the great gave them no vantage ground before the Chancellor, when suing for justice. Vanity, avarice, and ambition, vices that too often attach themselves to great honours, were to him quite unknown, and if he did a good action, it was not from the desire of fame, but simply because he could not do otherwise. His good qualities were entirely pure, without being clouded by the admixture

of any imperfections; and the passions that form usually the defects in great men, in him only served to bring out his virtues; if he felt hatred and rage it was only against evil doers, to show his detestation of their crimes; and success or failure in the affairs of his country, brought to him the greater part of his joys or his sorrows. He was as truly a good man, as he was an upright judge, and by the example of his life, corrected vice and bad living, as much as by pains and penalties. And in a word, it seemed that Nature had exempted from the ordinary frailties of men him whom she had marked out to deal with their crimes.

All these good qualities made him the darling of the people, and prized by the great ones of the State. But when it seemed that nothing could destroy his position, Fortune made clear that she did not yet wish to abandon her character for instability, and that Bacon had too much worth to remain so long prosperous. It thus came about that amongst the great number of officials such as a man of his position must have in his house, there was one who was accused before Parliament of exaction, and of having sold the influence that he might have with his master. And though the probity of M. Bacon was entirely exempt from censure, nevertheless he was declared guilty of the crime of his servant, and was deprived of the power that he had so long exercised with so much honour and glory. In this I see the working of monstrous ingratitude and unparalleled cruelty; to say that a man who could mark the years of his life, rather by the signal services that he had rendered to the State, than by times or seasons, should have received such hard usage, for the punishment of a crime which he never committed; England, indeed, teaches us by this that the sea, that surrounds her shores, imparts to her inhabitants somewhat of its restless inconstancy. This storm did not at all surprise him, and he received the news of his disgrace with a countenance so undisturbed that it was easy to see that he thought but little of the sweets of life, since the loss of them caused him discomfort so slight. He had, fairly close to London, a country house replete with everything requisite to soothe a mind embittered by public life, as was his, and weary of living in the turmoil of the great world. He returned thither to give himself up more completely to the study of his books, and to pass in repose, the remainder of his life. But as he seemed to have been born rather for the rest of mankind than for himself, and as by the want of public employment he could not give his work to the people, he wished at least to render himself of use by his writings and by his books; worthy as these are to be in all the libraries of the world, and to rank with the most splendid works of antiquity.

The *History of Henry VII.*, is one of those works which we owe to his fall, a work so well received by the whole world, that one has wished for nothing so much as the continuation of the History of the other Kings. And even yet he would not have given opportunity for these regrets, had not death cut short his plans, and thus robbed us of a work that bid fair to put all the others to shame. The *Natural History* is also one of the fruits of his idleness. The praiseworthy wish that he had, to pass by nothing but to connote the nature and qualities of all things, induced his mind to make researches which some learned men may perhaps have indicated to him, but which none

but himself could properly carry out. In which he has without doubt achieved so great a success, that but little has escaped his knowledge: so that he has laid bare to us the errors of the ancient Philosophy and made us see the abuses that have crept into that teaching, under the authority of the first authors of the science. But whilst he was occupied in this great work, want of means forced him to concentrate his mind on his domestic affairs. The honest manner in which he had lived was the sole cause of his poverty; and as he was ever more desirous of acquiring honour than of amassing a fortune, he had always preferred the interests of the State to those of his house; and had neglected, during the time of his great prosperity, the opportunities of enriching himself: so that after some years passed in solitude he found himself reduced to such dire necessity that he was constrained to have recourse to the King, to obtain, by his liberality, some alleviation of his misery. I know not if poverty be the mother of beauty, but I aver that the letter he wrote to the King on that occasion is one of the most beautiful examples of that style of writing ever seen. The request that he made for a pension is conceived in terms so lofty and in such good taste, that one could not deny him without great injustice.

Having thus obtained the means to extricate himself from his difficulties, he again applied himself, as before, to unravel the great secrets of nature. And as he was engaged during a severe frost in observing some particular effects of cold, having stayed too long in the open, and forgetting that his age made him incapable of bearing such severities; the cold, acting the more easily on a body whose powers were already reduced by old age, drove out all that remained of natural heat, and reduced him to the last condition that is always reached by great men only too soon. Nature failed him while he was chanting her praise: this she did, perhaps, because, being miserly and hiding from us her best, she feared that at last he would discover all her treasures, and make all men learned at her expense. Thus ended this great man, whom England could place alone as the equal [en parallèle avec] of the best of all the previous centuries.

**Elizabethan Privy Council** The smaller Council that could provide advice to the monarch at all times. The idea was revived by Cromwell in the 1530's, although Henry VII., had worked to reduce the size of the Royal Council in his reign as well (but it was not formalized, as it was under Henry VIII.,) The size of the Council fluctuated during the reigns of the rest of the Tudors. Under the Tudor sovereigns the Council was for the most part little more than a tool. The Privy Council records from 1435 to 1540, are, with the exception of certain papers relating to the reigns of Henry VI., and Henry VIII., entirely missing; and consequently our knowledge of the period, when under Henry VII., and his son the power of the Council was being organised and taking shape, is very limited, and can only be deduced from incidental mention or inference. We know little of either the constitution or the procedure of the Council prior to the year 1540. From Bacon's *Henry VII.*, however, we may infer a few things with regard to it. It seems to have been a somewhat elastic and ill defined body, for, whereas the King is mentioned as renewing his promise to marry the Lady Elizabeth before his Council and other principal persons he is also said to have concealed his true

intentions with regard to the French war, even from his Privy Council except to two Bishops and a few more. There appears, then, to have existed a circle within a circle without the ordinary limits of the Council; and the question is further complicated by the occurrence of Great Councils, attended by all the lords spiritual and temporal, such as that which assembled at Westminster on October 24th, 1496, and granted the King £120,000 to be used against the Scots. The chief duty of the Privy Council proper seems to have been diplomatic, for it is frequently mentioned as interviewing foreign ambassadors; but that it could also exercise very wide judicial powers is proved by Bacon's remark that "the Council Table intermeddled too much with *Meum and Tuum*, for it was a very court of Justice during his time, especially at the beginning." <sup>462</sup>

### Elizabethan theatres <sup>463</sup>

- The Rose Theatre: It stood on the South side of the Thames in Southwark. In Norden's map of London (1593) there stands a round building marked "The Playhouse," situated south-east of the Bear House, also depicted on the map. Henslowe was the proprietor and sole manager. Until the appearance of an article in *The Times* on April 30, 1914 by Dr. Wallace, the first opening of the Rose was placed in 1592. Wallace states that this theatre was built in 1587, and was mentioned for the first time in the *Sewer Records* in April 1588 as then new. Before the article was written, several writers had questioned the late date, but for lack of sufficient evidence the year 1592 was given in all text books as the correct date. This is a most important discovery, giving the citizens of London at this early date a third, or even a fourth, theatre, whereby the leading metropolitan companies could represent their plays at a properly constructed and organized theatre. Rendle, in his account of the Bankside Theatres, notes that the Rose was burnt down, and he quotes a couplet as evidence of his statement: "In the last great fire, the Rose did expire." Rendle adds: "When that was, I am not clear." He gives no reference for the quotation. Other investigators seem quite ignorant of this catastrophe. Lawrence simply states that the Rose is last heard of in 1622, quite ignoring the fire couplet.
- The Swan Theatre: Was the second theatre erected on the Bankside situated at the extreme western end, in the Manor of Paris Garden, represented to-day by the Blackfriars Road. The proprietor and builder was a well-known London citizen named Francis Langley holding an office under the Corporation, as one of the searchers of cloth, an appointment much coveted by well-to-do men. The exact date of the opening is very uncertain and somewhat conflicting. First, we have the opposition against the building in 1594; secondly, the evidence of the Dutchman De Witte, who visited and described the Swan Theatre. De Witte's biographer positively asserts that he only visited these shores once, that visit taking place in the year 1596. According to the evidence, we should expect the erection

<sup>462</sup> Martin A.S. Hume. *Treason and Plot*, 1901

<sup>463</sup> Maurice Jonas. *Shakespeare and the Stage*, 1918

of the theatre between these dates, namely 1594–96. Curiously enough, a third witness is introduced in the records of the minutes of St. Saviour's Vestry stating that Mr. Langley's new buildings shall be viewed, and that he and others shall be moved for money for the poor in regard to the playhouse and the tithes; this order is dated 1598. When the Swan Theatre was sold it realized the sum of £1,873. In the fifth paragraph of this most interesting programme of *England's Joy* appears the name of Lopus, or more correctly Lopez. This name opens up a wide field of controversy, for the bearer was a Jew, and English historians aver that since the expulsion of that race in 1290, no Jew set foot on English soil until the time of Cromwell, over 350 years later than the first and only exodus. There can be no doubt that a certain number of Jews visited these shores, and a few settled here and made it their permanent home. [Also see Part II: *Lopez Roderigo. Dr.*]

- The Globe Theatre: Was the last theatre built on the Bankside and was the most famous of all. On the stage of this theatre the greatest of the Shakesperean plays were first acted; here Shaksper followed the actor's calling, covering a period of ten years. The Globe theatre was opened in the spring of 1599 with a probable production of *Henry V.*, "Within this wooden O" is mentioned in the prologue. The Globe was round in form, and built chiefly of wood. Another reference in the same play clearly proves that *Henry V.*, was acted sometime in the year 1599. The first Globe Theatre was licked by fire; this great catastrophe befell it on St. Peter's Day, June 29, 1613. In the space of two hours the building was a heap of smouldering ruins, no doubt containing many of the previous manuscripts of Shakespeare's plays; this statement is quite gratuitous. Shakespeare may have preserved his original MSS., or they may have been destroyed after the prompter's copy had been transcribed from the original, as being of no further use. We know the Bodleian Library parted with their First Folio when the third appeared, as being in the eyes of the then librarian of no account when a later edition appeared. Ben Jonson, in his *Execration upon Vulcan*, tells of this fire: "As gold is better when in fire tried, so is the Bankside Globe that late was burned, for where before it had a thatched hide now to a stately Theatre 'tis turned."
- The Fortune Theatre: After the opening of the Globe Theatre in the spring of 1599 proved from the outset a most successful venture, seriously curtailing the profits of its near rival, the Rose; this latter theatre gradually discontinued the legitimate drama, diverting its energies in an entirely different channel. Henslowe, the proprietor of this neglected playhouse, was a man of varied resources, combined with unbounded capital, two great advantages in speculative undertakings. He formulated a scheme of erecting a new theatre on the north side of the Thames. The building was far removed from the keen competition, such as was in vogue at the Globe of the Lord Chamberlain's servants. The Fortune Theatre, for such was the name of Henslowe's latest enterprise, was situated in a district northwest of the heart of the City. In searching for the exact site, the enquirer

must walk straight down Aldersgate Street until he strikes the Barbican, then follow the Barbican until Beech Street is reached; at each end of this thoroughfare two streets branch off, both leading to Old Street; midway between these two streets, named respectively Golden Lane and Whitecross Street, stood the Fortune Theatre. A distant reminder of the past will be noticed by a street called Playhouse Yard, a turning off Golden Lane. Why this place should be termed a yard is rather puzzling, as outwardly it bears the monotonous look of an ordinary London street, which most readers will agree is far from picturesque. December 15, 1621 in a letter written by John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton: "On Sunday night there was a great fire at the Fortune, in Golden Lane, the fayrest playhouse in this town. It was quite burnt down in two hours and all their apparel and playbooks lost, whereby the poor companions are quite undone." A new Fortune arose three years later on the site of the old one, namely in 1624. An improvement in the building was effected by constructing the house of brick. Allen possessed shares in the new theatre, otherwise he had no interest or responsibility in the undertaking.

- The Hope Theatre: Was the last theatre set up on the Bankside, and also the last public theatre opened during Shaksper's lifetime, built in the year 1614, two years before his death. This reconstructed building had originally served as an amphi-theatre for bull baiting, being marked on the maps of both Aggas and Hofnagel in 1572, also in Norden's map of 1593.

**Elizabethan writs** Elizabethan poetry, Elizabethan novels, Elizabethan pamphlets, Elizabethan translations, Elizabethan chronicles, and Elizabethan plays were all operations of a common creative organism in which intellect and imagination were the equally vital motive forces. Moreover, Elizabethan literature was not precisely confined to the reign of Elizabeth (1558-1603); nor was the Jacobean literature which followed born at the accession of James I. Elizabethan and Jacobean were for the most part one literature, a number of the writers being active in both reigns. Nevertheless, as the Elizabethan impulse of imaginative freedom lessened, there developed that formal intellectualism which appears as the distinguishing Jacobean characteristic in literature. So far as such a distinction can be made, Shakespeare is the typical Elizabethan and Ben Jonson the typical Jacobean.

**Emblematum Liber** By Andrea Alciati (1492–1550). Without Alciati's *Emblematum liber* one lacks an essential key to the once easily read meanings attached to many of the greatest artworks produced from the sixteenth century through the eighteenth century. The practice of composing moralizing maxims goes back at least to the sixth century, when Aesop assembled a collection of three hundred and fifty-eight folk-wisdom tales, *The Fables*, told to highlight human follies and foibles; according to his simple two-part formula, he would first relate an anecdote about an unfortunate animal encounter, then he would add a succinct moral injunction for the human reader. Everything that exists necessarily points to a meaning lying beyond any given *res*. [the

thing itself]. Since each natural *res* contains potential meaning, it simultaneously becomes a *res significans*. “Every creature and object in the world is like a book providing a picture and mirror of ourselves.”<sup>464, 465</sup> In order that the invention, or *impresa*, may have a pleasing grace, it is obligatory that it conforms to five conditions:

- First, there must be established a just proportion between the soul [motto] and the body [image].
- Second, its meaning must not be so obscure that it is necessary to call upon the Sibyl in order to interpret it; however, neither should its meaning be so transparent that any common person might understand it.
- Third, above all it must have a handsome appearance, with this appearing delightful and most attractive, it being accompanied by stars, suns, moons, flames, waters, trees, mechanical instruments, fantastic animals and birds.
- The fourth condition is that it is not suitable that any human figure should appear therein.
- The fifth condition is that the motto, which is its soul, should be stated in a different language from that of the author of the device, so that its sentiments should be somewhat more concealed.<sup>466</sup>

In Alciati’s *De Verborum significatione* published in 1530: “Words indicate; things are indicated. But things can also indicate, for example as in the *Hieroglyphics of Horapollo*. Working from their arguments, we have also written a book in verse with the title *Emblemata*.” It is a fact that Alciati propagated the word *emblem* throughout sixteenth century Europe and Francesco Colonna used the word *emblematura* to signify mosaic work in his *Hypnerotomachia* in 1499. [Also see Part II: *Alciati Andrea*.]

### Emblem writers

- (H.) Parthenia Sacra, of the Mysterious and Delicious Garden of the Sacred Parthenis: Symbolically set forth and enriched with Pious Devises and Emblems for the entertainment of devout Soules, &c. By H. A. Plates. 8vo. Printed by John Cousturier, 1633.
- Abricht (John A. M.). Divine Emblems. Embellished with Etchings of Copper after the fashion of Master Francis Quarles. 12mo. Lond. 1838.
- Arwaker (Edmund). Pia Desideria, or Divine Addresses in Three Books. With 47 Copper Plates by Sturt. 8vo. Lond. 1686.
- Ashrea: or the Grove of Beatitudes. Represented in Emblemes: and by the Art of Memory to be read on our Blessed Saviour Crucified, &c. 12mo. Lond. 1665.

<sup>464</sup> *Book of Nature* and *Alan of Lille*

<sup>465</sup> John F. Moffitt translator to Alciati’s *Little Book of Emblems* published in 1940

<sup>466</sup> Paolo Giovio. *Dialego dell’imprese militari et amorose*, 1555



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- Astry (Sir James). *The Royal Politician represented in One Hundred Emblems. Written in Spanish by Don Diego Saavedra Faxardo, &c. Done into English from the Original. By Sir James Astry. In Two Vols. With Portrait of William Duke of Gloucester, and other Plates.* 8vo. Lond. 1700. Printed for Matthew Gylliflower.
  - Ayres (Philip). *Emblemata Amatoria. Emblems of Love in Four Languages. Dedicated to the Ladys. By Ph. Ayres, Esq. With 44 Plates on Copper.* 8vo. Lond. 1683.
  - Barclay (Alexander). *The Ship of Fooles, wherein is shewed the folly of all States, &c. Translated out of Latin into English. With numerous Woodcuts. Imprinted by John Cawood. Folio, bl. letter, Lond. 1570.*
  - Blount (Thomas). *The Art of making Devises: treating of Hieroglyphicks, Symboles, Emblemes, Ænigmas, &c. Translated from the French of Henry Estienne.* 4to. Lond. 1646.
  - Bunyan (John). *Emblems by J. Bunyan. A copy is found in one of Lilly's Catalogues.*
  - Burton (R.). *Choice Emblems, Divine and Moral, Ancient and Modern; or Delights for the Ingenious in above Fifty Select Emblems, Curiously Ingraven upon Copper Plates. With engraved Frontispiece, &c.* 12mo. Lond. 1721. Printed for Edmund Parker.
  - Castanoza (John). *The Spiritual Conflict, or The Arraignment of the Spirit of Self-Love and Sensuality at the Barre of Truth and Reason. First published in Spanish by the Reverend Father John.*
  - Castanoza, afterwards put into the Latin, Italian, German, French, and English Languages. With numerous Engravings. 12mo. at Paris, 1652.
  - *Choice Emblems, Natural, Historical, Fabulous, Moral, and Divine.* 12mo. Lond. 1772.
  - Colman (W.). *La Dance Machabre, or Death's Duell, by W. C. With engraved Frontispiece by Cecil, and Plate.* 8vo. Lond. 1631.
  - *Compendious Emblematis; or Writing and Drawing made easy. With many Plates.* 4to. Lond.
  - *Emblems Divine, Moral, Natural, and Historical, Expressed in Sculpture, and applied to the several Ages, Occasions, and Conditions of the Life of Man. By a Person of Quality. With Woodcut Engravings and Metrical Illustrations.* 8vo. Lond. 1673. Printed by J. C. for Will. Miller.
  - *Emblems for the Entertainment and Improvement of Youth, with Explanations, on 62 Copper Plates. White Knights.* 8vo. n. d., Part I.
  - *Emblems of Mortality. With Holbein's Cuts of the Dance of Death, modernized and engraved by Bewick. Three Editions.* 8vo. Lond. 1789.
  - Farlie (Robert). *Lychnocausia, sive Moralia Facum Emblemata. Lights Morall Emblems. Kalendarium Humanæ Vitæ. The Kalendar of Man's Life. With Frontispiece and numerous Woodcuts.* 8vo. Lond. 1638.
  - Fransi (Abrahami). *Insignium Armorum Emblematum Hieroglyphicorum et Symbolorum Explicatio.* No Plates. 4to. Lond. 1588.

- G. (H.). *The Mirrour of Majestie: or the Badges of Honour conceitedly emblazoned. With Emblems annexed.* 4to. 1618. This is the rarest of the English series; only two copies known, one perfect and another imperfect.
- Gent (Thomas). *Divine Entertainments; of Penitential Desires, Sighs, and Groans of the Wounded Soul. In Two Books, adorned with suitable Cuts. In Verse. With numerous Woodcuts.* 12mo. Lond. 1724.
- Hall (John). *Emblems, with elegant Figures newly published. Sparkles of Divine Love. Engraved Frontispiece and Plates.* 12mo. Lond. 1648.
- Heywood (Thomas). *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas, selected out of Lucian, &c. With sundry Emblems, extracted from the most elegant Iacobus Catsius, &c.* 8vo. Lond. 1637. No Plates.
- Jenner (Thomas). *The Soules Solace; or Thirtie and one Spirituall Emblems. With Plates on Copper, and Verses.* 4to. Lond. 1631.
- *The Ages of Sin, of Sinnes Birth and Growth. With the Steppes and Degrees of Sin, from Thought to finall Impenitence. Nine leaves containing nine emblematical engravings, each with six metrical lines beneath.* 4to. No printer's name, place, or date.
- *A Work for none but Angels and Men, that is, to be able to look into, and to know themselves, &c. It contains eight Engravings emblematic of the Senses, and is in fact Sir John Davis' poem on the Immortality of the Soul turned into prose.* 4to. Lond. 1650. Printed by M. S. for Thomas Jenner.
- *Wonderful and Strange Punishments inflicted on the Breakers of the Ten Commandments. With curious Plates.* 4to. Lond. 1650.
- Montenay (Georgette de). *A Booke of Armes, or Remembrance: wherein are a hundred Godly Emblemata; first invented and elaborated in the French Tongue, but now in severall Languages. With Plates.* 8vo. Franckfort. 1619.
- Murray (Rev. T. B.). *An Alphabet of Emblems. With neatly executed Woodcuts.* 12mo. Lond. 1844.
- Peacham (Henry). *Minerva Britannia, or, A Garden of Heroickall Devises, furnished and adorned with Emblemes and Impressas, &c. Numerous Woodcuts.* 4to. Lond. n. d. (1612.)
- *Protestant's (The) Vade Mecum, or Popery Displayed in its proper Colours, in Thirty Emblems, lively representing all the Jesuitical Plots against this Nation. With thirty engraved Emblems on copper.* 8vo. Lond. 1680. Printed for Daniel Brown.
- Quarles (Francis). *Emblemes by Fra. Quarles. The First Edition. With Plates by W. Marshall and others. Rare.* 8vo. Lond. 1635. Printed by G. M. at John Marriott's.
- *Hieroglyphickes of the Life of Man, by Fra. Quarles. In a Series of engraved Emblems on Copper by Will. Marshall. With Verses.* 8vo. Lond. 1638. Printed by M. Flesher.

- Richardson (George). *Iconology; or a Collection of Emblematical Figures, Moral and Instructive. In Two Volumes. With Plates.* 4to. Lond. 1777–79.
- Riley (George). *Emblems for Youth.* Reprinted in 1775, and again in 1779. 12mo. Lond. 1772.
- Ripa (Cæsar). *Iconologia; or Morall Emblems. Wherein are express'd various Images of Virtues, Vices, &c. Illustrated with 326 Human Figures engraved on Copper. By the care and charge of P. Tempest.* 4to. Lond. 1709.
- S. (P.) *The Heroical Devises of M. Claudius Paradin, Canon of Beauvieu. Whereunto are added the Lord Gabriel Symons and others. Translated out of Latin into English by P. S. With Woodcuts.* 16mo. Lond. 1591. Imprinted by William Kearney.
- Stirry (Thomas). *A Rot among the Bishops, or a terrible Tempest in the Sea of Canterbury, a Poem with lively Emblems. A Satire against Archbishop Laud. With Four Wood Engravings.* Rare. 8vo. Lond. 1641.
- Thurston (J.). *Religious Emblems; being a Series of Engravings on Wood, from the Designs of J. Thurston, with Descriptions by the Rev. J. Thomas.* 4to. Lond. 1810.
- Vicars (John). *A Sight of y<sup>e</sup> Transactions of these latter Yeares Emblemized with engraven Plates, which men may read without Spectacles. Collected by John Vicars. With Engravings of Copper.* 4to. Lond. n. d., are to be sold by Thomas Jenner at his shop.
- *Prodigies and Apparitions, or England's Warning Pieces. Being a seasonable Description by lively figures and apt illustrations of many remarkable and prodigious forerunners and apparent Predictions of God's Wrath against England, if not timely prevented by true Repentance. Written by J. V. With curious Frontispiece and six other Plates.* 8vo. Lond. n. d., are to be sold by Tho. Bates.
- Whitney (Geoffrey). *A Choice of Emblems and other Devises. Englished and Moralized by Geoffrey Whitney. With numerous Woodcuts.* 4to. Leyden, 1586. Imprinted at Leyden in the house of Christopher, by Grancis Raphalengius.
- Willet (Andrew). *Sacrorum Emblematum Centuria Una quæ tam ad exemplum aptè expressa sunt, &c.* No Plates. 4to. Cantabr. n. d. (1598).
- Wither (George). *A Collection of Emblems, Ancient and Moderne: Quickened with Metricall Illustrations both Morall and Divine. The Plates, 200 in number, were engraved by Crispin Pass. Folio, Lond. 1635. Printed by A. M. for Henry Taunton.*
- Wynne (John Huddleston). *Choice Emblems for the Improvement of Youth. Plates.* 12mo. Lond. 1772.

**England's Helicon** The first English anthology, known as *Tottel's Miscellany*,<sup>467</sup> was published in 1557 and reached an eighth edition in 1587. Surrey and Wyatt were represented most largely; and among the other contributors were Sir Francis Bryan, Lord Vaux, Nicholas Grimoald, John

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<sup>467</sup> *Songes and Sonettes, written by the ryght honourable Lorde Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey, and other. Apud Richardum Tottel, 1557*

Heywood, and Tom Churchyard. Michael Drayton in his admirable epistle to Henry Reynolds alludes, in terms of genial appreciation, to "those small poems which published were of *Songs and Sonnets*, wherein oft they hit on many dainty passages of wit." Master Slender,<sup>468</sup> it will be remembered, was a diligent reader of the old anthology. In 1576 appeared *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*, which passed through eight editions in twenty-four years. The editor (and largest contributor) was Richard Edwards, a scholar and courtier, author of an unreadable old play, *Damon and Pythias*, 1571. Among the contributors were Edward Vere Earl of Oxford, Lord Vaux, W. Hunnis, John Heywood, and Francis Kindlemarsh (or Kinwelmarsh). There is good poetry in the collection, but the quality varies considerably.

The third anthology, *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions*, edited by a certain Thomas Procter, was issued in 1578. One of the chief contributors was Owen Roydon, who may have been a brother of Matthew Roydon (the friend of Chapman and author of a famous elegy, on Sir Philip Sidney). Many of the poems are of a sententious character and are written in long cumbersome metres; but there are also some sprightly love-ditties. Fourth on the list comes Clement Robinson's *Handful of Pleasant Delights*, 1584, a very choice collection. Here first appeared the delightful ballad of *Lady Greensleeves*. "L.G.," "I.P.," "I. Tomson," and "Peter Picks," were among the contributors; all four are unknown, and "Peter Picks" is doubtless a pseudonym. Antony Munday's *A Banquet of Dainty Conceits*, 1588, of which only a single copy is known, must not be classed with the anthologies; for the twenty-two pieces which it contains were all written by Munday. Intrinsically the poems have little interest; but the collection is on that account important, as affording excellent proof that Antony Munday was not the "Shepherd Tony" of *England's Helicon*. Munday was an inferior writer, whose pen was chiefly employed in composing city-pageants and translating romances from the French. Among these *Dainty Conceits* there is not even a passable lyric to be found.

In 1593 appeared the fifth anthology, *The Phoenix Nest*, edited by "R.S. of the Inner Temple, Gentleman." To whom the initials "R.S." belong is a mystery; but all lovers of poetry are indebted to the taste and zeal of this unknown editor. Among the known contributors were Thomas Lodge and Nicholas Breton; and there are many exquisite poems by anonymous writers.

*England's Helicon*, first published in 1600 and republished with additions in 1614, stands sixth on the list. *England's Parnassus*, 1600, and *Belvedere*, 1600, are dictionaries of poetical quotations rather than anthologies. The last anthology (the seventh) published in Elizabeth's reign was Francis Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody*, a collection of the highest interest, first printed in 1602; reprinted with additions in 1608; again, with many additions, in 1611; and for the fourth time (with a new arrangement of the poems) in 1621.

The reader will find in *England's Helicon* some of the sweetest lyrical and pastoral poetry of the Elizabethan age, dainty little masterpieces by Lodge, Breton, Greene, Barnfield, and many other true-born poets. He will also find two dozen poems by Bartholomew Young (or Yong),

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468 "I had rather than forty shillings I had my book of *Songs and Sonnets* here." *Merry Wives*, Act I. Sc. 1

translator of Montemayor's *Diana*. Possibly Bartholomew Young (an unpoetical name) may even find here and there an admirer.

Who was the editor of *England's Helicon*? Clearly "A.B." (whoever he may have been), author of the prefatory Sonnet *To his loving kind friend Master John Bodenham*. Yet bibliographers, one after another, with remarkable perversity, assure us that Bodenham was the editor, yet Bodenham did not edit any of the Elizabethan miscellanies attributed to him by bibliographers; he projected their publication and he befriended the editors. The miscellanies issued under Bodenham's patronage were:

1. *Wit's Commonwealth*, 1597.
2. *Wit's Theatre*, 1598, popular collections (which passed through many editions) of brief extracts from philosophers, orators, fathers of the Church.
3. *Belvedere* or the *Garden of the Muses*, 1600, ed. 2, 1610, a collection of scrappy poetical quotations seldom exceeding a couplet in length.
4. *England's Helicon*. On turning to the epistle of Nicholas Ling the publisher, prefixed to *Wit's Commonwealth*, we find that Ling collected the material for that volume and that Bodenham merely suggested the publication of such a collection.

In regard to number 2 in the above list of *Wit's Theatre*, it is perfectly clear that Robert Allot <sup>469</sup> was the editor; for a copy (preserved in the British Museum) of the 1599 edition contains an epistle in which Allot dedicates to Bodenham this "collection of the flowers of antiquities and histories." Prefixed to number 3 in our list, *Belvedere*, is a Sonnet by A[ntony?] Munday? in which Bodenham is addressed as "Art's Lover, Learning's friend, first causer and collector of these flowers," words which imply that Bodenham had suggested the compilation and had prepared some materials for the volume. Bodenham gave his support and patronage; Ling, Allot, and "A.B." collected and arranged the materials for the miscellanies with which Bodenham's name is associated. *England's Helicon* second edition in 1614, which contains nine additional poems, has a dedicatory Sonnet by the publisher, Richard More, addressed "To the truly virtuous and honourable Lady, the Lady Elizabeth Carey." This lady was the wife of Sir Henry Carey (created Lord Falkland in 1610), and mother of the famous Lucius Lord Falkland who fell at Newbury. She was certainly the "Lady Elizabeth Carey" who wrote *The Tragedy of Mariam the Fair Queen of Jewry*, 1613. John Davies of Hereford in 1612 linked her name with the names of Lucy Countess of Bedford and Mary Countess-Dowager of Pembroke in the dedicatory verse epistle prefixed to his *Muse's Sacrifice*; and to her in 1633 William Sheares the publisher dedicated the collective edition of Marston's plays. She died in 1639.

In 1599 *The Passionate Pilgrim*, a collection of twenty-one Sonnets, songs, etc., was published with the name of W. Shakespeare on the title page. The authorship of several of the pieces is disputed. In regard to No. 18 *My flocks feed not*, Halliwell-Phillipps, says: "There is a

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<sup>469</sup> Allot was also the editor of *England's Parnassus*

somewhat brief version of this song in the collection of Madrigals, by Thomas Weelkes 1597, this person being the composer of the music, but not necessarily the author of the words. A copy of it as it is seen in the *Passionate Pilgrim* also occurs in *England's Helicon*, 1600, entitled *The Unknowne Shepherds Complaint*, and is there subscribed *Ignoto*." In regard to No. 20, *Live with me and be my love*, the same author says: "The first, of these very pretty songs is incomplete, and the second, called *Love's answer*, still more so. In *England's Helicon*, 1600, the former is given to Marlowe, the latter to Ignoto; and there is a good reason to believe that Christopher Marlowe wrote the song, and Sir Walter Raleigh the nymph's reply: for so we are positively assured by Isaac Walton, who has inserted them both in his *Complete Angler* under the character of "that smooth song which was made by Kit Marlowe, now at least fifty years ago; and an answer to it which was made by Sir Walter Raleigh in his younger days: old fashioned poetry but choicely good." Both these songs were exceedingly popular and are afterwards found in the street ballads. The first is quoted in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*." In regard to No. 21, *As it fell upon a day*, Halliwell-Phillipps, says: "This charming idyl occurs, with the absence of two lines, amongst the Poems in *Divers Humours* appended to Barnfield's *Encomion of Lady Pecunia*, in 1598 and the first twenty-six lines with the addition of two new ones are found in *England's Helicon*, 1600. This latter version follows in that work No. 18 of this list, [*My flocks feed not*,] is also subscribed *Ignoto*, and is headed: *Another of the same Shepherds*. The probability is that the copies of these little poems, as given in the *Helicon*, were taken from a Common Place book in which the names of the authors were not recorded; the two supplementary lines just noticed having the appearance of being an unauthorized couplet improvised for the sake of giving a neater finish to the abridgment."

The editor of the third edition of the *Helicon* 1812 says in regard to *Ignoto*: "This signature appears to have been generally, though not exclusively, subscribed to the pieces of Sir Walter Raleigh. It is also subscribed to one piece since appropriated to Shakespeare, [No. 18,] and to one which, according to Ellis, belongs to Richard Barnfield [No. 21.] The celebrated answer to Marlowe's, *Come live with me*, here subscribed *Ignoto*, is given expressly to Raleigh by Isaac Walton in his *Complete Angler*, first published in 1653." Ignoto was undoubtedly a concealed poet. Marlowe, Raleigh and Barnfield were not. As early as January 1590, if not a little sooner, Ignoto contributed to Spenser's first publication of the *Faerie Queene*. There are sixteen pieces in the *Helicon* subscribed *Ignoto*. One of these, *The Nymph's Reply* is ascribed to Raleigh on the testimony of Walton in 1653; and two others are believed by the editor of the third edition, 1812, to belong to Raleigh, because in an early copy of the same Ignoto was found pasted over "W.R." Upon such flimsy evidence the modern editor infers that the signature Ignoto was "generally, though *not exclusively*, [his own italics,] subscribed to the pieces of Sir Walter Raleigh." Poor neglected Shakespeare has but a single specimen in the *Helicon*: On a day, alack a day taken from *Love's Labour's Lost*.

**Contents of *England's Helicon*:**

- Page 17. *The Shepherd to his Chosen Nymph*. This poem is from Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, which passed through three editions in 1591; and it evidently refers to some real incident, of which we have no knowledge.
- Page 19. *Theorello*. The initials "E.B." doubtless belong to Edmund Bolton, whose signature is subscribed at full length to the poem on pp. 34–35. Bolton, one of the most learned men of his time, was the author of the *Elements of Armories*, 1610, and an interesting treatise *Hypercritica*, circa 1618, first published by Antony Hall at the end of *Trivetii Annales*, 1722. He was a retainer of George Villiers Duke of Buckingham, and accompanied him on his memorable journey to Spain in 1623.<sup>470</sup> He was one of those who laboured to establish a Royal Academy or College of Honour "for the breeding and bringing up of the nobility and gentry of this Kingdom," a scheme which was frequently discussed but never got beyond the stage of discussion. Bolton died about the year 1633. There are three other poems signed "E. B." supposedly assigned also to Bolton.
- Page 23. *Astrophe vs Love is Dead*. This poem was probably written on the occasion of Stella's (Lady Penelope Devereux's) marriage to Lord Rich.
- Page 28. *Hobbinof's Ditty*. From the Fourth Eglogue of Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*.
- Page 32. *The Shepherd's Daffodil*. From Michael Drayton's *Ninth Eclogue*, first published in *Poems Lyric and Heroic*, 8vo. (1605?), and republished in the collective edition of Drayton's works, 1619.
- Page 35. *Melicertus Madrigal*. From Robert Greene's *Menaphon*. *Camillas Alarum to Slumbering Euphites*, &c., 1589, 410.
- Page 36. Old Damon's *Pastoral*. This poem of Lodge seems to have been published for the first time in *England's Helicon*.
- Page 38. *Perigot and Cuddies Roundelay*. From the Eighth Eglogue of Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*.
- Page 40. *Phyllida and Corydon*. First printed in *The Honourable Entertainment* given to the Queen's Majesty in Progress at Elvetham in Hampshire, by the Right Honourable the Earl of Hertford, 1591, under the title of *The Ploughman's Song*. It is set to music in Michael Este's *Madrigals*, 1604, and in Henry Youll's *Canzonets*, 1608.
- Page 41. *To Colin Clout*. This charming lyric was written by the Shepherd Tony, who contributed six other poems. It would be pleasant to be able to identify the Shepherd Tony, he will remain a mere *nominis umbra*. The suggestion that the delightful lyricist was Antony Copley, author of *A Fig for Fortune*, 1596, and *Wits, Fits, and Fancies*, 1614, is ridiculous, and equally ridiculous is the suggestion that he was Antony Munday.
- Page 42. Rowland's *Song in Praise of the Fairest Beta*. This poem was first published in Michael Drayton's *Idea, the Shepherd's Garland*, 1593, and was republished, with some

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<sup>470</sup> *Collectanea*, Oxford Historical Society, I. 278

textual variations, for Drayton was constantly altering his poems, in *Poems Lyric and Heroic* (1605?).

- Page 46. *The Barginet of Antimachus*. It does not belong among Lodge's works (collected by the Hunterian Club), but first appeared in *England's Helicon*.
- Page 48. *Menaphon's Roundelay*. From Greene's *Menaphon*, 1589. The quiet beauty of the opening lines will appeal to every reader.
- Page 49. *A Pastoral of Phyllis and Corydon*. From Nicholas Breton's *The Arbor of Amorous Devices*, 1597, of which only one copy (and that imperfect) is preserved in the Capell Collection at Trinity College, Cambridge. Breton's works (with the exception of some unique volumes in private hands) were collected by Dr. Grosart in 1879, 2 Vols. 4to.
- Page 50. *Corydon and Melampus Song*. From George Peck's pastoral *The Hunting of Cupid* of which fragments are extant among the Drummond MSS.
- Pages 51–53. *Tityrus to his fair Phyllis*; [*Love's Thrall*]; Another by the same author. The first of these three poems is signed "I.D."; the second and third are signed "I.M." It has been supposed that "I.D." is Sir John Davies, among whose works Dr. Grosart prints the first poem. In an old MS., list (presumed to be in the writing of Francis Davison, editor of the *Poetical Rhapsody*) of the contributors to *England's Helicon*, preserved in Harl. MS. 280, we find instead of "I.D." the signature "I. Davis." The poems, all three, were written by John Dickenson, and are found in *The Shepherd's Complaint*, n.d. (c.1594), of which a copy was discovered by Mr. Charles Edmonds in a lumber room at Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire, the seat of Sir Charles Isham, Bart. Some stiffly declared that "I.M." was John Marston, others voted for Jervase Markham; and the great Dean of St. Paul's, John Donne, was brought into the lists to dispute Sir John Davies' claim to the initials "I.D."
- Page 53. *Menaphon to Persana*. From Robert Greene's *Menaphon*, 1589.
- Page 54. *A Sweet Pastoral*. This poem is not among those works of Breton which Dr. Grosart has printed. It is perhaps in *The Bower of Delights* (jealously guarded at Britwell).
- Page 56. *Harpahis Complaint*. This poem (here ascribed to the Earl of Surrey) was first printed among Poems by Uncertain Authors in Totte's *Miscellany*, 1557.
- Page 63. *The Nymphs meeting their May Queen*. This poem of Watson (who has been greatly over praised by some modern critics) seems to have been addressed to Queen Elizabeth; and that it formed part of some (lost?) entertainment. It is set to music in Francis Pilkington's *First Book of Songs or Airs*, 1605.
- Page 64. Colin Clout's *Mournful Ditty*. Introductory stanzas to Spenser's *Astrophel*, a pastoral Elegy upon the Death of Sir Philip Sidney.
- Page 65. *Dameta's Jig*. The author, John Wootton, is supposed by Brydges to be Sir John Wotton (half-brother of Sir Henry Wotton), third son of Thomas Wotton of Bocton Malherb, in Kent, by Elizabeth his first wife, daughter of Sir John Rudstone, Knight.



Izaak Walton describes Sir John as “a gentleman excellently accomplished both by learning and travel, who was Knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and looked upon with more than ordinary favour and with intentions of preferment; but death in his younger years put a period to his growing hopes.”

- Page 66. *Montannus' Praise of his fair Phoebe*. From Lodge's romance *Rosalind, Euphues Golden Legacy*, first printed in 1590.
- Page 67. *Complaint of Thestylis*. This poem, here ascribed to the Earl of Surrey, was first printed among poems of uncertain authors in Totte's *Miscellany*, 1557.
- Page 69. *To Phyllis the fair Shepherdess*. This poem is signed “S.E.D.” (*i.e.* Sir Edward Dyer, to whom it is attributed in Davison's Harleian MS., list), but there can be little doubt that it belongs to Lodge, for it is found in his *Phyllis*, 1593.
- Page 70. *The Shepherd Doron's Jig*. From Robert Greene's *Menaphon*, 1589.
- Page 71. *Astrophe's Song of Phyllida and Corydon*. This poem of Breton was originally signed “S. Phil. Sidney” in ed. 1600, but a slip was inserted with the signature “N. Breton.” It appears to have been printed for the first time in *England's Helicon*; and the same remark applies to other poems of Breton in this collection.
- Page 74. *The Passionate Shepherd's Song*. Printed in *Love's Labour Lost*, 1598. It is the second of the Sonnets to sundry notes of music, appended to *The Passionate Pilgrim* by Shakespeare, 1599, printed by W. Jaggard.
- Page 75. *The Unknown Shepherd's Complaint*. From the Sonnets appended to *The Passionate Pilgrim*, 1599. It had previously appeared, set to music, in Thomas Weelkes' *Madrigals*, 1597, without an author's name. An early MS., copy (also without author's name) is preserved in Harl. MS. 6910, fol. 156. There is good ground for attributing the poem (which is signed Ignoto in *England's Helicon* to Richard Barnfield; for the poem that follows, which undoubtedly belongs to Barnfield, is headed *Another of the same Shepherd's*?
- Page 76. *Another of the same Shepherd's*. These verses are from a poem of Richard Barnfield printed among Poems in divers Humours appended to the *Encomion of Lady Pecunia*, 1598. The editor of *England's Helicon* truncated Barnfield's poem, adding two lines of his own to the portion he adopted “Even so, poor bird, like thee none alive will pity me.” In the Sonnets appended to *The Passionate Pilgrim*, 1599, the poem is printed in extenso.
- Page 77. *The Shepherd's Allusion*. From Watson's *Hecatompethia*, 1582.
- Page 78. *Montanus' Sonnet*. From Lodge's *Rosalind*, 1590.
- Page 79. *Phoebe's Sonnet*. Also from Lodge's *Rosalind*.
- Page 84. *Doron's Description of his fair Shepherdess Samela*. From Greene's *Menaphon*, 1589.
- Page 85. *Wodenfrid's Song*. It has been suggested (by Ritson) that the initials “W.H.” belong to William Hunnis, a contributor to *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* and author of some devotional poems; but both this poem and the next have more merit than any of Hunnis's authentic productions.

- Page 90. *Phyllida's Love-Call*. This exquisite poem, signed Ignoto, has been ascribed, without the slightest authority, to Sir Walter Raleigh.
- Page 93. *The Shepherd's Solace*. From Watson's *Hecatompethia*.
- Page 93. *Syrenus' Song to his Eugerius*. The poems of Bartholomew Young (of which there are far too many in this collection) are taken from his translation, published in 1598, but finished in MS., May 1, 1583 of Montemayor's *Diana*, a famous Spanish romance.
- Page 100. *The Shepherd's Ode*. First published in Richard Barnfield's *Cynthia*, 1595.
- Page 103. *The Shepherd's Commendation of his Nymph*. This poem of Edward Vere, Earl of Oxford, had already appeared in *The Phoenix Nest*, 1593. The Earl of Oxford was also a contributor to *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*. His poems have been collected by Dr. Grosart.
- Page 105. *Corydon to his Phyllis*. This poem, here ascribed to Sir Edward Dyer, had appeared (without the author's name) in *The Phoenix Nest*, 1593.
- Page 106. *The Shepherd's Description of Love*. In an edition of 1600 of *England's Helicon* this poem was originally subscribed "S.W.R." (*i.e.* Sir Walter Raleigh), but, in the extant copies, over this signature is pasted a slip on which is printed "Ignoto." In Davison's MS., list it is signed "Sir W. Rawley." The poem had been printed, with no distinction of dialogue, and the first line running "Now what is Love, I pray thee tell?" in *The Phoenix Nest*, 1593. There is an early MS., copy in Harl. MS., 6910. It was set to music in Robert Jones's *Second Book of Songs and Airs*, 1601. [Also see Part II: *Jones Robert*.]
- Page 107. *To his Flocks*. The initials "H.C." doubtless belong to Henry Constable.
- Page 108. *A Roundelay between two Shepherds*. This poem of Michael Drayton seems to have been first published in *England's Helicon*. It has not been found among his multitudinous works.
- Page 109. *The Solitary Shepherd's Song*. From Lodge's romance *A Margarite of America*, 1596.
- Page 110. *The Shepherd's Resolution in Love*. From Watson's *Hecatompethia*.
- Page 111. *Corydoris Hymn*. It has been suggested that the initials "T.B." may belong to Thomas Bastard the epigrammatist, author of *Chrestoteros*, 1598.
- Page 115. *Corin's Dream of his fair Chloris*. This poem, signed "W.S.," is from William Smith's *Chloris*, or the *Complaint of the passionate despised Shepherd*, 1596, which has been reprinted in Dr. Grosart's *Occasional Issues*.
- Page 116. *The Shepherd Damon's Passion*. From Lodge's *Phyllis*, 1593.
- Page 117. *The Shepherd Musidorus his Complaint*. From Sidney's *Arcadia*, 1590, p. 77. Epistle to Lucilius <sup>471</sup> "So far as the stationer's mere zeal to gain, rather than any propensity to the advancement of learning, did for a while keep Bacon, Raleigh and divers incomparable spirits more from perishing at the bottom of oblivion, good books (anciently written in the bark of trees,) and now turning in their progress, so exactly the fate of Acorns, that if their chance be to withstand the swinish contamination of their

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<sup>471</sup> Francis Osborn. *Historical Memoirs on the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James*, 1658

own age, and trampling into the dirt of contempt, they do not seldom afterwards become the gods of the nations and have temples dedicated to their worship. As their authors, in this participate with other good men, who attain not to a state of glory till after this life.” The Acorn parable is the one of “cast not your pearls before swine,” which we find so fully expressed in Sir Philip Sidney’s frontispiece to the Countess of Pembroke’s *Arcadia*, viz., the picture of a pig smelling some flowers; on a scroll of which is written: *Non tibi Spiro*, meaning, I do not breathe for thee.<sup>472</sup>

- Page 117. *The Shepherd’s Brawl*. From Sidney’s *Arcadia*, 1590, p. 85.
- Page 118. *Dorus his Comparisons*. From Sidney’s *Arcadia*, 1590.
- Page 122. *Damelus’ Song to his Diaphenia*. By H[enry] C[onstable]. It is set to music in Francis Pilkington’s *First Book of Songs or Aires*, 1605.
- Page 122. *The Shepherd Eurymachus to his fair Shepherdess Mirimida*. From Robert Greene’s *Francesco’s Fortunes*, or the Second Part of Greene’s *Never Too Late*, 1590.
- Page 127. *The Shepherd’s Praise of his sacred Diana*. In ed. 1600 this poem was originally subscribed with the initials “S.W.R.” (Sir Walter Raleigh), but over the signature in the extant copies is pasted a slip on which is printed “Ignoto”; and in ed. 1614 the poem is subscribed “Ignoto.” It had been printed (without a signature) in *The Phoenix Nest*, 1593. In Davison’s Harleian list it is marked “W.R.”
- Page 128. *The Shepherd’s Dump*. This poem, here assigned to S[ir] E[dward] D[yer], is reprinted (with some variations) on p. 239, where it is subscribed “Ignoto.” It had already been printed in *The Phoenix Nest*, 1593, where it is attributed to “T.L., Gent.” (i.e. Thomas Lodge). But the confusion about Ignoto is still more confounded. On page 112 of the *Helicon* is the song entitled *The Shepherd’s Dump*, subscribed S.E.D. supposed to mean Sir Edward Dyer, and on page 224 the same identical song reappears entitled *Thirsis the Shepherd, to his pipe*, and signed Ignoto. The editor of 1812 supposes it was reprinted to make a few corrections in the last stanza; but as the verbal variations in that stanza make it positively worse, it is more likely that the compiler did not notice the repetition, but inadvertently put both in as he found them. But even this is not all. In Ellis’s *Specimens of the early English Poets*, 5th edition, 1845, among the pieces credited to Fulke Greville (Lord Brooke) is a Song, with these words in brackets: “I’d be found in *England’s Helicon*, where it is signed Ignoto.” On turning to the edition of 1611 we find that song entitled *Another of his Cynthia*. It is preceded by two evidently by the same pen, entitled *To his Flocks* and *To his Love*; and is followed by still *Another to his Cynthia*. But all these are anonymous in the edition of 1614, and the editor appends to the last one the following remark: “These three [or four?] ditties were taken out of Maister John Dowland’s *Book of Tableture for the Lute*. The authors’ names not there set down, and therefore left to their owners.” But it happens that the four ditties are all credited to

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472 W.F.C. Wigston. *The Columbus of Literature*, 1892

Ignoto in the Table of Contents, prepared by the other editor, so that in the edition of 1614 Ignoto has twenty pieces, besides the one assigned to Marlowe.

- Page 131. *Rowland's Madrigal*. This poem of Michael Drayton seems to have been printed for the first time in *England's Helicon*.
- Page 135. *Montana the Shepherd, his Love to Aminta*. There is an early copy (with no author's name) of this poem of the *Shepherd Tony* in Harl. MS. 6910.
- Page 136. *The Shepherd's Sorrow for his Phoebe's Disdain*. In ed. 1600 this poem was originally given to "M.F.G." (*i.e.* Mr. Fulke Greville), but over this signature is pasted a slip lettered "Ignoto"; in ed. 1614 the poem is subscribed "I.F." In Davison's MS., list the poem is given to "F. Grevill."
- Page 138. *Espilus and Therion their Contention*. From Sidney's masque *The Lady of the May*, first published with the poems appended to the 1598 edition of *Arcadia*.
- Page 139. *Old Melibceus' Song*. In ed. 1600 this poem was originally subscribed "M.F.G." (*i.e.* Mr. Fulke Greville); but in the extant copies of edition 1, a slip (lettered "Ignoto") is pasted over the signature, and in ed. 1614 there is no signature. The poem is given to "F. Grevill" in Davison's MS., list.
- Page 141. *Corydon's Song*. From Lodge's *Rosalind*, 1590.
- Page 142. *The Shepherd's Sonnet*. From Richard Barnfield's *Cynthia*, 1595.
- Page 145. *Montanus his Madrigal*. From Robert Greene's *Francesco's Fortunes*, or the Second Part of Greene's *Never Too Late*, 1590.
- Page 147. *Astrophel to Stella*. From Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, 1591.
- Page 153. *Apollo's Love-Song for Fair Daphne*. This poem is set to music in John Dowland's *A Pilgrim's Solace*, 1612. In the last line but one Dowland gives "Then this be sure, since it is true perfection."
- Page 156. *Amyntas for his Phyllis*. This poem of Watson had appeared in *The Phoenix Nest*, 1593, where it is subscribed "T.W."
- Page 160. *Sireno, a Shepherd, &c.* First printed among the Sonnets appended to the 1598 edition of Sidney's *Arcadia*.
- Page 169. *Philistus' Farewell to False Clorinda*. From Thomas Morle's *Madrigals to Four Voices. The First Book*, 1594.
- Page 169. *Rosalindas Madrigal*. From Lodge's *Rosalind*, 1590.
- Page 172. *Montanus' Sonnet*. This poem, though it is ascribed to S[ir] Efdward] D[yer] in *England's Helicon*, really belongs to Lodge. It is printed in Lodge's *Rosalind*, 1590.
- Page 174. *The Herdman's Happy Life*. From William Byrd's *Psalms, Sonnets, and Songs*, 1588.
- Page 178. *The Shepherd to the Flowers*. This poem (subscribed "Ignoto") was first printed in *The Phoenix Nest*, 1593, with no signature attached. It is printed in the Oxford edition of Raleigh's poems, and in Hannah's poems by Raleigh, Wotton, &c.; but Raleigh's claim to the authorship is without foundation.

- Page 186. *To Amaryllis*. From William Byrd's *Psalms, Sonnets, and Songs*, 1588.
- Page 190. *Of Phyllida*. From William Byrd's *Psalms, Sonnets, and Songs*, 1588.
- Page 194. *Philon the Shepherd his Song*. From William Byrd's *Songs of sundry Natures*, 1589.
- Page 195. *Lycoris the Nymph, her Sad Song*. From Thomas Morley's *Madrigals to Four Voices*, 1594.
- Page 196. *To his Flocks*. From John Dowland's First Book of *Songs or Aires*, 1597.
- Page 196. *To his Love*. From the same songbook of Dowland's.
- Page 198. *Another of his Cynthia*. From the same song-book of Dowland's. This poem was doubtless written by Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke; for it is not only ascribed to him in Davison's MS., list, but is printed in "Certain learned and elegant works of the Right Honourable Fulke, Lord Brooke, 1633, fol."
- Page 199. *Another to his Cynthia*. From the same song-book. In Davison's MS., list this poem is ascribed to the Earl of Cumberland.
- Page 200. *Montanus' Sonnet in the Woods*. Though this poem is attributed in *England's Helicon* to S[ir] E[dward] D[yer], it really belongs to Lodge, and is found in *Rosalind*, 1590.
- Page 201. *The Shepherd's Sorrow, being disdained in Love*. From Lodge's *Phyllis*, 1593; it is also found in *The Phoenix Nest*, 1593.
- Page 204. *A Pastoral Song between Phyllis and Amaryllis*. By H[enry] C[onstable].
- Page 206. *The Shepherd's Anthem*. This poem does not appear in the 1593 collection of Michael Drayton's *eclogues Idea, the Shepherd's Garland*, but it is found in the second eclogue of *Poems Lyric and Pastoral* (1605?).
- Page 209. *Another of Astrophel*. From the poems appended to the 1598 edition of Sidney's *Arcadia*.
- Page 210. *An Invective against Love*. This poem was added in ed. 1614, and in the prefatory table bears the signature "Ignoto." It had been previously printed in Davison's *Rhapsody*, 1602, where it is subscribed "A.W." There are many charming poems by "A.W." in Davison's collection, but it is unknown to whom the initials belong. In Harl. MS., 280 is a long list (presumed to be in the handwriting of Francis Davison) of all the poems written by "A.W."
- Page 212. *Fair Phyllis to her Shepherd*. Ritson's suggestion that the signature "J.G." may belong to John Gough, a dramatist of Charles I's day (author of *The Strange Discovery*, 1640), is very wide of the mark, unworthy of so acute a scholar as Ritson. Brydges urges the claim of John Grange, author of the *Golden Aphroditis*, 1577; but there is little to be said in Grange's favour. The verses are very much in Constable's manner.
- Page 215. *The Shepherd's Song of Venus and Adonis*. By H[enry] C[onstable].
- Page 220. *Thyrsis the Shepherd, his Death Song*. From N. Yonge's *Musica Transalpine*, 1588. The two following pieces are from the same song-book.

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- Page 222. *The Shepherd's Slumber*. Signed Ignoto in ed. 1600; there is no signature in ed. 1614. It has been ascribed, without evidence, to Raleigh.
  - Page 226. *If Love be life I long to die*. Added in ed. 1614, where it is subscribed "Ignoto."
  - Page 227. *Another Sonnet*. This sonnet of Sidney is among the poems appended to the 1598 edition of *Arcadia*; but it had been previously printed in Constable's *Diana*, &c., 1584.
  - Page 228. *Of Disdainful Daphne*. "M. H. Nowell" is the signature attached to this poem in ed. 1600; "M. N. Howell" in ed. 1614. In Davison's MS., list the poem is given to "H. Nowell." Of the writer, whether his name be Howell or Nowell, nothing is known.
  - Page 231. *The Nymph's Reply to the Shepherd*. In ed. 1600 this poem was originally subscribed "S.W.R." (*i.e.* Sir Walter Raleigh), but over these initials in the extant copies is pasted a slip, on which is printed "Ignoto." It is ascribed to Raleigh by Izaak Walton in *The Compleat Angler*, 1653.
  - Page 234. *Two Pastorals upon Three Friends Meeting*. This poem of Sidney had already appeared in Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody*, 1602. It is the first of *Two Pastorals* made by Sir Philip Sidney upon his meeting with his two worthy and fellow-poets, Sir Edward Dyer and M. Fulke Greville. In *England's Helicon* only one of the poems is given, though the title *Two Pastorals* is retained. (The initials in the right hand margin of the fifth stanza belong, of course, to the three poets).
  - Page 240. *An Heroical Poem*. This poem had previously appeared in Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody*, subscribed "A.W.," and headed "Upon an Heroical Poem which he had begun (in imitation of Virgil) of the first inhabiting of this famous isle by Brute and the Trojans." It is in the Oxford edition of Raleigh's *Poems*; but there is not the slightest evidence to show that Raleigh was the author. There is an early MS., copy in Harleian MS. 6910 without a signature.
  - Page 242. *An Excellent Sonnet of a Nymph*. This poem of Sidney seems to have been first printed in *England's Helicon*.
  - Page 244. *The Lover's Absence kills me, &c.* Printed in Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody*, 1602, with the signature "A.W."
  - Page 245. *The Shepherd's Conceit of Prometheus*. This sonnet of Dyer, with Sidney's accompanying sonnet, had appeared among the poems appended to the 1598 edition of *Arcadia*.
  - Page 250. *Love the only price of Love*. Printed in Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody*, 1602, where it is subscribed "A.W."
  - Page 251. *Colin, the enamoured Shepherd*, &c. This poem and the next are from George Peele's pastoral play, *The Arraignment of Paris*, 1584.
  - Page 252. *The Shepherds' Consort*. From Thomas Morley's *Madrigals to Four Voices*, 1594.
  - Page 253. *Thyrsis' Praise of his Mistress*. This poem of William Browne, author of *Britannia's Pastorals*, was first published in *England's Helicon*, ed. 1614.

- Page 254. *A Defiance to Disdainful Love*. Printed in Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody*, where it bears the signature "A.W." It is set to music in Robert Jones's *Ultimum Vale* (1608). [Also see Part II: *Jones Robert*.]
- Page 255. *An Epithalamium*. Printed for the first time in *England's Helicon*, 1614. The writer, Christopher Brooke, joined William Browne and George Wither in writing *The Shepherd's Pipe*, 1614. He is the author of a rare poem, *The Ghost of Richard III*. There is a MS., copy of the *Epithalamium* in the Bodleian Library.

With all this confusion what are we to believe in regard to Ignoto? Was he sometimes Raleigh, sometimes Barnfield, sometimes Dyer, sometimes Greville, and sometimes Shakespeare, or someone else? Or was he a single person who "loved better to be a poet than to be counted so;" and who affected to hoodwink the above-named Greville writing to him in 1596: "For poets I can commend none, being resolved to be ever a stranger to them." And here let us note a bit of internal evidence that Bacon wrote the little poem in praise of the *Faerie Queene* signed Ignoto. One couplet of it is as follows: "For when men know the goodness of the wine, 'tis needless for the host to have a sign." No. 517 of Bacon's *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies* is this: "Good wine needs no bush." The word "bush" as applied to wine is thus defined by Webster: "A branch of ivy (as sacred to Bacchus) hung out at vintners' doors, or as a tavern sign; hence a tavern sign, or the tavern itself." And in Shakespeare's *As You Like It*: "If it be true that good wine needs no bush, 'tis true that a good play needs no epilogue." We leave the reader to put this and that together; argument or comment is superfluous.

**England's Parnassus** A work entered on the Stationers' Register on October 2, 1600; "entered for their copie under the hands of master Hartwell and the Wardens: A booke called Englandes Parnassus: The choysest flowers of our Englyshe modern poetes."<sup>473</sup> The book appeared the same year, but without the printer's name being shown in any part of the volume. The initials of the three publishers are easily identified by a reference to the entry in the Stationers' Register, being those of Nicholas Ling, Cuthbert Burby, and Thomas Hayes. The work is a thick octavo volume of 510 pages, printed in ordinary roman and italic type. The compiler's initials, "R.A.", are appended to the two sonnets which follow the title-page, one of these being addressed to Sir Thomas Mounson, and the other "To the Reader". A glance at the dates of several of the works quoted in *England's Parnassus* tends to show that Robert Allot was engaged in collecting his extracts up to the time that he put his manuscript into the printer's hands; and the *Miscellanea* at the end of the volume, from the disordered state in which we find it, might possibly have been added after the printer had got well on with his task. Who Robert Allot was, how he led his life, when he was born, and when he died, biography does not say. He compiled two anthologies, wrote two Sonnets, and was praised by John Weever. Brydges, in his *Restituta*,<sup>474</sup> guessed he might

<sup>473</sup> Arber. Transcript, Vil. III. 173

<sup>474</sup> Vol. III., p. 234

be the Robert Allot who held a Fellowship at St. John's College, Cambridge (1599) the year of the publication of Bodenham's *Wits Theater of the little World*. A Robert Allot was one of the two publishers of the second Folio of Shakespeare's works (1632); but whether our compiler is to be identified with one or both of his namesakes is a question that it seems impossible to determine. The whole of the work bears on its face the signs of hasty execution, and the *Miscellanea* tells its own tale, that the compiler was in such haste that he had not the time at his disposal to digest what he had gathered. Of works used by Robert Allot which were not printed till 1600 we find the following: Dekkar's *Old Fortunatus*, Fairfax's *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, Middleton's *Legend of Humphrey*, Duke of Gloster, and Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour*.

*England's Parnassus* is rather a dictionary of quotations than an anthology, and in this respect it resembles *Wits Commonwealth*; *Wits Theater of the little World*, and *Belvedere*. The idea of ranging pregnant and sententious as well as choice specimens of diction under such headings as we find in these four works was not new in English literature when John Bodenham employed it in his first work, *Wits Commonwealth* (1597). In 1539, after the manner of his illustrious contemporary, Erasmus, Sir Thomas Elyot translated wise sayings from the great ancient writers, his collection being entitled "The Banket of Sapience gathered oute of dyuers and many godlye authores." He placed these sayings under the same kind of headings as are used in Bodenham's three books and in *England's Parnassus*, and each time he cited the name of his author. It was a popular work, and was reprinted in 1542, 1545, and 1557. Elyot's book was not unknown to Bodenham, seeing that he quotes from it several times in *Wits Commonwealth*, though he never acknowledges his debt to the English author, his references being to the writers named by Elyot. It seems more than likely that Bodenham copied the plan of his first work from *The Banket of Sapience*, which may therefore be indirectly responsible for the work compiled by Allot, who was the pupil of Bodenham. Crawford says of Robert Allot's *England's Parnassus* that it "is an honest book, but it was compiled by an incompetent man, who had the great disadvantage of having to contend with a careless printer who took no interest in his work. Allot's lack of clerical skill led him into many errors, and it disabled him when he attempted to clear them up. He seems only to have been on terms of personal friendship with a few of his authors, and beyond them to have had but few opportunities of consulting works that are not accessible to scholars now, or of obtaining information of a special or exclusive character."<sup>475</sup>

**Essex's Apologie** A letter written from Whyte to Sir R. Sydney on May 10th, 1600:<sup>476</sup> "An apology written by my Lord of Essex about the Peace is I hear printed on which his Lordship is very much troubled, and hath sent to my Lord of Canterbury, and others and to the Stationers to suppress them, for it is done without his knowledge or procurement, and he fears it may be ill taken, two are committed close prisoners; what they will disclose is not yet known. The Queen is offended that this Apology of Peace is printed for of 200 Copies only 8 is heard of; it is said

<sup>475</sup> Charles Crawford. *England's Parnassus Compiled by Robert Allot (1600)*, 1913

<sup>476</sup> *Calendar Domestic State Papers*, p. 149; May 13, 1600



that my Lady Rich's letter to her Majesty is also printed which is an exceeding wrong done to the Earl of Essex."

Essex was in despair, seeing the malignity of the move, and at once wrote to the Archbishop, as Press licencer, and the Stationers' Company to stop the sale, a process accomplished by May 28, as Chamberlain tells us. Essex had, however, on the 20th, written to the Queen in terms which tells us a secret hitherto known only to the spy at Liege: "I am subject to their wicked information that first envied me for my happiness in your favour, and now hate me out of custom, but as if I were thrown into a corner like a dead carcase I am gnawed on and torn by the vilest and basest creatures upon earth. Already they print me, and make me speak to the world, and shortly they will play me in what form they list upon the stage. The least of these is a thousand times worse than death." It is conjectured that Bacon had certainly printed the *Apologie* and Lady Rich's letter. Do the lines emphasized mean that Bacon had control of a theatre, and could cause a play to be written and acted upon the stage to Essex's prejudice? The inference when coupled with that from the Liege letter, seems hard to avoid. It must be remembered that the Earl was a popular favourite, and that for long afterwards all pamphlets in his defence were suppressed by Government. If this doubly vouched statement be correct, we have Bacon in command of the Globe Theatre, and in such authority there as to be able to risk its popularity with playgoers to serve him. In the autumn come the fines and ransoms of the prisoners, and from Catesby's fine of 4.000 marks, £1.200, payable by instalments, was assigned to Bacon by the Queen's order. He forthwith writes to his creditor Hicke promising to attend to him sometime this vacation, "which then ran on till November 2nd," four months' respite. Catesby's instalments could hardly be spread over less than six months, and in the spring of the next year comes that sudden flush of money to Shaksper, the Stratfordian actor, which Halliwell-Phillipps<sup>477</sup> is astonished at, and which Fleay passes unnoticed. Thorpe<sup>478</sup> offers this explanation: "My submission is that this money, say at least £600, was worried out of Bacon by Shaksper, who knew his debtor's only fetchable point, "the contempt of the contemptible," and traded upon that at the right moment, promptly putting the money away in a safe quarter where the shifty debtor could not get it back, however much he might try it on."

**Essex vs Elizabeth** Essex, if he did not despise the Queen, at least did not respect her. He boasts (in July 1596 according to Birch), to Francis Bacon that he knows how to manage her, and to Anthony Bacon, he avows his intention of doing the Queen good against her will. In the passage in which he describes to Anthony Bacon the necessity for thus "doing the Queen good" he compares himself to "a waterman looking oneway and rowing the other." It is therefore indisputable that whether it were Bacon's misfortune, or fault, or both, he was selected by the popular indignation as one of the prime causers of the Queen's indignation against Essex. (Abbott).<sup>479</sup>

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<sup>477</sup> Outlines, Vol. I., p. 240

<sup>478</sup> *The Hidden Lives of Shakespeare and Bacon*, 1897

<sup>479</sup> Abbott. *Bacon and Essex*, p. 159

**Essex vs Raleigh** To the Queen's birthday of this year, November 17, 1598 belongs an anecdote which shows what ingenuity Essex displayed in annoying his rival. As was the custom of the day, the leading Courtiers tilted at the ring in honour of her Majesty, and each Knight was required to appear in some disguise. It was known, however, that Sir Walter Raleigh would ride in his own uniform of orange-tawny medley, trimmed with black budge of lamb's wool. Essex, to vex him, came to the lists with a body-guard of two thousand retainers all dressed in orange-tawny, so that Raleigh and his men seemed only an insignificant division of Essex's splendid retinue. (Brandes).<sup>480</sup>

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**Faerie Queene** *The Faerie Queene* began in 1582, and published in 1590. The three first Books of the *Faerie Queene*, which (as the title page, and he himself, in his letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, informs us) was to have been disposed into Twelve Books, fashioning XII. Moral Virtues. That Volume has been usually called a Quarto; but, from the Printer's Signature, it is plainly an Octavo. On the Back of that title page in some copies (for it is not in all) is the following Dedication in capitals thus pointed: "To the most mighty and magnificent Empress Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queen of England, France and Ireland Defender of the Faith &c. Her most humble Servant: Ed. Spenser." To the end of the third book was annexed a letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, and seven copies of verses addressed to the author of the *Faerie Queene*, the two first by Sir Walter and the third, which is signed Hobynoll, by his Friend Mr. Gabriel Harvey who is everywhere distinguished, in the poet's works, by that name. Then follow the several copies addressed, by Spenser himself, to Sir Christopher Hatton, The Earl of Essex, The Earl of Oxenford, The Earl of Northumberland, The Earl of Ormond and Ossbry, The Lord Charles Howard, The Lord Grey of Wilton, Sir Walter Raleigh, The Lady Carew, and to all the gracious and beautiful Ladies in the Court. The two last copies fill the page 605, and there is added *Finis*: and on the back of that page (which is numbered page 606) are faults escaped in the print, which *Errata* take up only three fourths of the page, and the remainder is blank: and this, it should seem, was the whole of what the poet, at first, intended for that volume.

Hobbinol, a poet contributor, was Spenser's chief friend at the University, and was Gabriel Harvey of Trinity Hall, made Dr. of Law in 1585. This acquaintance is all we have to mention of Spenser at Cambridge: for the story of his (landing for a Fellowship, and being set aside, is so probably a mistake, that we must drop it. But Harvey was so amiable a man and so ingenious, that we cannot wonder at their intimacy, and at the very great deference Spenser pays to his judgment. Though there are many poetical things of this gentleman extant, yet we might be sure of his genius, if it were only from that beautiful poem of his under the name of Hobbinol before the *Faerie Queene*. He seems to have lived to 1630, and was probably then above seventy.<sup>481</sup> The

<sup>480</sup> Geo. Brandes. *William Shakespeare, A Critical Study*, p. 254

<sup>481</sup> Spenser. *Faerie Queene with notes*, by Ralph Church, Vol. I. 1758

Dedication to Sir Walter Raleigh is dated January 23, 1589. Raleigh in return praised the poem in two Sonnets. These, together with five other versified encomiums by “Hobynoll” [Gabriel Harvey], “R.S.,” “H.B.,” “W.L.,” and “Ignoto,” are prefixed to Spenser’s work.

**Father of experimental philosophy** This title has been oftener conferred upon Bacon than upon any other of its benefactors. (Napier). <sup>482</sup>

**Father of modern science** So was Bacon called; “but how is it that abilities like his, applying themselves to a practical object for so many years together with such eager interest and laborious industry, met with so little success? How is it that he did not succeed, if not in accomplishing, yet in putting in a way to be accomplished, or in persuading somebody to think capable of accomplishment, some part at least of the work which he had so much at heart? If the end was unattainable, how is it that he did not find that out? If he had mistaken the way, how is it that he did not himself discover the error as he proceeded? If he failed from not well understanding the use of some of the necessary implements, why did he not apply himself to learn the use of them, or seek help from those who did understand it? He may have neglected mechanics and mathematics in his youth because he did not then know their importance; but he could hardly have proceeded far in the attempt to weigh and measure and analyse the secret forces of nature, without finding the want, long before it was too late to commence the study of them. The only explanation is that Bacon’s deficiency lay in the intellect itself. It seems that there was one intellectual faculty in which he was comparatively weak, and that not being himself aware of the extent and importance of the defect, he miscalculated the amount of his own forces.” (Spedding).

**Feasts to Bacon’s honour** In June 1617 in Whitsun week, the Countess of Arundel made a grand feast at Highgate, <sup>483</sup> to Francis Bacon, the two Lords Justices, the Master of the Rolls [Sir Julius Caesar], and others. It was after the Italian manner with four courses and four tablecloths one under another; and when the first course and table-cloth were taken away, the Master of the Rolls, thinking all had been done, said grace, as his manner is when no Divines are present, and was afterwards well laughed at for his labour.

**First distemper of learning** Men have withdrawn themselves too much from the contemplation of nature and the observations of experience, and have tumbled up and down in their own reasons and conceits. As many substances in nature which are solid do putrefy and corrupt into worms, so it is the property of good and sound knowledge to putrefy into a number of subtle, idle, unwholesome and (as I may term them) vermiculate questions, which have indeed a kind of quickness and life of spirit, but no soundness of matter or goodness of quality. This kind of degenerate learning did chiefly reign amongst the schoolmen; who had sharp and strong wits, abundance of leisure, and small variety of reading; but their wits being shut up in the cells of a few authors (chiefly Aristotle,

<sup>482</sup> Napier. *Lord Bacon and Sir Walter Raleigh*, 1853

<sup>483</sup> Earl of Arundel’s house at Highgate that Bacon died in, April 19 1626

their dictator), as their persons were shut up in the cells of monasteries and Colleges, and knowing little history, either of nature or time, did, out of no great quantity of matter and infinite agitation of wit, spin out unto us those laborious webs of learning which are extant in their books. For the wit and mind of man, if it work upon matter, which is the contemplation of the creatures of God, worketh according to the stuff, and is limited thereby; but if it work upon itself, as the spider worketh his web, then it is endless, and brings forth cobwebs of learning, admirable for the fineness of thread and work, but of no substance or profit. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk I).

**Folio and its cost** It was a large and costly work, and, even though eventually profitable, must have required the advance of a large sum to print it. Where did this money come from? Three men, W. Jaggard, I. Smithweeke and W. Aspley, paid the expense of the publication, while only one man, Ed. Blount, was concerned in printing and expense both.

In Shakespeare's Will & Testament he makes kindly bequests to three of his fellow-actors, Richard Burbage, John Heminge, and Henry Condell. The two latter became his literary executors, and collected together 36 plays which form the First Folio. Blount and Jaggard, the printers of the folio, became also the proprietors, as shown by the entry in the Stationer's Registries in which they claim "Mr. William Shakspeer's Comedyes, Histories and Tragedyes soe many of said copies as are not formerly entered to other men." This remark refers of course to the quarto editions published during the previous 25 years. Burbage, Heminge and Condell were eminent as fellow-actors with Shakespeare, and in the same company. This First Folio is dedicated to the Earl of Pembroke and the Earl of Montgomery.

Heminge was probably born at Shottery, near Stratford-on-Avon, about 1556. He had duties connected with the King's Company of Players, formerly known as the Lord Chamberlain's men, and he is said to be the original performer of the part of Falstaif. Both of these actors made comfortable fortunes through their connection with the stage. It may not be out of place here to record that on the 27th December, 1905, Sir Sidney Lee relates the finding in the muniment room of the ancient House of the Duke of Rutland, a book of household expenses at Belvoir, kept by Francis, sixth Earl of Rutland, in which particulars are given of expenses incurred by the Earl in giving a commission to Mr. Shakespeare, and Richard Burbage, for the design of an armorial crest and motto. [Also see Part II: *Condell Henry; Heminge John*]

Where are the MSS., of Shakespeare's plays is the cry of these scribes who know full well what time, fire, carelessness, and other accidents can do to destroy such things. Let Dr. Beeching answer the question. "They have gone," he says, "to the same place as the MSS., of Marlowe, and Beaumont, and Fletcher, and Greene, and Peele, and Decker, and Drayton, and Chapman, and Ford. There survives, I believe, of all that treasure, which in our autograph hunting would be worth a King's ransom, one masque of Jonson, one play of Massinger, one of Heywood." <sup>484</sup>  
[Also see *Fortunes of Fire*]

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484 Edwin Durning-Lawrence. *The Bacon Craze*, 1912

Professor of English Literature in the University of Pennsylvania, Felix Schelling, was recognized as a high Shakespearean authority. He is, moreover, a man to whom any doubt as to the Stratfordian authorship of the plays is anathema. And this is what he tells us with regard to the preparation for publication of the Folio of 1623: "Neither Heminge nor Condell was a writer, and such a book ought to be properly introduced. In such a juncture there could be no choice. The best book of the hour demanded sponsorship by the greatest contemporary man of letters. Ben Jonson was the King's poet, the Laureate, the literary dictator of the age; and Jonson rose nobly to the task, penning not only the epigram 'To the Reader,' and his noble personal eulogium, but both the prose addresses of dedication. Of this matter there can be no question whatever and if anyone is troubled by the signatures of Heminge and Condell appended to two addresses which neither of them actually wrote, let him examine into his own conduct in the matter of circulars, resolutions, and other papers which he has had written by skilled competence for the appendage of his signature."

**Foreign Idioms** Several constructions in Bacon, Ascham, and Ben Jonson, such as "ill," for "ill men" (Latin *mali*), without all question seem to have been borrowed from Latin. It is questionable, however, whether there are many Latinisms in construction (Latinisms in the formation of words are of constant occurrence) in Shakespeare.

**Forgeries** The old forgeries printed by Mr. Collier as genuine were the documents from the Ellesmere (or Bridgewater House) and Dulwich College Libraries, a State Paper, and the latter additions to the Dulwich Letters. Peter Cunningham's *Revels at Court* (Shakespeare Society, 1842), are also printed from forgeries, though Halliwell says he has a transcript of some of the entries, made before Mr. Cunningham was born. Thus the following usually relied-on dates are forged: 1605: *Moor of Venus*, *Merry Wives*, *Measure for Measure*, *Errors*, *Love's Labours Lost*, *Henry V.*, *Merchant of Venice*. 1612: *Tempest*, *Winter's Tale*.

**Fortunes of Fire** If my fortunes be set on fire I will put it out not with water but with demolition. (Bacon *Adv.*, Bk II). The Great Fire of 1666 inflicted great loss upon the booksellers. Of this there is an interesting testimony in a little book entitled *Scriptures Self-Evident*.<sup>485</sup>

The late dreadful Fire, kindled by our God-provoking sins and abominations, transcending all our Forefathers, (after so many miracles of mercies and deliverances) within three days space turned no less than eighty-eight Parishes and Parish-Churches, with the Cathedral Church of the late great and glorious City of London, into heaps of ashes and rubbish, to the just horror and amazement of all spectators of their flames and ruins; which as it proved extremely prejudicial and destructive to most Companies of the City, yet none of them received so grand losses and damages by the devouring Conflagration as the Company of Stationers, most of whose

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<sup>485</sup> London, printed for Edward Brewster, and are to be sold at Mr. Marriotts a scrivener, over against Hicks-Hall in St. John's Street, 1667, p. 191

Habitations, Store-houses, Shops, together with all their Stocks, Books, bound and unbound, (by reason of their combustibleness, and difficulty to remove them) were not only consumed in a moment, but their ashes, and scorched leaves, carried with the violence of the wind in the air, were scattered in sundry places above 16 miles from the City, to the great admiration of the Beholders. Amongst other millions of Books thus suddenly consumed, this little Book suffered in the same kind; however, thou hast it now with many Additions. Reader, pray for the Author, and beg a blessing upon his endeavours for thy good.

Farewell.

This is followed by a list of the notable fires that preceded the Great Fire of London. *Scriptures Self-Evidence* belongs to the long controversy as to the “Only Rule of Faith,” and has escaped the notice of the bibliographers of the Papal Controversy of the seventeenth century. It is not in such a treatise that we should expect to find a curious bit of evidence as to the destruction of literature caused by the Fire of London. (Axon).

- 1595: The Spaniards raided the coast of Cornwall and burnt the church at St. Paul, when the registers perished in the conflagration.
- 1598 Oct.: Edmund Spencer’s castle in Kilcolman was burnt to cinders.
- 1613: The Globe Theatre fire burns acting manuscripts.
- On the January 16, 1618–19 Mr. Chamberlain wrote thus to Sir Dudley Carleton: “Since my last we have had a great mischance by fire at Whitehall, which beginning in the Banqueting House hath quite consumed it, and put the rest to great danger, but that there was so much help at hand, besides that which was sent out of London on all sides, and so good order taken by the presence of the Lord Chancellor [Bacon], the Duke of Lennox, and the Earl of Arundel, that all passed with as much quiet as was possible in such a confusion; and the fire, that was exceeding furious, kept from spreading further than the limits of that building, saving only, that the vehemence of the heat burnt down one of the rotten terraces or galleries adjoining, and took hold of the pulpit-place, which was soon quenched. One of the greatest losses spoken of is the burning of all or most of the writings and papers belonging to the offices of the Signet, Privy Seal, and Council Chamber, which were under it.”
- 1621 Dec. 15: In a letter written by John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton: “On Sunday night there was a great fire at the Fortune, in Golden Lane, the fayrest playhouse in this town. It was quite burnt downe in two hours and all their apparell and playbooks lost, whereby the poor companions are quite undone.” A new Fortune arose three years later on the site of the old one, namely in 1624. An improvement in the building was effected by constructing the house of brick. Allen possessed shares in the new theatre; otherwise he had no interest or responsibility in the undertaking.

- 1666 Sept.: The Great Fire of London was in direct line with the Bacon printing house turning all manuscripts to ash. Another Baconian house was burnt: Bergen House.
- 1676: The old register of Arborfield, Berkshire, was destroyed by a fire at the rectory. Those at Cottenham, Cambridgeshire, were burnt in a fire which consumed two-thirds of the town.
- 1678: Bacon's chambers, says Mr. Pearce, were in No. 1, Coney Court, which formerly stood on the site of the present row of buildings at the west side of Gray's Inn Square, adjoining the gardens. The whole of Coney Court was burnt down by a fire which occurred in the Inn.
- 1684 Bacon's Chambers at Gray's Inn, after Meautys took possession of them, burnt to the ground turning all manuscripts to ash.
- 1731 Cottonian Library caught fire turning manuscripts to ashes.
- 1780 Northumberland House burns manuscripts to ash.

**French Academy** D'Alembert, paraphrasing Francis Bacon, thus wrote in the Preface to his *Eloges*: "He who marries," says Bacon, 'gives hostages to fortune'; the man of letters who holds in respect or who aspires to the Academy gives hostages to decency." It is not merely a French National Institution; it has, to the extent to which the French language is the medium of cosmopolitan intercourse, some claims to have applied to it the term International.

About the year 1629, when Louis XIII., was King and Cardinal Richelieu his first Minister, a small circle of congenial spirits, to the number of nine gathered. They were:

1. Messieurs Godeau
2. Gombauld
3. Chapelain
4. Philippe Habert
5. Germain Habert (Abbe de Cerisy)
6. Conrart
7. Serisay
8. Malleville
9. Giry

They were all living in different parts of Paris, and agreed to meet once a week at the home of one of their number; but the common rendezvous was usually at Conrart's, which was centrally situated, and so most convenient for all. At these meetings, which were social and informal, sometimes followed by a collation or a promenade in company, all the news of the day, everything of interest, became the subject of discussion indeed, as all of the friends were men of letters, or interested in literary production, books and their authors naturally received a large share of their attention. Not only so, but when any of their own number was writing or had written anything,

it was the practice to read it before the company for the purpose of benefiting by the criticism of the others. Their rules as adopted, fifty in number, read as follows:

1. No person shall be received into the Academy who shall not be agreeable to Monseigneur the Protector, and of good morals, good reputation, good intelligence, and fitted for academical functions.
2. The Academy shall have a seal, by which shall be sealed in blue wax all acts despatched by its order; in which the face of Monseigneur the Cardinal Duke of Richelieu shall be engraved, with the words roundabout: *Armand, cardinal duc de Richelieu, protecteur de l'Academie françoise, etablie l'an mil six cent xxxv*, and a counter-seal, on which shall be represented a crown of laurel, with this legend: *a l'immortalite*; of which seals the impression may never be changed for any reason whatsoever.
3. There shall be three officers: A Director, a Chancellor, and a Secretary, of whom the two first shall be elected every two months, and the other shall not be changed.
4. In making this election, there shall be placed in a box as many white balls as there shall be Academicians in Paris; two of which shall be marked, one with one black spot and the other with two: of these the first shall designate the Director and the second the Chancellor.
5. In the absence of the Director the Chancellor shall preside at all the meetings, ordinary and extraordinary, and in the absence of the Chancellor, the Secretary.
6. The Chancellor shall have in keeping the seals of the Academy, to seal all the acts despatched.
7. The Secretary shall be elected by the votes of the Academicians, assembled to the number of twenty at least. He shall note the resolutions of all the meetings and keep a register of them, sign all the acts which may be granted by the Academy, and keep all the deeds and instruments concerning its institution, its function, and its interests, of which he shall not communicate anything to any person without the permission of the Society.<sup>486</sup>
8. At the beginning of the year there shall be made two lists of all the Academicians, which shall be signed by all the Officers, and carried to the registry offices of the Hotel du Roi and the Requetes du Palais, to be referred to when necessary.
9. If any Academician shall desire to have a testimonial from the Society, as evidence of membership, the Secretary shall furnish him with a certificate signed by him and sealed with the seal of the Academy.
10. The Society may neither receive nor depose an Academician, unless assembled to the number of twenty at least, who shall indicate their opinions by balls, of which each Academician shall have one white and one black; in case of a reception the number of white balls must exceed by four that of black; but, for deposition, the number of black balls must, on the contrary, exceed by four that of white.

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<sup>486</sup> *Compagnie* in the original: translated "Society," here and elsewhere, because in English this term more commonly designates a learned body



11. In all other matters, voting shall be oral and in turn, without interruption or jealousy, without noticing with heat or disrespect the judgment of any one, without saying more than necessary, and without repeating what shall have been said.
12. When the votes shall be equal, the matter shall be postponed for deliberation in another meeting.
13. If one of the Academicians shall commit any action unworthy of a man of honour, he shall be suspended or deposed, according to the importance of his fault.
14. When any one shall be received into the Society, he shall be exhorted, by whoever shall preside, to observe all the statutes of the Academy, and shall sign the act of his reception on the Secretary's register.
15. Whoever shall preside shall keep good order in the meetings as strictly and as civilly as possible, and in a manner fitting among equals.
16. He shall put all the questions which shall be brought forward in the meetings and announce the result, after having taken the opinions of all those present, in the order in which seated, beginning with whoever may be on his right, himself voting last.
17. The ordinary meetings shall be held every Monday in the places which shall be judged most convenient by the Directors, until it shall please the King to provide one, and shall begin at two o'clock afternoon precisely.
18. Nothing shall be decided in the meetings, unless composed of twelve Academicians at least, and one of the three Officers.
19. No member who may be in Paris shall be dispensed from attendance at the meetings, and especially at those treating of the reception or deposition of an Academician, or the approbation of a work, without legitimate excuse, which shall be made in the Society by one of the members present, at the request of whoever may not have been able to attend.
20. Persons not members of the Academy shall not be admitted to its meetings, ordinary or extraordinary, for any reason or on any pretext whatsoever.
21. There shall not be offered for deliberation any matter concerning religion; nevertheless, inasmuch as, in the works which shall be examined, it is impossible but that some proposition regarding that subject should be met with, as the noblest exercise of eloquence and the most useful discourse of the intelligence, there shall be nothing delivered on maxims of that nature; the Academy submitting always to the laws of the Church, in that which concerns things holy, the opinions and approbations which it shall give as to the terms and the form of the works solely.
22. Matters political and moral shall be treated in the Academy only in conformity with the authority of the Prince, the state of the government, and the laws of the realm.
23. Care shall be taken that there may not be employed in the works which shall be published under the name of the Academy or of an individual in the quality of Academician, any loose or licentious term, open to equivocal or evil interpretation.

24. The principal function of the Academy shall be to labour with all the care and diligence possible to give exact rules to our language and to render it capable of treating the arts and sciences.
25. The best authors of the French language shall be distributed among the Academicians for the purpose of noting the terms and phrases which may serve for general rules and of making a report of them to the Society, which shall judge of their utility and make use of them as necessary.
26. There shall be composed a Dictionary, a Grammar, a treatise on Rhetoric (*une Rhetorique*), and a treatise on Poesy (*une Poetique*), after the observations of the Academy.
27. Every day of ordinary meeting, one of the Academicians, in his turn, shall make an oration in prose, of which the delivery, by heart or by lecture, at his option, shall last a quarter of an hour or half an hour at the most, on any subject he may choose, not to begin until three o'clock. The rest of the time shall be employed in examining works which may be presented, or in labouring on the general compositions mentioned in the preceding article.
28. As soon as each of these orations shall have been delivered in the Academy, whoever presides shall name two Commissioners to examine it, who shall make their report upon it one month thereafter at the latest to the Society, which shall judge of their observations; and, in the month following, the author corrects those places which it shall have indicated, and, having communicated the corrections which it shall have made to its Commissioners, if they shall find them in accordance with the intentions of the Society, he shall place a copy of his oration in the hands of the Secretary, who shall issue to him the approbation thereof.
29. The same order shall be observed in the examination of the other works which shall be submitted to the judgment of the Academy, according to whose length whoever shall preside may name a greater number of Commissioners; and if any one of those he shall appoint alleges sufficient reason why he should be excused, another shall be named in his place.
30. The copy of the work which shall have been proposed for examination in the Academy, after having been read, shall be placed in the hands of the Secretary, for safe keeping; the author shall also deliver a copy to each of the Commissioners; and, when the composition shall have been approved, he shall deliver another, corrected, to the Secretary, who shall restore to him the first when handing him the act of approbation, which copy shall be signed by the Author, the Director, and the Secretary, for the justification of the Academy, if the work should be published in any other form than as approved.
31. The Commissioners shall make their report, within the time prescribed to them, of the work which they shall have examined, unless, for important reasons, they should demand an extension, which shall be accorded or refused, according to the merit of the excuse, at the judgment of the meeting.

32. The Commissioners shall not communicate to any one the compositions with which they shall have been entrusted, nor the observations, and shall not retain a copy of them on pain of deposition.
33. Those who shall have been appointed to examine a composition must, if they leave Paris, deliver it into the hands of the Secretary, with the remarks which they shall have made thereon; and if they should not have made any, the Academy shall name other Commissioners in their stead.
34. The remarks on the faults of a work shall be made with modesty and civility, and their correction suffered in the same spirit.
35. When a work shall have been approved by the Academy, the Secretary shall write the resolution thereof in his register, which shall be signed by the Director and the Chancellor.
36. The approbations which shall be delivered to the authors of works which shall have been examined in the Society shall be written on parchment, signed by the Officers, and sealed with the seal of the Academy.
37. All the approbations shall be given without eulogy, and conformably to the formulary which shall be inserted at the end of the present Statutes.<sup>487</sup>
38. To deliberate on the publication of a work by the Academy, the meeting shall consist of twenty Academicians at least, Officers included; and, if there should not be a majority of four, the question shall not be considered settled, but shall be again discussed in another meeting.
39. The approbations of personal works may be proposed in a meeting of twelve Academicians and one of the Officers, and a majority of one shall suffice to accord them.
40. No one may print the approbation which he shall have received from the Academy; but he may insert at the first or the last page of the printed work, by order of the French Academy. And, if he shall not have had the work examined in the Academy, or shall not have had its approbation, he may not indicate therein his quality of Academician.
41. Those who shall print compositions approved by the Academy may not change anything in them, after the approbation shall have been delivered, without the consent of the Society.
42. If the dedication or the preface of a book be reviewed in the Society without the rest, approbation shall only be given for that which shall have been examined, and the author may not place in the printed work his quality of Academician, although he may have the approbation of the Academy for a part of it.
43. The general rules which shall be made by the Academy, concerning the language, shall be followed by all members of the Society who shall write either in prose or in verse.
44. They shall also follow the rules which shall be made for orthography.

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<sup>487</sup> It is not given by Livet, but from the fact that an unvarying formula was used simple and without eulogium, says Pellisson it cannot have much stirred the emotions of the author who secured it. Formal, also, as was the certificate, he was forbidden to print it with the work approved

45. The Academy shall only judge the works of those of whom it is composed; and if it should be obliged for any reason to examine those of others, it will only give its opinion, without making any censure and also without giving approbation.
46. Should anything be written against the Academy, no one of the Academicians shall undertake to reply thereto or to publish anything in its defence, without being expressly so charged by the Society, assembled to the number of twenty at least.
47. It is expressly forbidden to all those who shall be received into the Academy to reveal anything concerning the correction, the refusal of approbation, or any other fact of that nature which may be important to the Society in general or to its individual members, under penalty of being expelled in disgrace without the hope of reinstatement.
48. The Academy shall choose a printer, to print the works which shall be published under its name and those of its members which it shall have approved; but as to those which members may desire to publish, without approbation and without the quality of Academician, it shall be open to them to employ any printer they please.
49. The printer shall be elected by the votes of the Academicians and shall make oath of fidelity to the Society before the Director or whoever shall preside.
50. He may not associate any person with him so far as it shall concern the works of the Academy, or those which it shall have approved, of which he shall print nothing but from the copy which shall be delivered to him under the sign manual of the Director or the Secretary, and it shall be forbidden him to change anything therein without the permission of the Society, under penalty of personally answering for the consequences, of reprinting it at his own expense, and of being declared fallen from the favour which shall have been accorded to him by the Academy.

**French Academy Members** The chief biographical data in the list that follows includes the early dated members of the Academy pertaining to Francis Bacon's era, 1560 to 1626. The figures immediately following the name give the years of birth and death and the year of election, the number in brackets, after this last date, preceded by A. (Academician), being the Academician's fauteuil or place number. In some instances in which the exact date of either election or reception is not ascertainable, it has been assumed that the known year for either is the same for both:

- Ablancourt, Nicolas Perrot d': 1606–1664; A. 1637 [2]. Translator of Greek and Latin classics chiefly historical.
- Balzac, Jean Louis Guez de: 1594(7)–1654; A. 1634 [19]. One of the fathers of modern French prose. Balzac's literary fame, great among contemporary men of letters, was founded largely on Letters (to Conrart, Chapelain, and others) and Dissertations (ethical, critical, and political). These were published in 2 volumes, in 1665 at the instance of Conrart.
- Bardin, Pierre: 1590–1637; A. 1634 [1]. Chief work: *Le grand chambellan de France*.
- Baro, Balthasar: d.1649 (?); A. 1634 [15]. Poet, dramatic author, and romance writer.

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- Baudouin (Baudoin), Jean: 1590(?)–1650; A. 1634 [16]. A voluminous writer, most of whose works are mediocre translations of ancient authors. Still consulted are: *Iconologie* (1636); *Recueil d'emblemes* (1638).
  - Bautru de Serrant (Seran), Guillaume: 1588–1665; A. 1634 [27]. Satirist and occasional poet.
  - Bazin de Bezons, Claude: 1617–1684; A. 1643 [7]. Dignitary of state. No literary record. Took the place of Chancellor Siguier in the Academy when the Chancellor became its protector.
  - Benserade, Isaac de: 1612(?)–1691; A. 1674 [37]. Dramatic author and poet. Translator, in rondeaux, of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* a failure. In high favour and repute at court, where for thirty years he composed verses for the King's ballets.
  - Boileau, Gilles: 1631–1669; 1659 [23]. Poet and translator. Brother of Despreaux. His work in prose included a translation of Epictetus and of Diogenes Laertius's *Lives of the Philosophers*; in poetry, his productions are preserved, or lost, in contemporary collections.
  - Boisrobert, Francois le Metel, Abbe de: 1592–1662; A. 1634 [26]. Author of theatrical pieces, poems, and romances. In the comedy *La belle plaideuse* he utilized the extraordinary incident of President de Bercy and his spendthrift son meeting each other as usurer and would-be borrower, thus anticipating Moliere's *l'Avare* on the same theme.
  - Boissat, Pierre de: 1603–1662; A. 1634 [25]. Poet, historian, moralist.
  - Bourzeys (Bourzeis), Abbe Amable de: 1606–1671; A. 1634 [35]. Voluminous writer on matters pertaining to the Catholic Church and faith.
  - Boyer, Abbe Claude: 1618–1698; A. 1666 [28]. Dramatic author. One of a group dubbed by Furetiere *Academiciens jetonniers, sans nom et sans autorite*.
  - Cauvigny-Colomby, Francois de; 1588–1648; A. 1634 [11]. Poet and prose writer. Translator, in part, of Tacitus' *Annals*.
  - Chapelain, Jean: 1595–1674; A. 1634 [37]. Author, poet, critic, of varied erudition. His name will be associated for all time with the early French Academy, which in the critical years of its infancy he did much to keep alive. One of the four original members of the Academy of Inscriptions. Works: *La Pucelle* (first 12 cantos published in 1666; last 12, at the hands of an enterprising bookseller, in 1882); *Lettres* (correspondence with the chief savants and men of letters of his time, preserved in the Bibliotheque Nationale): etc.
  - Colbert, Jean Baptiste: 1619–1683; A. 1667 [30]. Louis XIV's great minister. Patron of all the royal academies and creator of three of them: Inscriptions, Sciences, Architecture.
  - Colletet, Guillaume: 1598–1659; A. 1634 [23]. Poet and dramatist; one of the "Five Authors" so called, collaborators on occasion with Richelieu.
  - Conrart, Valentin: 1603–1675; A. 1634 [38]. The French Academy's first permanent secretary. A man of letters, who, however, published little, so giving occasion for Boileau's malicious line, *J'imite de Conrart le silence prudent*; but he left many volumes of MSS.,

portions of which have been given to the world. Conrart's most memorable literary production was the charter of the French Academy.

- Cordemoy, Geraud de: 1620–1684; A. 1675 [10]. Historian and philosopher; author of works on the early history of France, on the system of Descartes, on metaphysics, etc.
- Corneille, Pierre: 1606–1684; A. 1647 [9]. Dramatic author and poet. Besides being one of the quintette whom Richelieu employed to turn his scenarios into verse, he was known as the author of several comedies before the tragedy of *Le Cid* (1636) raised him to the heights of fame. Its phenomenal success, more than reputed oppression, probably made him cautious, for it is not until 1640 that he reappears on the scene with *Horace* and *Cinna*. There being some uncertainty as to the exact year of production of his next pieces, until 1646, it is with this understanding that the dates are appended to them in the following list of his subsequent works: *Polyeucte* (1642); *Pompee* (1643); *le Menteur* (comedy, 1643); *Theodore* (1645); *Suite du Menteur* (comedy, 1645); *Rodogune* (1646); *Heraclius* (1647); *Don Sanche d'Aragon* (tragi-comedy, 1650); *Nicomede* (1651); *Edipe* (1659); *Sertorius* (1662); *Sophonisbe* (1663); *Othon* (1664); *Attila* (1667); etc. Brunetiere, alluding to the wonderful flexibility of mind which enabled Corneille to apply himself by turns to comedy and severe tragedy, speaks of *Le Menteur* and *Suite du Menteur* as masterpieces.
- Desmarets (de Saint Sorlin), Jean: 1595–1676; A. 1634 [39]. A conventional poet and play writer until 1645, when his productions took on a marked religious tone. His *Comparaison de la langue et de la poesie frangaise avec la grecque et la latine, et des poetes grecs, latins et frangais* (1670), in which he asserted the superiority of the French language and of the Christian social organization over the ancient tongues and polities, is said to have started the long quarrel between the Ancients and Moderns.
- Estoile (Etoile), Claude de l': 1597–1651; A. 1634 [17]. Dramatic author and poet; one of the quintette of poets, called specifically the "Five Authors" who collaborated on occasion with Richelieu.
- Faret, Nicolas: 1596–1646; A. 1634 [8]. Historian, moralist, poet, translator. Works: *Histoire chronologique des Ottomans* (1621); *Histoire romaine* (1626, trans. of Eutropius); *l'Honnête homme, ou l'Art de plaire* (1630); etc.
- Furetiere, Antoine, Abbe de Chaligny: 1619–1688; A. 1662 [25]. Writer and lexicographer; author of romances, poems, fables. His famous Dictionary, the cause of his expulsion from the Academy (1685), was not published until after his death.
- Giry, Louis: 1596–1666; A. 1636 [28]. Author and translator.
- Godeau, Antoine: 1605–1672; A. 1634 [34]. Bishop of Grasse and Vence. Author in prose and verse, whose earlier literary essays were read before the Conrart coterie, the germ of the French Academy.
- Gombauld, Jean Ogier de: 1567–1666; A. 1634 [29]. Poet and prose writer. Works included romances, poems, Sonnets, plays, letters, epigrams.

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- Gomberville, Marin Le Roy de: 1600–1674; A. 1634 [36]. Man of letters. Singular works from a youthful pen were: *Tableau du bonheur de la vieillesse* (1614); *Discours des vertus et des vices de l'histoire* (1620) together with *Traite de l'origine des Francois*. Among works of his maturity were: *Polexandre* (1638–41, 5 vols. romance); *La Cythérée* (1640, 4 vols. romance); *Doctrine de mœurs* (1646).
  - Granier, Auger de Mauleon de: A. 1635 [5]. An ecclesiastic, dropped from the Academy's rolls in May, 1636, for malversation.
  - Habert, Germain, Abbe de Censy: 1615–1654; A. 1634 [21]. Poet and prose writer. Author of an essay (1636) on the multiplicity of languages, of which the purpose was to illustrate the utility of a universal language.
  - Habert, Philippe: 1605–1637; A. 1634 [3]. Poet and prose writer. Chief work: *Le temple de la mort* (1637).
  - Hay du Chastelet, Daniel, Abbe de Chambon: 1596–1671; A. 1635 [33]. Literary amateur.
  - Hay du Chastelet, Paul: 1592–1636; A. 1634 [2]. Historian and publicist.
  - La Chambre, Marin Cureaude: 1594(?)–1669; A. 1635 [31]. Physician to the King and writer. Chief literary work: *Characteres des passions* (1640–1662).
  - La Fontaine, Jean de: 1621–1695; A. 1684 [30]. Poet. Works: *Contes* (1655); *Fables* (1669); *Adonis* (1671); *Psyche* (1671); etc.
  - Méziriac, Claude Gaspard Bachet de: 1581–1638; A. 1634 [4]. Of considerable contemporary reputation as a linguist, mathematician, and poet hardly sustained by his published works.
  - Porcheres, Francois d'Arbaud de: 1590–1640; A. 1634 [6]. Poet and prose writer. So little is known of the two Porcheres that they are sometimes confounded.
  - Porcheres, Honorat Laugier de: d.1653; A. 1634 [20]. Poet.
  - Priézac, Daniel de: 1590–1662; A. 1639 [5]. Man of letters. Protege of Chancellor Seguier, by whom he was called to Paris from Bordeaux, where he was a doctor of law.
  - Saint Amant, Antoine Girard de: 1594–1661; A. 1634 [24]. Poet. A complete edition of his works was published in 1855 for Charles Livet.
  - Seguier, Pierre: 1588–1672; A. 1635 [7]. Keeper of the Seals and Chancellor of France; surrendered his place in the Academy at the end of 1642 to become Richelieu's successor as protector.
  - Serisay (Serizay), Jacques de: 1590–1653; A. 1634 [18]. A member of the Conrart coterie.
  - Servien, Abel: 1593–1659; A. 1634 [22]. Diplomatist and politician.
  - Silhon, Jean de: 1600(?)–1667; A. 1634 [30]. Writer on the immortality of the soul, human knowledge, politics, etc.
  - Sirmond, Jacques: 1559–1651; A. 1634 [13]. Writer; appointed King's historiographer by Richelieu in recognition of literary services of a controversial character.
  - Vaugelas, Claude Favre de: 1585–1650; A. 1634 [14]. According to Gaston Boissier *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15th July, 1909, art. Chamfort et l'Academie Franchise), the most illustrious of French grammarians. Works: *Remarques sur la langue françoise* (1647); etc.

**French writers** Du Bartas, Montaigne, and Rabelais are the only French writers whom Bacon quotes, though he perhaps alludes in one passage to the celebrated jurist D'Argentré and seems to have read Charron. Du Bartas' writings were held in great esteem by James I., he is quoted in *The True Law of Free Monarchies* and in a declaration against Vorstius, and is in both places termed the divine poet; a designation which perhaps refers merely to the nature of his subject. In the third book of the *Basilicon Doron* [King's Gift] he is particularly recommended to Prince Henry's studies. Cardinal du Perron's criticism on Du Bartas is that instead of calling the sun the King of Lights, he would prefer to call him the Duke of Candles. Bacon's reference to Du Bartas is in his *De Augmentis*, Bk. I.

**Funeral of the High and Mighty Prince Henry** Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwell and Wriothsley, Count Palatine of Chester, Earl of Garick, and late Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garters. Prince Henry, eldest son of King James I. Other Princes who died young, namely, Edward VI., Henry, Duke of Gloucester, brother to Charles II., and William Duke of Gloucester, son of the Prince and Princess of Denmark. It is remarkable, that James, who thought himself eclipsed by the splendour of his son's character, ordered that no mourning should be worn for him.<sup>488</sup>

The body of the said Prince being bowelled, embalmed and closed up in lead, there were four chambers hung with blacks, *viz.*, the guard chamber and presence with black cloth, the privy chamber with finest cloth, and that which was his Highness' bedchamber, with black velvet: in the midst whereof was set up a canopy of black velvet, balanced, and fringed; under which upon tressels the coffin with the body of the Prince was placed, covered with a large pall of black velvet, and adorned with cushions of his Arms. Upon the head of which coffin was laid a cushion of black velvet, and his Highness' cap and coronet set thereon, as also his robes of Estate, sword and rod of gold; and so it remained (being daily and nightly watched) until two or three days before his Highness' funeral. In which time every day, both morning and evening prayers were said in his presence or Privy Chamber, by his Chaplains, and his gentlemen and chief officers attendant there at.

Thursday before the funeral his princely body was brought forth of his bedchamber into his privy chamber. Friday, it was brought into his presence chamber and set under his cloth of Estate. Saturday, the fifth of December, about three of the clock in the afternoon it was removed into the Guard Chamber, where all his chief servants and officers being assembled, and the officer of Arms in their Coates, the corpse was solemnly carried into the chapel of that house, and placed under a canopy in the midst of the choir, the Bishop of Lichfield read the service, and the gentlemen of the King's chapel with the children thereof, sung divers excellent anthems, together with the organs, and other wind instruments, which likewise was performed the day following, being Sunday. Monday, the seventh of December, (the funeral day) the representation was laid upon the corpse, and both together put into an open chariot, and so proceeded as followeth:

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488 Ob. 6 Nov. 1612, Æt.18



Pursuance, in gowns, to the number of 140.

Gentlemen servants

Esquire servants

Knights servants

About 300 Baronets' servants

Barons' sons servants

Viscount sons servants

Earls' sons servants

Two l'armors and a fife, their drums covered with black clothe, and cushion of the Prince's Arms thereupon.

Pursuant of Arms.

The great standard of Prince Henry, being a Lyon crowned, standing on a chapeau, borne by Sir Jeba Nim, Knight and Baronet, the motto therein, *fax menta honesta gloria*.

Prince Henry his household servants, according to their several offices and degrees: with trades men and artificers that belonged unto his Highness.

*Trumpets.*

The Coronet of the Prince, being the three Feathers in a Crowner, with his Motto [?] *ire per altum*; born by Sir Roger Dallison, Knight and Baronet.

Barons' servants

Viscounts' servants

Earls' servants: as well English as strangers

About 360 The Duke of Lenox his servants

The Lord Chancellor's servants

Count Henry de Naban his servants

*Trumpets.*

A banner of the Earldom of Caritè, borne by Sir David Fowles.

A horse led by a Quirry of the Stable; the horse was covered with black clothe, and armed with cushions of that Earldom, haling his chiffons and plumes.

Archbishops' servants

About 80 Divine Palatine his servants

Prince Charles his servants

Blue-mantle performance of Arms.

A banner of the Earldom of Chester, borne by the Lord Howard of Essingham.

A horse led by a Quirry of the Stable covered with black clothe, and armed with cushions of the Earldom, his chiffons and plumes.

Falconer and huntsmen

Clerks of the Works

Clerks of the Poultry

Clerks of the Bursary

Clerks of the Lards

About 40 Clerks of the Spicery

Clerks of the Kitchen

Clerks of the Cellary

Clerks of the Stable

Clerks of the Wardrobe

Mr. of the Works

Pages and Clerks Comptroller

Servants of the Vestry

Children of the Chapel

About 60 Gentlemen of the Chapel in rich copes

Musicians

Apothecaries and Surgeons

6 Doctors and Physic

14 The Prince's Chaplains

Portcullis of Arms

A banner of the Dukedom of Rothsay, borne by the Lord Bruse, Baron of Kinlosse.

A horse led by a Quirry of the Stable, covered with black clothe, and armed with cushions of that  
Dukedom, his chiffons and plumes.

Pages of the chamber

Gentlemen, the Prince's servants extraordinary

The Prince's Solicitor, and Counsel at Law

Groom porter

About 80 Gentlemen ushers, quarter waiters

Grooms of the Privy Chamber extraordinary

Grooms of the Privy Chamber in ordinary

Grooms of the bedchamber

Pages of the bedchamber, and the Prince's own page

Rouge Dragon Pursuant.

A banner of the Dukedom of Cornwall, borne by the Lord Clifford.

A horse led by Mr. Henry Alexander, covered with black clothe, and armed with cushion of that  
Dukedom, his chiffons and plumes.

Count Henrique's Gentlemen

Count Palatine's Gentlemen *viz.*

Monsieur Eliz.

Monsieur Helmstadt.

Monsieur Colbe.

Monsieur Beneser.

Monsieur Adolshein.

Monsieur Nemsdin.

Monsieur Walbren.

Monsieur Waldgrass.

About 146 Monsieur Factes.

Monsieur Carden.

Monsieur Berlinger.

Monsieur Grerode.

Monsieur Cawlt.

Monsieur Stensels.

Monsieur Ridzell.

Monsieur Helinger.

Monsieur Hembell.

Monsieur Auckensten.

Monsieur Gellu.

Monsieur Wallyne.

Monsieur Pelinger.

Monsieur Berlipps.

Monsieur Sbolt.

Monsieur Weldensten.

Monsieur Croidsemere.

Monsieur Datbenes.

Monsieur Colbe.

Monsieur Rampf.

Monsieur Dawnsier.

Monsieur Meier.

Monsieur Wanebach.

Prince Charles his gentlemen

Gentlemen of Prince Henry's Privy chamber extraordinary

Knights and Gentlemen of his Highness's Privy Chamber in ordinary, and of his bedchamber

The Prince's his Secretary

The Prince's his threforer of his household. The threforer of his revenues, and the Comptroller of his household together, bearing their white staves.

Roug-Croix Persuants of Arms

A banner of the Prince's Principality of Scotland, with the label, borne by the Viscount Fenton.

A horse led by Sir. Sigimond Alexander, covered with black clothe, and armed with cushions of that Kingdom, his chiffons and plumes.

Baronets.

Barons' younger sons.

Sir Edward Phillips, Mr. of the Roles, being the Prince his Chancellor, going alone.

Knights Privy Counsellors to the King *viz.*

Sir John Herbert, Secretary.

Sir Julius Caesar Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Sir Thomas Parry, Chancellor of the Duchie of Lancaster.

Barons' eldest sons.

*Three Trumpets.*

Lancaster Herald.

A banner of England, France, and Ireland, quartered with Wales, borne by the Viscount Lisle.

A horse led by Sir. William Webb, Knight, covered with black clothe, his chiffons and plumes.

Earls' younger sons.

Viscounts' eldest sons.

Barons of Scotland.

Barons of England *viz.*

Lord Kneuit, Lord Candish, Lord Arundell, Lord Carewe.

Of Warder:

Lord Stanhop, Lord Denny, Lord Spencer, Lord Garrad, Lord Danvers, Lord Harrington, Lord Peters, Lord Russel, Lord Wotton, Lord Knowles, Lord Norris, Lord Compton, Lord Hansden, Lord Chandes, Lord Northe, Lord Darcy of Chich, Lord Sheffield, Lord Rich, Lord Wherton, Lord Evers, Lord Wentworth, Lord Windesor, Lord Mounteagle, Lord Dudley, Lord Stafford, Lord Dacres, Lord Morley, Lord Lawere, The Bishop of Rochester, The Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield.

Bishops 5 The Bishop of Ely, The Bishop of Oxford, The Bishop of London, The Earl of Extester.

The Prince his Chamberlain, Sir Thomas Chalancer, alone, bearing his white Staff.

The Lord Chancellor, and Count Henricke.

The Archbishop of Canterbury: Preacher.

The great embroidered banner of the Union, borne by the Earls of Montgomery and Argyle.

A horse led, called *Le Cheual de deul*, covered with black velvet, and led by a Chief Quirry.

Monsieur Sant Antoin.

The Prince his Hatchments of Honour, carried by Officers of Arms, *viz.*

The Spurs, by Windsor

The Gauntlets, by Somerset

The Helm and Crest, by Richmond

The Targe, by Yorke

The Sword, by Norroy, King of Arms

The Coat, by Clarencieux, King of Arms

Three Gentlemen ushers to the Prince, bearing their wands

The corpse of the Prince, lying in an open chariot, with the Prince's representation thereon, invested with his Robes of Estate of purple velvet, surged with ermines, his Highness's Cap and Coronet on his head, and his rod of Gould in his hand, and at his feet, within the said Chariot, sat Sir David Murrey, the Master of his Wardrobe.

The Chariot was covered with black velvet, set with plumes of black feathers and drawn by six horses covered, and armed with cushions having the chiffons and plumes.

A canopy of black velvet borne over the representation of six Baronets.

Ten Banerolls, borne about the body by ten Baronets.

Sir Moyle Finch, Sir Anthony Cope, Sir Thomas Mounson, Sir George Gresley, Sir John Wentworth, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Henry Seville, Sir Lewis Tresham, Sir Thomas Bredwell, Sir Phillip Tiruit.

Four assistants to the Corps, that bore up the corners of the pall. *viz.*

The Lord Zouch

The Lord Abergaueny

The Lord Burghley

The Lord Walden

William Seger, Garter, principal King of Arms, between the Gentleman-Usher of Prince Charles, and the Gentleman-Usher of the Prince Palatine.

Prince Charles chief mourner, supported by the Lord Privy Seal, and the Duke of Lenox.

His Highness' train was borne by the Lord Dawbury, brother to the Duke of Lenox.

Then followed the Prince Elector, Frederick, Count Palatine of the Rhin.

His Highness' train was borne by Monsieur Shamburgh.

Twelve Earls' assistants to the chief mourner. *viz.*

Earl of Nottingham, Earl of Suffolke, Earl of Shrewsbury, Earl of Worcester, Earl of Rutland, Earl of Sussex, Earl of Southampton, Earl of Pembroke, Earl of Hertford, Earl of Essex, Earl of Dorset, Earl of Salisbury.

Attendants on Count Palatine.

Count Wigensten

Count Lewis de Nassau

Count Leuinesten

Count Hodenlo

Count Ringrave

Count Erback

Count Nassaw, Scarburg

Count Le Hanow, Junior

Count Isabersh

Count Holmes

Pages.

Count Zerotin

The Horse of Estate, led by Sir Robert Douglas, Master of the Prince Horse.

The Falzgreaves Privy Councillors, *viz.*

The Count of Solmes

Monsieur Shewburgh

Monsieur de Plesham

Monsieur Helmeitedt

Monsieur Shouburgh, Junior

Monsieur Landshat

Officers and grooms of Prince Henry's stable.

The Guard.

The Knight Marshall, and twenty servants that kept order in the proceeding.

Divers Knights and Gentlemen, the King's servants that came in voluntary in blacks. So that the whole number amounted to 2.000 or thereabout.

Henry, eldest son of the King of Great Britain, late of blessed hope, now of happy memory, died on November 6, 1612. He died to the great grief and regret of the whole Kingdom, as being a youth who had neither offended men's minds nor satiated them. The goodness of his disposition had awakened manifold hopes among numbers of all ranks, nor had he lived long enough to disappoint them. Moreover, as among the people generally he had the reputation of being firm in the cause of religion; so the wider sort were deeply impressed with the feeling that he had been to his father as a guard and shield against the machinations of conspirators, a mischief for which our age has hardly found a remedy; so that the love of the people both for religion and for the King overflowed upon him, and was rightly taken into account in estimating his loss. In body he was strong and erect, of middle height, his limbs gracefully put together, his gait King like, his face long and somewhat lean, his habit rather full, his countenance composed, and the motion of his eyes rather sedate than powerful. His forehead bore marks of severity; his mouth had a touch of pride. And yet when one penetrate beyond those outworks, and soothed him with due attention and seasonable discourse, one found him gentle and easy to deal with; so that he seemed quite another man in conversation than his aspect promised; and altogether he was one who might easily get himself a reputation at variance with his manners.

Of praise and glory he was doubtless covetous; and was stirred with every show of good and every breath of honour: which in a young man goes of virtues. For both arms and military men were in honour with him; nor was he himself without something of a warlike spirit; he was given also to magnificence of works, though otherwise frugal enough of money; he was fond of antiquity and arts: and a favourer of learning, though rather in the honour he paid it than the time he spent upon it. In his morals there was nothing more to be praised than that in every kind of duty

he seemed to be well trained and conformable. He was a wonderfully obedient son to the King his father, very attentive also to the Queen, kind to his brother; but his sister he specially loved; whom also he resembled in countenance, as far as a man's face can be compared with that of a very beautiful girl. The master and tutors of his youth also (which rarely happens) continued in great favour with him, in discourse, as he exacted respect from others, so he observed it himself and finally in his daily way of life, and the assignation of several hours for its several duties, he was constant and regular above the habit of his years. He died in the nineteenth year of his age of a malignant fever, which-springing from the great heats and droughts, greater than islanders are accustomed to, was very general among the people during the summer, though few died of it; but became towards autumn more fatal. Rumours, ever more malignant (as Tacitus says) upon the deaths of Princes, suggested poison. But as no symptoms of such a thing appears, especially in the stomach which is commonly most affected by poison, that report soon died away. (Birch). <sup>489</sup>

But now, whether the continual violences of his exercises, or too frequent eating of abundance of grapes and other fruits, or some settled melancholy engendered by some unknown causes, I cannot determine, yet did he look still more pale and thin, from day to day, complaining now and then of a cold lazy drowsiness in his head, which, as I think, moved him many times to ask questions of divers about him, concerning the quality, cure, and nature of the fever, called, for the strange diversity, the New Disease; belike, fearing some such like thing by his indisposition. He often used before this now and then, and in his sickness, to sigh often, whereof being sometimes demanded the cause by his Physician Dr. Hammond, and others near him, he would sometimes reply, that he knew not, sometimes that they came unawares, and sometimes also that they were not without cause.

At the beginning of October 1612, Prince Henry's continual headache, laziness, and indisposition increasing, which notwithstanding because of the time he strove mightily to conceal, whereas often before he used to rise early in the morning to walk the fields, he did go to bed almost every morning until nine o'clock, complaining of his laziness, and that he knew not the cause; during which time, belike jealous of himself, he would many mornings before his rising ask the grooms of his Bed-chamber, "How do I look this morning?" And at other times the same question again; which they, fearing no danger, to make his Highness laugh, would put off with one jest or other. But he still continuing ill, on October 10, he had two small fits of an ague, forcing him to keep his chamber; which his Highness finding, had some speech with Dr. Hammond his Physician, willing belike to have taken some strong physique, the sooner to have removed the cause. But he not daring to be too bold with his Highness, without a further consent, did only give unto him a softening glisten, which had its own good effects. On October 13, he having, as was thought, taken cold, was seized with a diarrhea; yet on the morrow he finding himself, as he said, reasonably well, because of the Palsgrave's coming, he hasted from thence to Saint James', whereupon he gave order, and would needs remove on Thursday the 15th, notwithstanding any persuasions whatsoever to the contrary.

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489 Thomas Birch. *Bacon's Works*, 1763

To Saint James' he came, seeming well, but that he looked pale and ill, so that sundry did speak suspiciously of his looks, fearing some distemper in his body; yet so strong was his mind, that, complaining of nothing, he did bear out the matter very bravely in show, being so well that he gave his Physician, who had waited a long time, leave to go home to his house. Meanwhile his indisposition still continuing and increasing, there might have been perceived in him a sudden great change; for he began to be displeased almost with everything, exceeding curious in all things, yet not regarding, but looking as it were with the eyes of a stranger upon them; for sundry things showed him, which before he wanted to talk of, ask questions, and view curiously, he now scarce vouchsafed to look upon, turning them away with the back of his hand, and departing, as who would say, I take pleasure in nothing. Yet was he wonderfully busy in providing, and giving order for everything belonging to his care, for his Sister's Marriage, advancing the same by all means possible, keeping also his Highness the Palsgrave company, so much as conveniently he could, together with Count Henry, his Excellency Grave Maurice his brother, whom he also much honoured and esteemed, belike because of a noble and heroic disposition which he saw in him fitting his humour, with whom he used to play often at cards and tennis,<sup>490</sup> delighting much in his company; and, above all the rest, one great match they had at tennis on Saturday October 24, the day before his last sickness, where his undaunted courage, negligently, carelessly, and willfully (neither considering the former weak estate of his body, danger, nor coldness of the season), as though his body had been of brass, did play in his shirt, as if it had been in the heat of summer; during which time he looked so wonderful ill and pale, that all the beholders took notice thereof, muttering to one another what they feared; but he, the match being ended, carried himself so well as if there was no such matter, having all this while a reasonable good stomach to meat; yet this night, at his going to bed, complaining more than usual of his laziness and headache.

On Sunday morning, October 25, 1612 the morrow after his Highness' violent play at tennis, it was told him, (the custom of the house being to have the Sermon betimes in the morning, for the most part where the Court lay so near, because he used after his own to hear the King's also,) that Master Wilkinson, one of his Father's Chaplains was ready and did present his service to preach that morning if it pleased his Highness to hear him; which he no sooner heard, but, contrary to his late usual custom of long time, although that morning he found himself somewhat drowsy and ill, addressed himself to be made ready; for he wonderfully delighted to hear the said Mr. Wilkinson, ever since the time, long before, in which he heard him preach a Sermon of Judgment, which he did so well like of that many times he did speak of the same, affirming it to have been so excellent that he in a manner did show them the same. Long it was not ere his Highness was ready and gone to the Chapel to hear him.

Sermon being ended, his Highness did commend the same, being very attentive all the time thereof; presently thereafter going into Whitehall, where he also did hear another Sermon with

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490 Tennis and Pike had always been the Prince's most favourite amusements



the King his Father; which being also done, to dinner they went, his Highness in outward appearance eating with a reasonable good stomach, yet looking exceeding ill and pale, with hollow ghastly dead eyes perceived of a great many. After dinner, for all his great courage and strife to over-master the greatness of his evil, dissembling the same, the Conqueror of all, about three a clock in the afternoon, began to skirmish with a sudden sickness and faintness of the heart, usual unto him, whereupon followed shortly after a shaking, with great heat and headache, which from henceforth never left him. His Highness finding himself thus suddenly taken, was forced to take his leave, departing home unto his bed; where being laid he found himself very ill, remaining all this evening in an agony, having a great drought, which after this could never be quenched but with death; his eyes also being so dim that they were not able to endure the light of a candle. This night he rested ill.

The second day, his Highness finding intermission, which continued all that day, did arise, and put on his clothes, playing at cards that day, and the next also, with his Brother the Duke of York and Count Henry. Meanwhile there were many messages sent from the Court and everywhere else, to know how things went, all which, no person surmising the least danger, were answered with good hopes; yet his Highness for all this looked ill and pale, spoke hollow, and somewhat strangely, with dead sunk eyes, his dryness of mouth and great thirst continuing. This night resting quietly. On Tuesday the 27th, the third day of his sickness, he found some ease in the morning; so that all were in good hope that it would have proved but some tertian, or bastard tertian at the most, notwithstanding that his Highness' ghastly rowling uncoath looks did put them in some fear. This day his Majesty did send Master Nasmith, his Surgeon, to attend his Highness during his sickness; unto whom, and divers others conferring of his Highness' sickness and the danger of the same, Doctor Mayerne <sup>491</sup> (his Majesty's chief Physician) did say, that, in his judgment, the surest way for his Highness' safety was bleeding. But his opinion not being allowed of the rest, there was as yet no consultation for blood-letting, nor any inclination that ways. This morning he did rise and put on his clothes; but his fit coming about none, first with

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<sup>491</sup> This eminent Physician, son of Louis de Mayerne, author of a *General History of Spain* and of the *Monarchic aristo-democratique*, dedicated to the States General, was born at Geneva in 1572, and had for his god-father Theodore Beza. His religion only had prevented his being appointed Physician to Henry the Fourth of France. He first visited England in 1607, having had under his care an Englishman of quality, who on his recovery brought him to this country. He then had a private conference with James, but returned to Paris, and remained there till the assassination of Henry IV., in May 1610. It was in the following year, only the preceding one to the present, that the King had caused him to be invited by his Ambassador, to become First Physician to himself and the Queen, in which capacity he continued to James, Charles the First, and Charles the Second, (though under the latter his office was merely nominal,) till his death in 1655. He was admitted Doctor at both Universities, and into the College of Physicians. His opinion on the present occasion respecting bleeding appears to have been confirmed by the melancholy event; but he incurred some obloquy at the time, which should rather have fallen on Dr. Butler. Dr. Mayerne's conduct, however, obtained the approbation of the King and Council, of which certificates, couched in the most satisfactory terms, were given him. He was knighted by the King, July 14, 1624 and was a particular favourite of Queen Henrietta Maria

a cold, then with a great heat, without any sweat, continuing until eight at night, he was forced to go to bed again. This night resting quietly.

On Wednesday the 28th, and fourth day of his sickness, in the morning came Master Butler,<sup>492</sup> the famous Physician of Cambridge, a marvelous great scholar, and of long practice and singular judgment, but withal very humorous; who, whatsoever he thought, comforting him with good hopes that he would shortly recover and that there was no danger, yet secretly unto others did not let to speak doubtfully, as they say his humour is, that he could not tell what to make of it, and that he did not well like of the same;<sup>493</sup> adding further, that if he did recover, he was likely to lie by it for a great while, with divers other like speeches; neither could he be persuaded all the time of his Highness' sickness to stay any longer with him than one hour or thereabouts every morning, and so in the afternoon to give his counsel and advice with the rest. What moved him I know not; whether he did mislike the French Doctor's company, [Mayerne] or because the cure was not committed to him as chief, or being jealous and misliking his Highness' disease, and therefore loved not to meddle too much in the cure, which I rather imagine, or whether his health or humour impeached the same, I dare not judge, the curious may best learn from himself; yet having at his coming enquired what was done, he approved the same, and wished the continuance of the same proceedings until a further judgment might be given of the same event. Yet did his Highness find small or no ease, but his fever as yet not being continual, he did rise and put on his clothes, they all as yet conceiving reasonable good hopes.

On Thursday the 29th, and fifth day of his sickness, hopes began a little to diminish; howbeit that morning his headache was somewhat lessened, his breath also, which before was short, being longer, which moved him to put on his clothes, endeavouring to rise as he had done before; but his head being so giddy that he was not able to stand alone, he was forced to betake him to his bed again; from henceforth ever keeping his bed. This evening there appeared a fatal sign, about two hours or more within the night, bearing the colours and show of a rainbow,<sup>494</sup> which hung directly cross and over Saint James' House. It was first perceived about seven a clock at night, which I myself did see, which divers others looking thereupon with admiration, continuing until past bed-time, being no more seen. This night was unquiet, and he rested ill.

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<sup>492</sup> Master William Butler, one of the greatest Physicians and most capricious humourists of his time, was Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge, and afterwards settled in that town. Among the many droll stories told of him, is one of Aubrey's, that when he was once sent for to King James at Newmarket, he suddenly turned back to go home, and the messenger was forced to drive him before him. He died in 1618, aged 82. His sagacity in judging of distempers was very great, and his method of cure was sometimes as extraordinary; he was bold and singular in his practice, and the oddity of his manners gave him a very great character among the vulgar, who conceived that he must possess very extraordinary abilities

<sup>493</sup> Butler is said to have made an unfavourable prognostic at first sight from the Prince's cadaverous look

<sup>494</sup> A lunar rainbow. The dread of these meteorological phenomena, as presaging the death of Princes and desolation of Kingdoms, was deeply impressed upon the wisest men of the time; the Poets on Prince Henry's death, as may be imagined, did not forget to allude to so poetical an assistant as this rainbow

On the seventh day, nature, as the day before, though not in quantity, did, as was said, show the necessity of bleeding; for which cause, it was with more instance again propounded and urged than ever, as the only means, under God, to save his Highness. At length, after much ado pro and contra, Doctor Mayerne urging and Master Butler chiefly withstanding the same, mistaking the first beginning of his Highness' sickness; in the end the three Doctors, Mayerne, Hammond, and Butler, did agree, that on the morrow, being Sunday, the eighth broken and the seventh whole day of his last sickness, a vein should be opened; all this while, until the bleeding was past, they conceived good hope of his recovery, yet he remained dangerously ill. You must imagine that all this while of his sickness the whole world did almost every hour send unto Saint James' for news; the better sort, who were admitted to visit him, or acquainted with those near unto him, knowing the danger, the rest fearing nothing, imagining only to have been some common tertian, for which cause in many places near unto the City he was thought dead and gone, before they knew that he was dangerously sick. This night was more cruel and unquiet unto him than any other.

On Sunday November 1st, and the eighth day of his sickness, according to their former agreement, after much ado, Master Butler resisting to consent that he should be let blood, because, as he said, it was the eighth day, preferring to have left them, until he was forced to stay and give his consent; Dr. Hammond and others proving unto him that it was not the eighth day, his Highness being ill of a long time before, howsoever he strangely, with a wonderful courage and patience, concealed the same. His Highness being still, after one, in the presence of the foresaid Doctors and divers others of very good worth, was drawn out of the median of his right arm, seven or eight ounces of blood; during which time he fainted not, bleeding well and abundantly, desiring and calling to them to take more, as they were about to stop the same, finding some ease as it were upon the instant. This day after his bleeding he found great ease; and in the afternoon he was visited by his Royal Father, Mother, Brother, Sister, the Palsgrave, with others of the Court; all which conceiving good hopes departed from thence reasonably cheerful. Yet that night, though better than others, he passed unquietly.

On Monday, November 2nd, the ninth day, Doctor Atkins,<sup>495</sup> a Physician of London, famous for his practice, honesty, and learning, was sent by his Majesty to assist the rest in the cure; whose opinion, as they said, was that his Highness' disease was a corrupt putrid fever. This day and the next he was visited by the King his Father, and others of the Court, whose exceeding sorrow I cannot express; yet were they still fed with some good small hopes of his recovery. At this while, although he grew worse and worse, yet none discouraged him with any speech of death, so loath were they to think of his departure, he himself being so tormented with this and the next day's sickness that he could not think thereof; or, if he had, yet the Physicians' courage and hope of life, which good opinion, (his unspeakable patience not any way complaining, so that he could not have been known to be sick

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<sup>495</sup> Dr. Atkins had attended the Earl of Salisbury during his fatal illness. He died at his house in Warwick-court, near Warwick-lane, September 22, 1634

but by his looks,) moved them to conceive, telling him there was no danger, dashed the same. This night came upon him greater alienations of brain, ravings, and idle speeches out of purpose, calling for his clothes and his rapier, &c., saying, he must be gone, he would not stay, and I know not what else, to the great grief of all that heard him, whose hopes now began to vanish.

On Tuesday, November 3rd, and the tenth of his sickness, he became worse than before, all his former accidents increasing exceedingly, his bounding being turned into convulsions, his raving and benumbing becoming greater, the fever more violent; whereupon bleeding was again proposed by Dr. Mayerne and the favourers thereof, who still affirmed that he did mislike the too sparing proceeding with his Highness; alleging, that in this case of extremity, they must, if they mean to save his life, proceed in the cure, as though it were to some mean person, forgetting him to be a Prince whom they had now in hand, otherwise he said, for ought he saw, because he was a Prince he must die, but if he were a mean person he might be saved. This day, for easing of the extreme pain of his head, the hair was shaven away, and pigeons and cupping glasses applied to lessen and draw away the humour and that superfluous blood from the head, which he endured with wonderful and admirable patience, as though he had been insensible of pain; yet all without any good, save perhaps some small seeming hope of comfort for the present. Now began the pilots who guided this frail barque of his Highness' body almost to despair to escape the ensuing tempests; some of whose looks did now more than ever discourage the rest. For this night he became very weak, the fever augmenting, the raving becoming worse than ever, in which he began to toss and tumble, to sing in his sleep, proffering to have leaped out of the bed, gathering the sheets together, the convulsions being more violent.

On the following (the eleventh day) a cock was cloven by the back, and applied unto the soles of his feet, but in vain; the cordials also were redoubled in number and quantity, but without any profit. This afternoon his Majestic hearing of his undoubted danger, although more sober than at other times, came to see him; but being advertised how matters went, and were likely to go, and what addition of grief it would be unto him to see his best-beloved Son in that extremity, he was at last persuaded to depart without visitation; yet giving order and command before his departure, that from thenceforth, because his Highness was continually molested with a number which out of their love came to visit him, no creature should be admitted to see him, save those who of necessity must tend upon him, until the event and issue of his disease was seen, which was accordingly done; his Highness, for his more ease, being removed into another longer and quieter chamber.<sup>496</sup> But now all things appearing to be out of frame and confusedly evil, without hope of amendment, whereof the Archbishop of Canterbury hearing he made so much the more haste unto his Highness, when, after some discourse fitting that time, seeing so much care to be taken for the mortal body, the immortal soul being neglected, he asked his Highness whether there had been any prayers said in

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<sup>496</sup> Just over this chamber, wherein he died, did the fatal rainbow afore-mentioned hang, as Doctor Mayerne observed

his chamber since his sickness, or no? To whom he answered that there had not, alleging the cause to have been the continual toile of the Doctors, Apothecaries, and Surgeons about him; and further, that until now, he was not put in mind thereof; but that for all that he had not failed to pray quietly by himself; which his answer pleasing them well, the Archbishop again demanded, if his Highness would now from thenceforth be contented to have prayers said in his chamber, which he willingly assented unto, asking which of his Chaplains were there present; amongst whom finding that Doctor Milbourne,<sup>497</sup> Dean of Rochester, was then present, he willed the said Dean to be called, as being one whom for his learning, good carriage, and profitable preaching, above all the rest he ever affected and respected. The Archbishop meanwhile, not willing too much to disquiet his Highness, called for to say prayers that evening at his Highness' bed-side, where speaking somewhat low, fearing to offend his distempered ears, his Highness willed him to speak aloud, thereafter repeating the confession of his faith word by word after him; from henceforth the foresaid Dean continued to pray daily with him at his bed-side until his departure. This night was unquiet as the rest.

On Thursday morning, November 5, and the twelfth of his sickness, news was sent to his Majesty of the undoubted danger, and that there now remained no hopes or means of his Highness' recovery, but with desperate and dangerous attempts; which his Majesty considering gave leave and absolute power to Doctor Mayerne, his chief Physician, to do what he would of himself without advice of the rest, if in such an extremity it were possible to do anything for his Highness' safety; but he, weighing the greatness of the care and eminency of the danger, would not for all that adventure to do anything of himself, without advise of the rest, which headways took, saying, it should never be said in after ages that he had killed the King's eldest Son.<sup>498</sup> His Majesty meanwhile, whose sorrow no tongue can express, not willing nor being able to stay so near the gates of so extreme sorrow, more like a dead than a living man, full of most wonderful heaviness removed to Theobalds, there to expect the doleful event. Meanwhile, amongst the Doctors Mayerne, Hammond, Butler, and Atkins, bleeding was now the third time proposed; but the rest of the counsel misliking this advice did conclude to double and treble the cordials, making a revulsion from the head with a cluster, whose working was to small effect, save that his Highness became more sensible thereafter. In the meantime the Archbishop of Canterbury, hearing of the danger, came unto his Highness in great haste, where, rending him in extreme danger, he thought it more than high time to go about another kind of cure; and therefore, like a wise and skilful Physician, first trying the humour of his patient before he would proceed in the cure, he addressed himself gently and mildly to ask how his Highness found himself since his departure; at whose reply, seeing everything amiss, he began again further to feel his mind, first preparing him his antidote against the fear of death, that the preparation thereunto,

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<sup>497</sup> Richard Milbourne, D.D. born at London, though of a Pembrokeshire family, and educated at Winchester and Queen's College, Cambridge. He was Minister of Sevenoke in Kent; Cantor of the Cathedral of St. David's Dean of Rochester; Bishop of St. David's in 1615; Carlisle 1621; and died in 1624

<sup>498</sup> And to this physician's comment, the rumour of Prince Henry's death being of poison, was born

meditation and thinking thereof, could nor would bring death the sooner, but the contrary rather, arming himself so much the more against it; withal putting him in mind of the excellency and immortality of the soul, with the unspeakable joys prepared for God's children, and the baseness and misery of the earth, with all the vain, inconstant, momentary, and frail pleasures thereof in respect of heavenly joys, with many other most excellent meditations against the same fear of death. Having thus prepared him to hear, he went further, putting him in mind of the exceeding great danger he was in; and that although he might recover, as he hoped he should, yet he might also die; and that since it was an inevitable and irrevocable necessity that all must die once, late or soon, death being the reward of sin, he asked, if it should so fall out, whether or no he was well pleased to submit himself to the will of God; to which he answered, yea, with all his heart. Then the Archbishop went on demanding questions of his faith; first, of the Religion and Church wherein he lived, which his Highness acknowledged to be the only true Church, wherein only, and without which there was no salvation; then of his faith in Christ only, by Him and in Him, without any merits of his own, being assured of the remission of all his sins, which he professed he did, hoping and trusting only therein; then of the resurrection of the body, life everlasting, and the joys of Heaven; all which he confessed and believed, hoping with all saints to enjoy the same. This conference, with a great deal more, the Archbishop had with him to this purpose; which may also give unto you absolute satisfaction of his soul's health, if thereunto his life be considered. After which, fearing he should too much disquiet him, with many good exhortations, he took leave for that time.

This day, being November 5th, a day of everlasting remembrance and thanksgiving for our deliverance from the Powder Treason, was order given everywhere unto all Churches to pray for his Highness, until when the great danger was unknown to the Commons, which was effectually as ever until his death performed.

This day, and at sundry other times since his confusion of speech, he would many times call upon Sir David Murray, Knight, (the only man in whom he had put choice trust,) by his name, "David! David! David!" who when he came unto his Highness demanding his pleasure, in extremity of pain and stupefaction of senses confounding his speech, sighing, he did reply, "I would say somewhat, but I cannot utter it." Which form he still used so long as he had any perfect sense or memory. This done also, but too late to assist the rest, came Doctor Palmer and Doctor Giffard, <sup>499</sup> famous Physicians for their honesty, learning, and physic, who with the former four went all six to a consultation what now remained finally to be done; wherein by some, as they say, was again propounded the necessity of bleeding, the opportunity whereof was now over passed. In the end, the Doctors, long before this despairing of his recovery, did at last agree upon diascordium and the only means under God, now remaining, which, tempered with cooler cordial, was given him in the presence of many honourable Gentlemen about ten

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<sup>499</sup> This physician appears in the Disputation before the Prince and his Royal Father at Oxford in 1605

o'clock at night; the operation whereof was small or none. This night was unquiet as the rest, his accidents remaining in the same sort, but now and then speaking, but so confusedly that he could not be understood.

Among the rest this night, about midnight, Master Nasmith, his Majesty's surgeon, sitting on his bed-side, his Highness pulled him unto him by the hand, speaking unto him somewhat, but so confusedly, by reason of the rattling of his throat, that he could not be understood; which his Highness perceiving, giving a most grievous sigh as it were in anger, turned him from him, thereafter, unless he was urged, never speaking unto him or any. In this extremity Sir David Murray, who in this one death suffered many, came unto him, entreating him, and asking him, that if he had anything to say which troubled him, that he would betimes make known his mind; but his spirits being overcome, and nature weak, he was not able to say anything, save that of all other business he gave order for the burning of a number of letters in a certain cabinet in his closet, which presently after his death was done.<sup>500</sup>

Not long after as I think on Friday morning about three o'clock his backbone, shoulders, arms, and tongue, by reason of the horrible violence of the convulsions, disjointly dividing themselves, the effect showing that the retentive power was gone, the spirits subdued, the seat of reason overcome, and nature spent; in which extremity, fainting and swooning, he seemed twice or thrice to be quite gone; at which time there arose wonderful great shouting, weeping, and crying in the chamber, Court, and adjoining streets, which was so great, together with something else which they used, that they brought him again. This cry was so great that all those in the streets thought he had been dead; whereupon it went for the most part current in the city and country that he was gone. Thus given over of all into the hands of God did his Highness lie in extreme pain, during which, still now and then, till two or three hours before his death, looking up, and speaking, or endeavouring to speak, which for confusion and extremity of pain, being so near gone, could not be understood, all the world were ready in this despair to bring cordial waters, diaphoretic and quintessential spirits, to be given unto him; amongst which one in the afternoon was ministered which set that little nature remaining on work, forcing a small sweat, which too late, was the first he had. Sir Walter Raleigh also did send another from the Tower, which whether or not to give him they did a while deliberate.<sup>501</sup> After the operation of the first, his Highness

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500 One would suspect how the dying Prince had the senses and strength to utter such a command

501 Dr. Welwood, in his notes on Wilson's Life of James I., in the Complete History of England, Vol. II., p. 714, says, it was sent at the desire of the Queen, who had received relief from it in a fever some time before. Raleigh sent with it a Letter, expressing the most tender concern for the Prince; "and, boasting of his medicine, stumbled unluckily upon an expression to this purpose, that it would certainly cure him, or any other, of a fever, except in case of poison. The Prince dying though he took it, the Queen in the agony of her grief, showed Raleigh's Letter, and lay so much weight on the expression about poison, that to her dying day, she could never be dissuaded from the opinion that her beloved Son had foul play." Raleigh's expressions probably flowed from an overweening conceit in the force of his own medicine, but are perhaps to be numbered among the circumstances, which ensured his destruction. The report that the Prince

rested quietly a little while, presently after falling into his former extremities; whereupon, as the last desperate remedy, with the leave and advice of the Lords of the Counsel there present, the cordial sent by Sir Walter Raleigh, after it had been tasted and proved, was given unto him, but in vain, save that forcing that spark of life that remained, it brought him again into a sweat; after which, as before, he had some rest for a little while. But, no remedy, death would needs be conqueror. In vain did they strive against the stream; for he shortly after became wonderful ill again; sight and sense failing, as also all the infallible signs of death approaching.

In which extremity, the Archbishop of Canterbury being there present, who seeing it was now the time of times, before the last gasp, to minister some comfort unto his Highness, if as yet there were any sense remaining, came unto him, first speaking aloud, putting him in mind of all those things which he had spoken unto him the day before in his perfect sense, calling aloud in his ear to remember Christ Jesus, to believe, hope, and trust in him, with assured confidence of mercy, to lift up his heart, and to prepare him to meet the Lord Jesus, with many other divine exhortations, thereafter calling more loud than ever, thrice together in his ear, "Sir, hear you me, hear you me, hear you me? If you hear me, in certain sign of your faith and hope of the blessed resurrection, give us for our comfort a sign, by lifting up your hands" which he did, lifting up both his hands together; again he desired him yet to give him another sign, by lifting up his eyes; which having done, they let him alone; for the Archbishop had, with streams of tears, poured out at his bed-side a most exceeding powerful passionate prayer. All this while also, from three o'clock in the morning until night, there was continual prayer in the house, and in every place where the danger was known. His Highness, at last, half a quarter, or thereabouts, before eight a clock at night, yielded up his spirit unto his immortal Maker, Saviour, and Restorer, being attended unto Heaven with as many prayers, tears, and strong cries, as ever soul was. The corpse shortly after, as the custom is, was laid along upon a table on the floor, being the fairest, cleanest, and best proportioned, without any kind of spot or blemish, as ever was seen.

On the morrow after came the Lords of the Council, by appointment from his Majesty, to give order for the opening of his body, *etc.*, which was the same night effected about five a clock in the evening, in presence of the Physicians and Chirurgeons who assisted the cure, together with the Physician of the Prince Palatine, with many other Knights and Gentlemen, in the chamber where he died, by the Chirurgeons of his Majesty and his late Highness, under all their hands.<sup>502</sup>

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was poisoned was extremely general. Some surmised that he was poisoned by a scent, but this Sir Charles Cornwallis, considering the premises, thought great folly. Raleigh's cordial was afterwards celebrated, as is proved by the following extract from Evelyn's *Diary*, September 20, 1662: "I accompanied his Majesty to Mons. Febure, his chymist, (and who had formerly been my master in Paris) to see his accurate preparation for ye composing Sir Walter Raleigh's rare cordial; he made a learned discourse before his Majesty in French on each ingredient." *Memoirs*, Vol. I., p. 34

502 Dr. Birch, p. 359, gives the official report of the dissection, signed by the Physicians, from a MS., in the Cotton Library



**Fytton family** Mason Doug Pickford, in *I Am Who I Am*, The Provincial Grand Master of Cheshire invites *Freemasonry Today* to his historic home and states that “the fifteenth century Gawsworth Hall, once the home of Mary Fytton, the supposed Dark Lady of Shakespeare’s *Sonnets*, her ghost is still said to haunt the ancient timbers and stone of this friendly, yet stately, home, but no longer does the Fytton family, once known as the “Fighting Fyttons” hold the family seat. It is now in the incumbency of the Richards family and, more to the point, the Provincial Grand Master of Cheshire, Timothy Richards and his lovely wife Elizabeth.” Gawsworth Church dates mainly from the fifteenth century. In the chancel are the tombs of some of the Fytton family, including Sir Edward (1550–1606) who became Lord President of Munster, and Mary Fytton <sup>503</sup> who was a maid of honour to Elizabeth I., but was soon disgraced following an affair with the Earl of Pembroke.

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**Galileo’s theory** Published in 1616; in a letter to Bacon, dated April 14, 1619 Tobie Matthews speaks of Galileo having answered Bacon’s discourse touching the flux and reflux of the sea: but he alludes apparently to a discourse of Galileo’s on that subject which had never been printed. In this theory the tides are caused by the varying velocity of different points of the earth’s surface, arising from the composition of the earth’s two motions, namely that about its axis, and that in its orbit. Bacon does not seem to have perceived that both these motions are essential to the explanation. (Bacon, *Nov. Org.*, Aphorismorum XLVI).

**Gloucester church** Bacon conducted an experiment on sound at this church, and it is possible that some secret vault or passageway, as Bacon stated himself, may exist and should strongly be recommended to archaeologists to “inquire more particularly of the frame of that place” should this have not already been done. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv.*, Vol. I. Ch. II., 148.) In Penn Leary’s account of *The Oak Island Enigma* written in 1953, there is a map showing Oak Island as Gloucester Isle and the like phenomena of echoes is experienced in many outdoor ancient Greek theatres.

**Gray’s Inn** Is situated on the north side of Holborn, and to the west of Gray’s Inn Road, and is the fourth Inn of Court in importance and size. It derives its name from the noble family of Gray of Wilton, whose residence it originally was. Edmund, Lord Gray of Wilton, in August, 1505, by indenture of bargain and sale, transferred to Hugh Denny, Esq., “the manor of Portpoole, otherwise called Gray’s Inn, four messuages, four gardens, the site of a windmill, eight acres of land, ten shillings of free rent, and the advowson of the Chantry of Portpoole.” The old buildings of Gray’s Inn are spoken of by a contemporary writer as boasting neither of beauty, uniformity, nor capacity. They had been erected by different persons, each of whom followed the dictates of his own taste, and the accommodation was so scanty that even the ancients of the house had to lodge double. The Hall of the Inn was begun to be built in the reign of Queen

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<sup>503</sup> She is also one of the contenders as the Dark Lady of Shakespeare’s *Sonnets*.

Mary. It was finished in the reign of Elizabeth (1560), and cost £863 10s. 8d. In appearance the Hall is acknowledged to be "a very handsome chamber, little inferior to Middle Temple Hall, and its carved wainscot and timber roof render it much more magnificent than the Inner Temple, or Lincoln's Inn Hall." Its windows are richly emblazoned with the armorial bearings of Burleigh, Francis Bacon, Sir Nicholas Bacon, Judge Jenkins, and others. The Hall is also lighted by handsome louvre, on which was formerly a dial with the motto *Lux Dei, lex Dei*. Paintings of King Charles I., King Charles II., King James II., Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Francis Bacon, and Lord Raymond, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench hang upon the walls. There is a tradition in Gray's Inn that the Bench tables in the Hall were the gift of Queen Elizabeth I., and that Her Majesty once honoured the society by partaking of a magnificent banquet here. The Library of the Inn was rebuilt and enlarged in 1839-41. It consists of three handsome apartments, ceiled and wainscoted with oak. In the principal room is a bust of Lord Francis Bacon. The Library contains a complete series of reports, from the commencement of the year books to the present day, with a large collection of valuable legal treatises and authorities. Gray's Inn Gardens had their principal entrance from Holborn by Fulwood's Rents, then a fashionable locality very unlike what it is now. "This spot," says the late Mr. J. H. Jesse, "was a favourite resort of the immortal Bacon during the period he resided in Gray's Inn. It appears, by the books of the society, that he planted the greater number of the elm-trees which still afford their refreshing shade; and also that he erected a summer-house on a small mound on the terrace, where it is not improbable that he often meditated, and passed his time in literary composition. From the circumstance of Lord Bacon dating his *Essays* from his Chambers in Gray's Inn, it is not improbable that the charming *Essay* in which he dwells so enthusiastically on the pleasure of a garden was composed in, and inspired by, the floral beauties of this his favourite haunt."

As late as the year 1754 there was standing in the gardens of Gray's Inn an octagonal seat, covered with a roof, which had been erected by Francis Bacon to the memory of his friend, Jeremiah Bettenham. Howell, writing from Venice, June 5, 1621 to a friend at Gray's Inn, says, "I would I had you here with a wish, and you would not desire in haste to be at Gray's Inn; though I hold your Walks to be the pleasantest place about London, and that you have there the choicest Society." The gardens became, in time, the resort of dangerous classes; expert pickpockets and plausible ring-droppers found easy prey there on crowded days; and there were so many meetings of clandestine lovers, that it was thought expedient to close them, except at stated hours. At a pension, or meeting, held in the beginning of the reign of King James, it was intimated to be the royal pleasure that none but gentlemen of descent should be admitted to the society. The names of all candidates were therefore ordered to be delivered to the Bench that inquiries might be made as to their "quality." To ensure the orderly management of the public table, many regulations were made. In 1581 there was a cupboard-agreement regarding Easter Day, from which we learn that the members who came to breakfast after service and communion were to have "eggs and green sauce" at the cost of the House, and that "no calves' heads were to

be provided by the cook.” At dinner and supper-time all were to be on their good behaviour. No gentleman was to be served out of his proper course; and by a regulation made in 1598, if any one “took meat by strong hand from such as should serve him, he was to be put out of commons *ipso facto*.” In the sixteenth year of Elizabeth, the subject of dress was discussed, and an order was made “that every man of this Society should frame and reform himself for the manner of his apparel, according to the proclamation then last set forth, and within the time therein limited; else not to be accounted of this house;” and that no one should wear any gown, doublet, hose, or outward garment of an light colour, upon penalty of expulsion; and within ten days following it was also ordered that no one should wear any white doublet in the house after Michaelmas Term ensuing. Hats were forbidden to be worn in the Hall at meal-time, in 27 Elizabeth, under a penalty of 3s. 4d. for each offence. In 1600 the gentlemen of the society were instructed not to come into the Hall with their hats, boots, or spurs, but with their caps, decently and orderly, “according to the ancient orders.” When they walked in the City or suburbs, or in the fields, they had to go in their gowns, or they were liable to be fined, and at the third offence to be expelled, and lose their chamber.

At Gray’s Inn, Francis Bacon was not singular in loving rich clothes and running into debt for satin and velvet, jewels and brocade, lace and feathers. Even of that contemner of frivolous men and vain pursuits, Sir Edward Coke, biography assures us that “the jewel of his mind was put into a fair case a beautiful body with a comely countenance: a case which he did wipe and keep clean, delighting in good clothes well worn; being wont to say that the outward neatness of our bodies might be a monitor of purity to our souls.” Among other ancient constitutions of Gray’s Inn were the following: That no officer of this house shall hold or enjoy his office longer than he shall keep himself sole and unmarried, excepting the steward, the chief butler, and the chief cook; that no fellow of the Society stand with his back to the fire; that no fellow of the Society make any rude noise in the Hall at exercises, or at mealtimes; that no fellow of the Society, under the degree of an ancient, keep on his hat at readings or moots, or cases assigned; and that search be made every Term for lewd and dangerous persons, that no such be suffered to lodge in the house.

Bacon’s chambers, says Mr. Pearce, were in No. 1, Coney Court, which formerly stood on the site of the present row of buildings at the west side of Gray’s Inn Square, adjoining the gardens. The whole of Coney Court was burnt down by a fire which occurred in the Inn about 1678. [Also see *Fortunes of fire*].

In close alliance with Gray’s Inn was the Inner Temple, the two fraternal institutions always uniting in their Christmas revels, and each bearing its associate’s Coat-of-Arms over its own gateway. Of their internal affairs the public knew but little, for guests were seldom admitted behind the scenes. The Inner Temple was governed in accordance with some very remarkable rules. One of these rules, handed down from the time of the founders, the old Knights Templar, enjoined silence at meals. Members, dining in the hall, were expected to make their wants known by signs, or, if that were not practicable, in low tones or whispers only. Another rule provided

that members should seat themselves in the dining-hall in messes of four, the tables being of the exact length required to accommodate three messes each. Shakespeare was familiar with these petty details. He laid one of the scenes of *Henry VI.*, in the Temple garden itself, where we have, properly enough, a legal discussion on the rights of certain claimants to the throne. In the course of this discussion, the following colloquy takes place. (Reed): <sup>504</sup>

*Plantaganet.* Great lords and gentlemen, what means this silence?  
Dare no man answer in a case of truth ?

*Suffolk.* Within the Temple hall we were too loud;  
The garden here is more convenient.

*Plantaganet.* Thanks, gentle sir;  
Come let us four to dinner. <sup>505</sup>

“This reference to the Temple Gardens, not saying whether the Inner or the Middle Temple is meant, curiously enough points to the writer being a member of Gray’s Inn; an Inner or a Middle Temple man would have given his Inn its proper title.” (Castle). <sup>506</sup>

**Gray’s Inn revels** December 1594 in Gray’s Inn the play, according to rule, must be a classical one, translated by one of its members, and in 1564, Gascoyne had presented Euripides’s *Jocasta*. This, of course, was a precedent to be strictly followed in the new revival, and the play selected was Plautus’s *Menæchmi*, a play which Rowe, Shakespeare’s first biographer, states had never before been translated into English; going further out of his way to express his doubt whether Shakespeare knew enough Latin to read it in the original. The play itself, moreover, would require the hand of a scholar to bring out the many fine points and perpetual contrasts of the dialogue, perfectly to the satisfaction of a houseful of Latin scholars, both of the Temple and Gray’s Inn; and it had to pass the previous censorship of an official Master of the Revels. Indeed, Fleay, while loyally claiming the play for Shakespeare, admits the intervention of another hand. The work of that hand (if any other than his own) would be supervised by that eminent Latinist, Francis Bacon, Master of the Revels at Gray’s Inn. But in addition to the play, there was a Masque, and here Spedding claims at least six of the speeches as Bacon’s, and, indeed, produces the drafts in his handwriting. One of the songs was claimed by Campion, and published in his works a few years later. There is much that calls up *Midsummer Night’s Dream* about this Masque, as Fleay points out. <sup>507</sup> Campion claimed neither of these songs in 1602. If they had been his, why did he not print them? Can they be by the author of the six

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<sup>504</sup> Reed Edwin. *Coincidences Bacon and Shakespeare*, 1906

<sup>505</sup> Act II. Sc. 4

<sup>506</sup> Edward J. Castle, Esq., of London, a member in the early 1900’s of the Queen’s Council and a life-long resident in the Temple

<sup>507</sup> *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 178

speeches, Bacon? Stowe ranks him as eighth in the list of twenty-eight poets; Campion being sixth, (Camden) Shakespeare eighth, poet was playwright then. Moreover, the dialogue has a philosophical twist. The question of fishes hearing is debated, and there is much talk about magnetism, evidently based upon Dr. Gilbert's treatise, *De Magnete*, published just previously, a work, we may notice, published in Latin like the Plautus, from which the *Comedy of Errors* had been translated.

With respect to this Masque, Gray's Inn had decided to turn itself into the resemblance of a Court and Kingdom, and to entertain its members for twelve days playing at Kings and Councillors; with a Prince to match, for which purpose Gray's Inn Hall was tilled up with a royal throne, and other regal furniture. Funds were raised by subscription from those present, and by appeals to those absent. Bacon wrote the speeches of the six Councillors, and supervised the whole. On this Spedding is clear. [Also see *Northumberland manuscript*]. The rehearsals must have occupied a month or six weeks, and while they were going on, Peter the Cook or his boy, bringing up the chicken's eggs, and sallets, reported the approaching pageant to their mistress at Gorhambury. This was on December 5th, say three weeks before the first performance. Lady Anne Bacon became simply furious. Her dislike of stage plays was aggravated by Anthony Bacon's having taken a house next to the Bull Theatre in Bishopsgate Street, from which her continual worrying forced him to remove the following year. So she wrote him on December 5, 1594, "I trust they will not mum nor mask or sinfully revel at Gray's Inn:" the last "revel" being the very thing the Society had decided upon doing to their heart's content, with the dice-box and wine-flask rather more accented than usual. No doubt, the figure of Lady Anne was well known in the Inn, and her servants' account of what she was capable of doing at the shortest notice, was matter of common talk in Gray's Inn, and freely canvassed in the buttery, not to speak of the Hall, to whom the discussion of her visitations to a bencher was nuts. As an illustration of what this lady actually was suffered to do, not only with impunity but even approval, we will abstract a story from Birch. Essex had taken up again with his old flame, Lady Rutland, and on December 1, 1596 Lady Anne, the mother of her Ladyship's secretary, actually sent him, by the channel of her said son Anthony, a letter of remonstrance upon his adultery, modelled upon those of John Knox to Mary Queen of Scots. It is both long and strong. In place of resenting, Essex meekly answered it that same day, denying the charge, but adding "Burn, I pray you." This, however, was the last thing in Lady Anne's thoughts, and, elated with her victory, she sends the whole correspondence for Anthony to read, mark, and digest. On the 6th, he thanks her for a sight of the documents which he considers "welcome and comfortable to him." Lord Essex seems to bear no malice, sends gracious compliments to his rebuker, and turns his attentions to Mrs. Bridges, a Maid of Honour, whom he got into serious trouble with the Queen by them.

When, therefore, this terrible virago wrote on December 5, 1594 to her son Anthony, "I trust they will not mum or mask or sinfully revel at Gray's Inn. Who were sometimes counted

first, God grant they wane not daily and deserve to be named last,” the contingency had to be distinctly faced, of Lady Bacon’s putting in a personal appearance, with a row of the first magnitude to follow on between her and the assembled guests. It is to be noted that the epithet “counted first” is used elsewhere by Anthony as if it were a house or pet name of his brother Francis. Everything was going on merrily, Gray’s Inn Hall filling up with thrones, scaffolding and seats, rich hangings covering the walls, nymphs and fairies practicing pleasant melody with viols and voices, and gentlemen marching and counter-marching in the rehearsals; when down came the bolt from the blue; what time Peter the Cook, who had duly reported at Gorhambury the great doings in preparation at Gray’s Inn, brought up to Anthony together with the pigeons, the following note written December 5, 1594: “I trust they will not mum nor mask nor sinfully revel at Gray’s Inn. Who were sometimes counted first, God grant they wane not daily, and deserve to be counted last.” The allusion to Francis was pointed, as “one to be counted first” is used for Francis in one of Anthony’s own letters. The screw came down very heavily, and on a very tender place. From a letter five days later from Bacon to Anthony, sending him a bond for £600 for his signature, and apologizing for its being £100 more than the brother had agreed to become surety for, it is plain that neither brother seems to have had a penny in his pockets, and it must have been a trial for Anthony to know that the original £500 had been paid for a jewel, which evidently had been parted with, and was no longer available for money raising. Where had it gone to? Bacon had been already arrested for £300, the price of a jewel. The pinch was a terrible one, for Anthony was already bound to Fleetwood, the late Recorder of London, for £100 on Bacon’s behalf. This judge was probably a relation, having resided at Bacon House, Foster Lane, but, as he had deceased on the previous February 28, his people would probably be looking after their money, from which Bacon “promised immediately to free” his brother. Under these circumstances to offend the only person from whom the brothers could obtain a penny, was impossible. As was also the stopping the performance. “It was too late for praying,” says Spedding, though doubtless Anthony would seek to again appease his mother by stating that Psalms XXXV., and XXXVI., were “the very joy of his heart.” All that could be done was to deny all authorship of the pieces, as the only possible chance of avoiding the mother’s personal appearance on the scene; and her fame for prompt action was as great as that of a former landlady of the *Anglers* at Marlow, who, when all the men about her recoiled from the task, had with her own hands “chucked out” of the tap a six foot drunken bargee, the terror of the river; the hostess standing four feet eleven, and scaling seven stone nine.

The performance could not go on; so the Temple envoy with his train withdrew in high dudgeon, and, after an attempt to quiet down matters with dancing and revelling, the players were called upon to “play the audience out, with the play they had performed before the Court that afternoon,” the historian goes on to say “the night begun and continued to the end in nothing but confusion and error,” whereupon it was ever afterwards called

the *Night of Errors*. The play, hitherto unnamed, received this name of “Errors” from the circumstances under which it was performed and as such remained a stock piece of the Theatre Company. As for the Masque, it was at once dropped out of sight, and replaced the next week by a splendid device to celebrate the restoration of amity between the offended Templars and Gray’s Inn. In this Spedding opines that Bacon had a leading hand. Why his name was kept entirely out of it has already been explained. Nor did the brothers again risk the loss of their only friend, though on October 15, 1596 Bacon wrote from Gray’s Inn to Lord Shrewsbury “to borrow a horse and armour for some public show,” as if he were a professional director of such things.

**Great Assizes** By George Withers (1588–1667) contemporary poet. A traditionary document may be mentioned, which was published in 1643–45, and was believed by Sir Egerton Bridges to have been the work of Withers. It is entitled “The Great Assizes holden in Parnassus by Apollo and his Assessours, at which are arraigned Mercurius Brittanicus, Mercurius Aulicus, &c.,” (periodical publications of that time). This document shows that Francis Bacon, in the opinion of Withers, at least, was entitled to high rank among his contemporaries in the Kingdom of Apollo. At the head is Apollo and next to him is Verulam, or Bacon his Chancellor. From this single circumstance it is evident that the God of Music and Poetry regarded Bacon as worthiest among mortals of the chief seat in Parnassus. Then follows a poetical account of the empanelling of the jury, the arraignment of the malefactors, and the proceedings generally, “Soure Ben,” all the while, having the culprits in custody in “the Trophonian Denne.” The two parts of the Pilgrimage to, and the Return from, Parnassus were produced respectively in 1597, 1598, and 1601. *The Great Assizes* was printed in 1645. Raphael had depicted in the Vatican the triumph of antique art under the poetic influence of the Renaissance, and the author or authors of the *Pilgrimage and Return* framed the trilogy to be enacted at St. John’s College, to depict the antithesis of the modern art of learning under the demoralizing influence of the age. The culmination is found in the *Great Assizes* convened at Parnassus for the trial of the trashy and misleading Literature of the period. To the lofty mount of Learning, crowned with its temple, the University, prefigured in their dreams as Parnassus, the glorious abode of Apollo and the Muses, the lovers of learning journey; but find, after experience, how vain have been their dreams, and return to the world disillusioned. (Baxter).<sup>508</sup> In time the fact beams luridly upon their vision that the golden age of literature has past, and is being supplanted by an age of trashy pamphleteers and news-scribblers. The lovers of true literature thereupon appeal to Apollo, who convenes a high court to meet at Parnassus. The great authors, principally of the past, are summoned as assessors by Apollo; a jury is empanelled, and the principal male factors, the newspapers of the day, are first placed on trial.

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508 Baxter. *The Greatest Literary Problems*, 191

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### The Members of the Parnassian Court

Apollo.

The Lord Verulam, Chancellor Of Parnassus.

Sir Philip Sidney, High Constable Of Parnassus.

William Budæus, High Treasurer.

John Picus, Earl Of Mirandula, High Chamberlaine.

Julius Caesar Scaliger.

Isaac Casaubon.

Erasmus Roterodam.

John Selden.

Justus Lipsius.

Hugo Grotius.

John Barcklat.

Daniel Heinsius.

John Bodine.

Conradus Vorstius.

Adrian Turxebus.

Augustine Mascardus.

The Jurors.

George Withers.

Michael Drayton.

Thomas Cary.

Francis Beaumont.

Thomas May.

John Fletcher.

William Davenant.

Thomas Haywood.

Joshua Sylvester.

William Shakespeare.

George Sanders.

Philip Massinger.

The Malefactors [as in the title.]

Joseph Scaliger, The Censour of Manners in Parnassus.

Ben Jonson, Keeper of the Trophonian Denne.

John Taylour, Cryer of the Court.

Edmund Spenser, Clerk of the Assizes.

**Grub Street** The place known to us as Grub Street was originally tenanted by bowyers, fletchers, makers of bow-strings, and of everything relating to archer. Long before the age of printing, however, Grub Street and its vicinity harboured literary men in the form of text-writers, or authors of A B C's, and other religious ware of the same type. It was not until the latter part of the seventeenth century that its name became used as an epithet of reproach. Andrew Marvel, in *The Rehearsal Transposed* (1672), was one of the earliest who so employed it, and this he did on several occasions: "He, honest man, was deep gone in Grub Street and polemical divinity; and again: "Oh, are your Nonconformist tricks; oh, you have learnt this of the Puritans in Grub Street." Being the suburb of Aldersgate and Little Britain, it not unnaturally became the abode of authors, ballad-writers, and pamphlet-makers.



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**Henslowe's Diary** In Greg's introduction, there is a short history of the Henslowe *Diary* manuscript: "Of all documents illustrating the external history of the Elizabethan drama the most important that has escaped the ravages of time is undoubtedly the volume of miscellaneous accounts and memoranda commonly known as *Henslowe's Diary*. The volume was first used by a certain John Henslowe for the entry of accounts of the felling and disposal of timber and other matters relating to Ashdown Forest. His accounts belong to the years 1576 to 1581. After this the book appears to have been laid by for some time, for we next find it in use by Philip Henslowe in London early in 1592. By him it was used for the entry of a variety of accounts and memoranda relating both to private affairs and to business transactions, dramatic and other, during the following eighteen years. The latest entry dates from 1609."

Edward Alleyn, who had married Henslowe's step-daughter, retired from the stage about 1604, and some ten years later he founded the College of God's Gift at Dulwich. Into his hands Henslowe's papers, the Diary among them, passed, presumably on the latter's death in 1616, and they thus found their way into the library of the College. Here they remained unmolested for more than a century and a half. It was not till 1780 that their existence became known to Edmond Malone, and when he then approached the authorities of Dulwich, the Diary proved to have been mislaid. Shortly before 1790, however, the MS., was discovered and entrusted to Malone, who was then engaged upon his *Variorum* edition of Shakespeare. He caused a transcript of such portions as he deemed of importance to be prepared, and of this he printed an abstract in the appendix to the *History of the Stage* with the addition of a few other documents from the same source. This transcript was collated with the original by Malone himself, and contains a variety of notes and corrections in his hand. He possibly intended to make more extended use of it in the revised edition of his Shakespeare, for which he spent many years collecting material, but which he left to James Boswell the younger to bring out after his death. Malone, it would appear, kept the original in his possession till his death in 1812, when it was returned to Dulwich by his literary executor. Boswell, however, when he published the revised *Variorum* of 1821 (Vol. III. p. 295), appears merely to have reprinted the extracts as they stood in Malone's previous edition, though the transcript was in his possession at the time and appeared in the sale of his books in 1825 (No. 3141). The transcript reappeared in the Heber sale, whence it passed into the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps, and after his death again came into the market in 1895. On this last occasion it was purchased, on the recommendation of Dr. Warner, by the Governors of Dulwich College, and now forms part of that library.

The next person, so far as is known, to make use of the MS., was J.P. Collier, who had recourse to it when engaged on his *History of Dramatic Poetry* (1831), and reprinted the whole, so far as it relates to dramatic affairs, for the Shakespeare Society in 1845. Since Collier's edition appeared many scholars have inspected the volume either for the sake of the evidence it supplies concerning the conditions of the Elizabethan drama, or else attracted by the controversy which

long raged round certain entries which were alleged to have been forged in it. The volume was described, and a careful though not quite complete list of the forgeries given, by Dr. G.F. Warner in his invaluable Catalogue of the *Manuscripts and Monuments of Alleyns College of God's Gift at Dulwich* (1881). Finally, at the suggestion of Mr. A.H. Bullen, in the autumn of 1902, permission was given from the Governors of the College to have the MS., temporarily deposited at the British Museum, in order to prepare a new edition, a request to which they most generously and courteously acceded, and the transference of the precious document was effected through the kind mediation of Professor, Sir Robert Douglas. (Greg).<sup>509</sup>

There are only two names mentioned in the Diary that are of interest to our connecting Henslowe at this point with either Francis Bacon or Shakespeare though they are not mentioned directly, except for the following in regards that Henslowe "lent unto Thomas Downton the 14 of December 1602 to pay unto Mr Mydelton for a prologue & a epilogue for the play of Bacon for the Court the sum of..." nothing further is mentioned about this play and without further facts that the mention here of Bacon's name may be alluded to the play *Bacon and Friar Bungay*. (Greg).<sup>510</sup> The following plays that are of interest that were performed by Lord Stranger's men at the Rose, February 19, 1592 to February 1593 and mentioned in the Diary are:<sup>511</sup>

Friar Bacon: Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay: Entered Stationers' Register May 14, 1594 and printed the same year as written by Greene and played by the Queen's Men. These were presumably the original owners and may have sent the play to press. Greene may have written it in 1589 when St. James' Day fell on a Friday (ed. Collins, 1. 137), but it certainly seems a maturer work than *Orlando*. It is clearly later than *Faustus* (1588). From the Queen's Men it probably passed in 1591 to Alleyn, and through him to Henslowe, who lent it to Strange's Men in 1592, back to the Queen's in 1594, and to the Admiral's in 1602. With these it probably remained, since, according to the 1630 title page, it was later acted by the Palsgrave's Men, and not by the Lady Elizabeth's, the last company with which Henslowe was connected.

Henry VI.: Printed as *I Henry VI.*, in the 1623 folio of Shakespeare's Plays, after being erroneously entered as the third part in the Stationers' Register, November 8. It is possible, or probable, that there was an earlier version of this play which may have belonged to the Queen's Men, and that it was only "new" owing to the addition of the Talbot scenes by Shakespeare. There may also have been a later revision. The whole question is well treated by Fleay in his *Shakespeare*, pp. 255–63.

King Lear: King Leir and his three Daughters: Entered the Stationers' Register May 14, 1594 but not printed till 1605. Since the play does not occur in the Sussex list of 1593–94 it must be assigned to the Queen's Men. The authorship is doubtful. Fleay assigns it to Lodge and Kyd, but the Queen's Men did not act any of the undoubted plays by either of these authors.

509 Walter W. Greg. *Henslowe's Diary*, Vol. I. p. 172, 1904

510 Walter W. Greg. *Henslowe's Diary*, Vol. II. p. 149, 1908

511 Harold Bayley. *The Shakespeare Symphony*, 1906

Hamlet: This piece, the basis of Shakespeare's work (1601?), is commonly and plausibly assigned to Kyd. It was certainly produced before August 1589, being mentioned in Nashe's preface to *Menaphon* (entered the Stationers' Register August 23), but the upward limit of March 29, 1588 the date of entry of *Perimenes* suggested by Fleay, is less sure.

The Taming of a Shrew: Entered the Stationers' Register May 2, 1594 and printed the same year as acted by Pembroke's Men. The play, like *Titus Andronicus*, seems to have belonged to the Chamberlain's Men and have come to them from Pembroke's. It was this piece that Shakespeare altered, but an intermediate revision, as suggested by Fleay, is not improbable. The authorship of the original play is doubtful. It seems too Marlowan to be Marlowe's; and if we reject Fleay's suggestion of Kyd, which is not unlikely but wants confirmation, we must fall back on Malone's "George Peele or Robert Greene." Ward's suggestion of a revision of an older play by an imitator of Marlowe is interesting and not unplausible. Courthope's resuscitation of the theory of Shakespearian authorship need not be seriously entertained. The whole question is ably discussed by Bond.<sup>512</sup>

Henry V.: Shakespeare's play for the Chamberlain's Men was later than this, even if we suppose the extant text to represent a revision. The older play, known as the *Famous Victories of Henry V.*, was entered the Stationers' Register May 14, 1594 and printed in 1598 as acted by the Queen's Men. (The later edition, 1617, has King's Men, but this is obviously an attempt to pass it off as Shakespeare's play). Probably the Queen's Men sold the MS., of this to the printer, Creede, when they were in London in 1594, but the Admiral's Men appropriated and revised the play and stayed the publication till 1598 when Creede printed it from the original MS. The play appears several times in the Admiral's inventories.

Troilus and Cressida: The final payment for this piece, probably £2 (a steep price considering the First Folio was sold for £1) or so, may have been recorded on one of the leaves now missing. Fleay thinks that the composition of this play was the cause of the secession from the Admiral's Men of Chapman, whose *Iron Age* (see *Troy*, p. 92) covered the same ground. Collier suggested that the entry of *Troilus and Cressida*, in the Stationers' Register February 7, 1603 might apply to this rather than to Shakespeare's play. The fact that the play is there described as acted by the Chamberlain's Men puts this out of the question and serves to show how little Collier understood the history of the companies. The wording of the entry might of course have been fraudulent (cf. Henry V, 82), but that would equally prove the existence of Shakespeare's play, which Collier proposed to date 1609.

Sir John Oldcastle: The transference of the play from the Admiral's to Worcester's Men, a point not noticed by Fleay, is curious. Whether both parts passed is doubtful. Both parts were entered in the Stationers' Register August 11, 1600 and twice printed with that date as acted by the Admiral's Men, and once as written by Shakespeare. This, of course, was before Dekker's

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512 Ed. *Taming of the Shrew*, pp. 29–34

additions, supposing these to have been to Fleay gives an elaborate division of parts *s.v.* Munday. His statement that Drayton wrote three-quarters of part two evidently rests on the fact that the £4 were paid to him alone, and is a very risky inference.

**Honorificabilitudine** This is a perfectly serious word, meaning honour in a high degree, with two stem roots and three suffixes, combined according to the rules of medieval Latin. We find it in a charter granted by *The See of Rome* to a religious house in Genoa in 1187, but not printed until 1614.<sup>513</sup> We also find it in Dante's *De Vulgare Eloquentia*, written in or about 1304, translated from the original Latin into Italian and printed for the first time in 1529. And then in *De Vulgare Eloquentia*,<sup>514</sup> (c.1304). Then in *The History of Henry VII.*, of Italy by Albertus Musatus, a work composed between 1313 (date of Henry's death) and 1330 (date of the author's death), but first printed in 1635. And then in *De Gestis Henrici*<sup>515</sup> (1313–1330). In the *Complaint of Scotland* (1549) which was first discovered by Mr. George Stronach of Edinburgh, and communicated to the public by the poet Henry Dryerre, Esq., in the *People's Friend* (Dundee), May 16, 1898. Honorificabilitudinitatibus can also be found in *Love's Labour's Lost*<sup>516</sup> (1598). The first edition of the play was printed in 1598; the play was probably written in or about 1588. The word is then found in the *Northumberland Manuscript* (c.1598) as Honorificabilitudine. The word honorificabilitudinitatibus has proved a stumbling block both to orthodox Shakespearians and to Baconians. A writer suggested that the clue to the meaning which the word is intended to convey in the text may be discovered in the immediate context as given here:

"Thou art not so long by the head as honorificabilitudinitatibus. In the first place, the words "thou art" as we have already seen, frequently appear in connection with cryptographic spellings of the name BACON, and they may be understood as an anagrammatic acrostic for AUTHOR. In the second place, the person addressed, whether or not he be thus understood to be hinted as the author, is said to be "not so long by the head as honorificabilitudinitatibus." If the person addressed is not so long by the head as this long word, his length "by the head" may be understood to be discoverable by removing part of the head from the word, or the letters "ho." The removal of these letters from the word leaves the following letters "by the head" of the word: "nificab" and these letters may be anagrammatised as: I, I, FR. BACON. In structure this anagram, which is composed of consecutive letters in the interior of a word, differs from the common anagram, which is composed of all the letters of a word, and from the acrostic anagram, which is composed of letters at the extremities of a word. That an anagram of interior letters is here intended appears in the phrase: "thou art not so long by the head as honorificabilitudinitatibus." This phrase hints at cryptographic letters which are "by the head" of the word, and which must accordingly be

<sup>513</sup> *Italia Sacra*, Tomus Quartus, p. 845 (1187)

<sup>514</sup> Lib. II. Cp. VII

<sup>515</sup> VII. P.17

<sup>516</sup> Act V. Sc. 1

understood as not to extend to the end of the word. And the words: “not so long by the head” may be understood to hint at cryptographic letters which do not include the whole head of “honorificabilitudinitatibus” and which accordingly do not extend to the beginning of the word. Since there is thus a hint to exclude both the letters at the end of the word and the letters at the beginning of the word, the phrase: “not so long by the head” can only be understood as an allusion to letters in the interior of the word. Thus the structure of the anagram, which yields the spelling: I, I, FR. BACON, may be understood to be hinted in the sentence in which the anagram is contained. And the meaning of the anagrammatic spelling as a play on BACON as a kind of ham and so as something to eat, may be understood in the phrases: “a great feast of Languages”; “the alms basket of words”; “eaten thee for a word” and “Thou art easier swallowed then a flap dragon.” These possible references to the meaning of the cryptographic spelling as something which is edible are confirmed by the acrostic on the first three lines of the speech in which “honorificabilitudinitatibus” is contained.”

**Howes’ observations** The following are amongst the observations of Howes on the writers that flourished in the reign of Elizabeth and mentioning Francis Bacon and George Withers: “Our modern and present excellent poets, which worthily flourish in their own works, and all of them in my own knowledge lived together in this Queen’s reign, according to their priorities, as near as I could, I have orderly set down, *viz.*, George Gascoigne, esquire, Thomas Church-yard esquire, Sir Edward Dyer knight, Edmond Spencer esquire, Sir Philip Sidney knight, Sir John Harrington knight, Sir Thomas Challoner knight, Sir Francis Bacon knight, and Sir John Davie knight, Master John Lillie gentleman, Master George Chapman gentleman, M. W. Warner gentleman, M. Willi. Shakespeare gentleman, Samuell Daniell esquire, Michael Draiton esquire of the bath, M. Christopher Mario gen., M. Benjamine Johnson gentleman, John Marston esquier, M. Abraham Francis gen., master Francis Meers gentle., master Josua Silvester gentle., master Thomas Deckers gentleman, M. John Flecher gentle., M. John Webster gentleman, M. Thomas Heywood gentleman, M. Thomas Middleton gentleman, M. George Withers.”

## I

**Illustrations of Masonry** William Preston (1742–1818) in his *Past Master of the Lodge of Antiquity*, Twelfth Edition, London (1812) gives the progress of Masonry in the South of England from the Reign of Elizabeth to the Fire of London in 1666 which can be found set as follows:

The Queen being assured that the fraternity were composed of skilful architects, and lovers of the Arts, and that state affairs were points in which they never interfered, was perfectly reconciled to their assemblies, and masonry made a great progress at this period. During Elizabeth’s reign, lodges were held in different places of the Kingdom, particularly in London, and its environs, where the brethren increased considerably, and several great works were carried on, under the auspices of Sir Thomas Gresham, from whom the fraternity received every encouragement.

Charles Howard, Earl of Essingham, succeeded Sir Thomas in the office of Grand Master, and continued to preside over the lodges in the fourth till the year 1588, when George Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, was chosen, who remained in that office till the death of the Queen in 1603. On the demise of Elizabeth, the crowns of England and Scotland were united in her successor James VI., of Scotland, who was proclaimed King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, on March 25, 1603. At this period, masonry flourished in both Kingdoms, and lodges were convened under the royal patronage. Several gentlemen of fine taste returned from their travels, full of laudable emulation to revive the old Roman and Grecian masonry. These ingenious travellers brought home fragments of old columns, curious drawings, and books of architecture.

In 1607, the foundation stone of this elegant piece of true masonry was laid by King James, in presence of Grand Master Jones, and his wardens, William Herbert Earl of Pembroke, and Nicholas Stone Esq., master-mason of England, who were attended by many brothers, clothed in form, and other eminent persons, invited on the occasion. The ceremony was conducted with the greatest pomp and splendour, and a purse of broad pieces of gold laid upon the stone, to enable the masons to regale. This building is said to contain the finest single room of its extent since the days of Augustus, and was intended for the reception of Ambassadors, and other audiences of state. The whole is a regular and stately building, of three stories; the lowest has a rustic wall, with small square windows, and by its strength happily serves as a basis for the orders. Upon this is raised the Ionic, with columns and pilasters; and between the columns, are well-proportioned windows, with arched and pointed pediments: over these, is placed the proper entablature: on which is raised a second series of the Corinthian order, consisting of columns and pilasters, like the other, column being placed over column, and pilaster over pilaster. From the capitals are carried festoons, which meet with masks, and other ornaments, in the middle. This series is also crowned with its proper entablature, on which is raised the balustrade, with attic pedestals between, which crown the work. The whole is finely proportioned, and happily executed. The projection of the columns from the wall has a fine effect in the entablatures; which being brought forward in the same proportion, yields that happy diversity of light and shade so essential to true architecture. The internal decorations are also striking. The ceiling of the grand room, in particular, which is now used as a chapel, is richly painted by the celebrated Sir Peter Paul Rubens, who was Ambassador in England in the time of Charles I. The subject is, the entrance, inauguration, and coronation of King James, represented by pagan Emblems; and it is justly esteemed one of the most capital performances of this eminent master. It has been pronounced one of the finest ceilings in the world.

The taste of this celebrated architect was displayed in many curious and elegant structures, both in London and the country; particularly in designing the magnificent row of Great Queen-street, and the west side of Lincoln's Inn Fields, with Lindsey-house in the centre; the late Chirurgions' hall and theatre, now Barbers-hall, in Monkwell-street; Shaftesbury-house, late the London

lying-in hospital for married women, in Aldersgate-street; Bedford-house in Bloomsbury-square; Berkley-house, Piccadilly, lately burnt, and rebuilt, now in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire; and York-stairs, at Thames. Beside these were designed Gunnersbury-house near Brentford; Wilton-house in Wiltshire; Castle-abbey in Northampton-shire; Stoke-park; part of the quadrangle at St. John's, Oxford; Charlton-house, and Cobham-hall, in Kent; Coles-hill in Berkshire; and the Grange, in Hampshire. The breaking out of the civil wars obstructed the progress of masonry in England for some time. After the Restoration, however, it began to revive under the patronage of Charles II., who had been received into the Order during his exile.

On December 27, 1663 a general assembly was held, at which Henry Jermyn, Earl of St. Alban's, was elected Grand Master; who appointed Sir John Denham Knight his deputy, and Mr. (afterwards Sir) Christopher Wren, and John Webb his wardens. Several useful regulations were made at this assembly, for the better government of the lodges, and the greatest harmony prevailed among the whole fraternity. Thomas Savage, Earl of Rivers, having succeeded the Earl of St. Alban's in the office of Grand Master in June 1666 Sir Christopher Wren was appointed Deputy under his Lordship, and distinguished himself more than any of his predecessors in office, in promoting the prosperity of the few lodges which occasionally met at this time; particularly the old lodge of St. Paul's, now the lodge of Antiquity, which he patronized upwards of eighteen years. The honours which this celebrated character afterwards received in the society, are evident proofs of the unfeigned attachment of the fraternity toward him.

**Index of forbidden books** It is well known that Francis I., signed Letters Patent for the suppression of printing. In 1624 an edict was promulgated in Paris which forbade any attack on the System of Aristotle under pain of death. The philosopher Ramus, for traversing some of Aristotle's dicta, was cited as an enemy of religion, a disturber of the public peace, and a corruptor of the minds of youth. Copernicus (1473–1543) waited thirty years before he dared make public his discovery that the sun was the centre of our universe. Happily he died a few hours after the publication of his book, hence this “upstart astrologer,” this “fool who wishes to reverse the entire science of astronomy” these were Luther's terms escaped the deathly clutch of the Inquisition. For espousing the heresy of Copernicus, Giordano Bruno was burned in 1600. On hearing his doom, he uttered the memorable words, “You have greater fear in pronouncing this sentence than I have in receiving it.” Vanini (1585–1619) on being led forth from his prison to the hurdle for execution exclaimed: “Let us go, let us go joyfully to die as becomes a philosopher.” Before being burned, his tongue was torn out. In the words of an unsympathising onlooker “Vanini was ordered to put forth his sacrilegious tongue for the knife. He refused: it was necessary to employ pincers to draw it forth, and when the execution's instrument seized and cut it off, never was heard a more horrible cry. One might have thought that he heard the bellowing of an ox which was being slaughtered.” For declaring that the earth revolved, Galileo was martyred in 1642. “Are these then my judges?” he exclaimed, on retiring from the Inquisitors whose ignorance

astonished him. The priest who perused the posthumous manuscripts of this great philosopher, destroyed such as in his judgment were not fit to be known to the world. Descartes (1596–1650) was horribly persecuted in Holland. He was accused of Atheism and narrowly escaped being burned on an eminence favourably situated for observation by the Seven Provinces. The fate of one Bartholomew Hector, a poor glow-worm, was probably typical of a thousand others equally grim. Hector was a stationer and was burned for some unknown reason in 1555. He “died with admirable constancy, and edified the assistants and standers-by in such manner that he drew tears from their eyes.” Telesius Bernardino (1509–1588), the first two books of his major work, *De Natura Juxta Propria Principia* [On Nature According to Its Own Principles], were published in 1565, and the complete edition of nine books appeared in 1586. Although he had been encouraged in his writings by contemporary Roman Catholic Popes, the above work and two of his minor works remained on the Roman Catholic Church *Index of Forbidden Books* from 1596 until 1900. Bacon has commended him as “the best of the novelists.”

The efforts of authority having failed to extinguish printing, there remained the expedient of muzzling. Clerical inquisitors were appointed at Madrid, Rome, Naples, Lisbon, and elsewhere. License to publish was refused to all works except those certified under the official Imprimatur as being innocuous. Unhappily, the ecclesiastical sages who sat in inquisition were frequently in vigorous disagreement among themselves. Some had a keener sense of heresy than others. The chief Inquisitor of the Netherlands lived to see his own writings proscribed by the Licensor at Rome, and the Inquisitor at Naples was so displeased with the Spanish Index that he maintained it had never been printed at Madrid. There was no concord among the Inquisitors, and the incrimination of one was followed by the retaliation of another. The books on cipher writing of Abbot Trithemius were condemned to the fire as works “full of diabolical mysteries.” Frederic II., Elector Palatine, ordered the original work of Trithemius, which was in his library, to be publicly burnt. An ambiguous sentence or even a word was sometimes sufficient to damn or indefinitely delay publications. The ineptitudes of the Licensers were incredible. Malebranche was unable to get approbation for his research after *Truth* because the Inquisitors were unable to understand it. It was eventually approved as a work on geometry. A book on trigonometry was condemned as heretical because the Trinity, a forbidden subject of discussion, was assumed to be included in trigonometry. A treatise on the *Destruction of Insects* was believed to be a covert allusion to the Jesuits, and was accordingly disallowed. Nani’s *History of Venice* was permitted because it “contained nothing against Princes.” Raleigh’s *History of the World* was condemned for being “too saucy in censuring the acts of Kings.” James I., proscribed Buchanan’s *History* and everyone was ordered to bring his copy “to be perusit and purgit of the offensive and extraordinare materis.” The malicious activity of this class was a constant menace to authors. The simplest expressions were construed as bearing sinister meanings. These “decipherers” as they were called, made it their trade to interpret names as disguises for great personages thereby libelled. No interpretation seems to have been too far-fetched to involve the writer in trouble. The phrase from Piers Penniles:



"I pray you, how might I call you?" was interpreted into a covert attack by Nashe upon one of themselves whose name happened to be "Howe." Nicholas Breton did not exaggerate when he wrote: "Who doth not find it by experience that points and commas oftentimes misread endanger oft the harmless writer's head." The punishments inflicted upon writers unable to prove their innocence were shameful in their severity. If suspects refused to confess the order ran: "You shall by authority hereof put them to torture in Bridewell, and by the extremity thereof draw them to discover their knowledge." The rack and the Scavenger's Daughter were used for the torturing of Alexander Briant to extort confession about a secret printing press. The *Advancement of Learning* brought no honour to Bacon from his own countrymen. It was cashiered as an heretical and impertinent piece, and was placed on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*. Bishop Goodman said that he would have written some reply to it if he "durst have printed it." It is unnecessary to give further a list of English writers who suffered from the baneful effects of government repression as such a scroll would include the names of practically all our great writers until the concluding years of the seventeenth century.

## J

**Jacquespierre** It is as though they had not known of each other's existence. Bacon has nowhere made mention of Shakespeare; he treats of dramatic poetry, but utters not a syllable in regard to the greatest dramatist "that ever lived in the tide of times," although this one was even his fellow-citizen. So, likewise, Bacon treats often of astronomy, and introduces Copernicus and Galileo, but Kepler never. And yet, Kepler must have been known to him, for in the year 1618, he dedicated his great work, *Harmonice Mundi* to the self-same King James whom Bacon revered as his great patron, and in many of his own dedications, had styled a second Solomon.

The first of our authors, who can be properly said to have written English, was Sir John Cower, who, in his *Confession of a Lover*, calls Chaucer his disciple, and may therefore be considered as the father of our poetry. One of the first who proposed a scheme of regular orthography, was Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, a man of real learning, and much practised in grammatical disquisitions. The greater bulk of the books published in England from 1576 to 1626 are known only to book collectors and second-hand booksellers, and their contents remain unexplored. Few of them have been reprinted and copies of the original editions are rare. In 1576 to an Englishman to whom "education had not given more languages than nature tongues" there were no channels through which he could obtain a general knowledge of the antiquities, the histories and geography of other countries or of his own, the customs of their people, their art, and what then passed for science. There were translations of only a few of the classics available. France, Italy and Spain were better supplied. But in 1626 all this was altered, and from books printed in English more knowledge and information could be obtained than from the combined Literatures of those countries.

There exists no evidence of any general interest in a revival of learning during this epoch. Certainly Oxford and Cambridge, the only two seats of learning, exhibit no evidence of its existence. Of Oxford at this period, Mark Patterson says: "Of any special interest in science, learning, and the highest culture, there is no trace." Cambridge was given up to theological controversy. However thorough the search be, nowhere throughout the country will be found evidence of interest in this revival. And yet steadily was coming from the Press volume after volume, from large, ponderous folios to small octavos, translations and books on every conceivable subject. Where was the public creating the demand? The Bodley Library did not appear to require them, for few are to be found in the 1620 Catalogue.

There was no demand for them from abroad, for the English language was unknown there. The cost of printing and publishing must have been enormous, to say nothing of recompense for the writers and translators. Of the solid literature, apart from theological controversial works published during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, it may be estimated, with safety, that not ten per cent, brought back from proceeds of sale one half of their cost. Large sums of money must have been provided by someone for the authors or translators, the printers and the publishers. And it is here that may be added, but not certified, that Francis Bacon was constantly in debt in providing large sums of money for the authors, translators, printers and publishers. There is no trace to be found in the records, printed or otherwise, of any man (with one exception) who took interest in the advancement of learning. But given the man with the inclination and the knowledge to pilot such a scheme, he must also have had the control of great wealth to enable him to carry it through. There is another aspect of this question, which is of importance. In the Proheme to a little volume, entitled *Of that Knowledge which maketh a Wise Man A Disputation Platonike* (1536), Sir Thomas Eliot states that in writing *The Governor*, he intended to augment our English tongue, "whereby men should as well express more abundantly the thing that they conceived in their hearts (wherefore language was ordained) having words apt for the purpose; as also interpreted out of Greek, Latin, or any other tongue into English, as sufficiently, as out of any one of the said tongues into another." The Members of the Pléiade adopted the same method in advancing the French language to a condition capable of expressing the highest emotions and thoughts. Now, either intentionally or as a natural consequence, the production of this literature in England had a similar effect on the English language. In 1576 it may be described as barbaric.

Before 1626 and the plays of Shakespeare and *The Authorized Version of the Bible* had been produced, examples which Professor Saintsbury says "will ever be the twin monuments, not merely of their own period, but of the perfection of English, the complete expressions of the literary capacities of the languages." There are other circumstances, which suggest a superintending direction in the production of these books. The movement of the work from printer to printer: Henry Bynneman, George Bishop and Richard Field were at first employed, then Adam Islip and George Eld became active, and at the end of the period William Jaggard and John Haviland were the chief producers. There appears to have been a definite scheme of printers' blocks of

special designs used as head-pieces and tailpieces to ear-mark these books. The identical block used by George Bishop in 1584, as the first initial letter in *The French Academy*, was used by John Haviland as the first initial letter in the 1625 Edition of Bacon's *Essays*. The identical block used by Richard Field on the title page of *Venus and Adonis* in 1593 was used by Christopher Barker on the title page of the *Genealogical Tables* of the first quarto of *The Authorized Version of the Bible* in 1612. In the one case the block was preserved for thirty-nine years, in the other case for seventeen years. Moreover, some of these designs were re-engraved and used in books printed in France, which apparently form part of the same scheme. The Emblem literature of the period contains what appear to be definite references to several of these designs. This extraordinary literature appears to be absolutely neglected by students, although it was clearly produced with some definite object. If Alciati's Emblems published fifty years before be excluded this literature was mainly the product of the period.

In the Dedications, the Prefaces and Addresses "To the Reader," will be found some of the finest examples of the English language extant. It would be difficult to select a more perfect specimen than the Dedication prefixed to the 1625 translation of Barclay's *Argenis*, to which the name of Kingsmill Long is attached. There is a peculiarity about these dedications. The writer, or the writers, must have been proficient in oratory. A writer who is not merely a good speaker but an orator, has a special style which is the result of instinct, and cannot be acquired. This instinct enables him to express his thoughts in words which give pleasure as their sound falls upon the ears of his auditors. It is no explanation to say that this was a style common to the period. It was not. The matter itself bears evidence that the writer, or writers, had a most comprehensive and familiar knowledge of classical and modern authors. The compilations abound in imagery. There are certain tricks of speech which can be recognised as those of an orator. Who were the men living at that time who could write such prose? If the number of names attached to these examples is to be taken as a guide, such stylists were plentiful as blackberries, but they never employed this style elsewhere. The writer of the preface to Barclay's *Argenis* and the translator of the work, which is not, it may be remarked, a literal translation of the original, was a master of prose, but Kingsmill Long cannot be traced, and his name appears on no other work. Numbers of similar instances might be quoted.

The suggestion now made is that as early as 1576 someone conceived the idea of advancing the English language from a condition which may be described as little short of barbaric, to one in which it could stand for power of expression beside the classical languages, and at the same time of providing channels by which all knowledge was placed at the disposal of those who might employ that language. If such were the case, it was a magnificent scheme.

Shakespeare's earliest scholastic attacker was Robert Greene (1558–1592) who evidently set much store by his acquired gentility, as he usually signed his publications as "By Robert Greene, Master of Arts in Cambridge," and who, withal, was a most licentious and unprincipled libertine, going, through his ill-regulated course of life, dishonoured and unwept to a pauper's

grave at the age of thirty-two. John Florio (1553–1625), in his *First Fruites*, published in 1591, appears as a critic of Shakespeare's historical dramatic work and after he had entered the service of the Earl of Southampton, though not yet assailing Shakespeare personally, as did these other scholars. In 1593 George Peele (1556–1596) in his *Honour of the Garter* re-echoes the slurs against Shakespeare voiced by Greene in the previous year. In the same year George Chapman (1559–1634), who there afterwards proved to be Shakespeare's rich enemy among the "gentlemen scholars," caricatures him and his affairs in a new play, which he revised, in conjunction with John Marston (1576–1634), six years later, under the title of *Histriomastix*, or *The Player Whipt*. Neither the authorship, date of production, nor satirical intention of the early form of the play has previously been known. In 1594 Chapman again attacks Shakespeare in *The Hymns to the Shadow of Night*, as well as in the prose dedication written to his colleague, Matthew Roydon (1580–1622). In the same year Roydon enters the lists against Shakespeare by publishing a satirical and scandalous poem reflecting upon, and distorting, his private affairs, entitled *Willobie his Avis*. From this time onward until the year 1609–10, Chapman, Roydon, and John Florio, who in the meantime had joined issue with them, continue to attack and vilify Shakespeare. Every reissue, or attempted reissue, of *Willobie his Avis* was intended as an attack upon Shakespeare. Such reissues were made or attempted in 1596, 1599, 1605, and 1609, though some of them were prevented by the action of the public censor who, we have record, condemned the issue of 1596 and prevented the issue of 1599. As no copies of the 1605 or 1609 issues are now extant, it is probable that they also were stopped by the authorities.

In 1598–99 these partisans (Chapman, Roydon, and Florio) are joined by John Marston, and a year later, also by Ben Jonson (1572–1637), when, for three or four years, Chapman, Jonson, and Marston collaborate in scurrilous plays against Shakespeare and friends who had now rallied to his side. In about 1598 Thomas Dekker (1572–1632) and Henry Chettle (1564–1607) joined sides with Shakespeare and answered his opponents' attacks by satirising them in plays. John Florio, while not participating in the dramatic warfare, attacks Shakespeare viciously in the dedication to his *World of Wordes*, in 1598, and comes in for his share of the satirical chastisement which Shakespeare, Dekker, and Chettle administer to them in acted, as well as in published plays. As Ben Jonson's dramatic reputation became assured the heat of his rivalry against Shakespeare died down; his vision cleared and broadened and he, more plainly than any writer of his time, or possibly since his time, realised Shakespeare in his true proportions. Jonson, in time, tires of Chapman's everlasting envy and misanthropy, and quarrels with him and in turn becomes the object of Chapman's invectives. After Shakespeare's death Jonson made amends for his past ill-usage by defending his memory against Chapman, who, even then, continued to belittle his reputation. Past critics have been utterly oblivious of the fact that Florio, Roydon, and Chapman and others colluded for many years in active hostility to Shakespeare.

The lives of Shakespeare and Bacon are inseparably connected in three respects: personal intimacy, theatrical pursuits, and money matters. Neither Chamberlain's nor the Sydney letters

mention Shakespeare, it was taken for granted that the actor was “out of Society” as he undoubtedly was of a certain sort, and that he and Bacon never knew each other, and still less came into constant contact in business matters. Yet both Mr. Halliwell and Mr. Fleay knew that Bacon had directed the “dumb show” at the Royal Palace at Greenwich, had written an essay especially on pageants, and knew that his tastes lay strongly toward the stage. Both knew that, as an especial favourite of the Queen, he was constantly at Court, where the Lord Chamberlain’s players, to which company Shakespeare was always attached, had ousted all rivals. Both knew that Bacon, as Master of the Revels at Gray’s Inn in 1594, had directed the great Masque which the players, of whom Shakespeare was *factotum* manager, had mounted and put on the stage. How could the Master of the Revels, himself a director of the “dumb show” six years back, avoid constant touch with the manager, a man whose skill in “staging” had converted a ghastly failure like Ben Jonson’s *Every Man in His Humour* into a comedy which is performed even now? And how could all the commentators have missed this simple point? For, in addition, there was Bacon’s intimacy with Ben Jonson, a worthy fellow never in the best of feather as Henslow, Alleyn, and Burbage were, but yet an honoured guest at York Place on the Chancellor’s “proudest day of his life.”

Bacon, son of a Lord Keeper, and nephew of the Prime Minister, soon became an Ancient of Gray’s Inn, and some few traditions of what was called *Waterfordism* in the forties, show that he went the pace pretty much like the rest. He evidently took part in the amusements that were going, and directed a pageant played before Lord Burleigh, and a queer kind of comedy on June 16th, 1588. The next year he wrote to his uncle offering to produce another one, so he would then be officially Master of the Revels, as which he remained till 1614, twenty-six years. On May 28th, 1588, we find Bacon acting “dumb show” in a play performed before Elizabeth by the gentlemen of Gray’s Inn. We thus find Bacon actor in and director of Plays and Masques before the Queen, and his uncle Lord Burleigh, who evidently disliked what he called his nephew’s “vanities” (otherwise follies and vices), declining to push him forward in the Government Service on the ground of what we should now call his “unsteadiness,” which must have been very noticeable indeed, to have barred his advancement in those days.

Deer-stealing was felony punishable in the Star Chamber, for which Bacon (practically the Public Prosecutor until he became Chancellor) prosecuted two men separately as late as 1614. That hence, if information was laid, it was in Bacon’s power to have dealt similarly with Shakespeare any time between the date of the offence in 1587 and the 1614 aforesaid. That if Bacon did not so prosecute, but rather protected him, there must have been good (Baconian) reason for it.<sup>517</sup>

It is quite natural to suppose that if Shakespeare was known to Bacon, Heming and Condell would have been aware of the fact, and an offer to render them some assistance in publishing the First Folio would have been accepted with alacrity. Such an offer may have been made through Rawley, his faithful secretary; it might have come direct from Bacon to the publishers. How

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517 W.G. Thorpe. *The hidden lives of Shakespeare and Bacon*, 1897

did Thorpe and his tribe obtain possession of the manuscripts of *King Lear*; *Henry V.*; *Pericles*; *Hamlet*; *Titus Andronicus*, and the rest of the sixteen plays which were in print at the date of the author's death? If we knew for certain that Shakespeare and Bacon were on terms of intimacy, it would be a justifiable conjecture to suppose that the latter might have had a hand in the business, but if the existence of the cipher in these pirated quartos is verified, we may be quite sure that Bacon was the publishers' accessory in securing the MSS. for publication.<sup>518</sup>

## K

**Kermes** bracelets made of scarlet powder, which according to Bacon, is the principal ingredient in their cordial confection alkermes, against the plague.

**King's Household** Sir Edward Coke being vehement against the two Provincial Councils of Wales and the North, said to the King, "There was nothing there but a kind of confusion and hotch-potch of justice: one while they were in a Star-chamber; another while a King's Bench; another, a Common Pleas; another, a Commission of Oyer and Terminer." His Majesty answered, "Why, Sir Edward Coke, they be like houses in Progress, where I have not, nor can have, such distinct rooms of state as I have here at Whitehall or at Hampton Court." (Bacon, *Apo*).

**King James I's entrance into England** He left Edinburgh for Dunglass as follows:

- April 5 1603.
- April 6 came to Berwick.
- April 8 he went to Withrington, Sir Robert Cary's.
- April 9 to Newcastle.
- April 13 to Durham.
- April 14 to Walworth, sixteen miles from Durham where he was entertained at the house of a lady, Mrs. Genlon.
- April 15 to Thomas Topcliffe and afterward Sir William Engleby's.
- April 16 to York.
- April 19 to Pomfret, where having viewed the Castle he went on to Doncaster and lodged for that night at the sign of the Bear and Sun.
- April 20 to Worksop, the Earl of Shrewsbury's.
- April 21 to the Castle of Newark upon Trent.
- April 22 to Belvoir Castle.
- April 23 to Burleigh.
- April 27 to Hitchinbrooke, Sir Oliver Cromwell's.
- April 29 to Royston, where the King lay at his own charges at the house of one Mr. Chester. April 30 to Standon, Sir Thomas Sadler's.

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518 Albert F. Calvert. *Bacon and Shakespeare*, 1902

- May 2 to Broxbourn, Sir Henry Cock's.
- May 3 to Theobalds.
- May 7 from Theobalds to London, to the Charter House, Lord Thomas Howard's, where his Majesty rested four days.
- May 11 the King went from the Charter House to Whitehall, and thence to the Tower.

The most important occurrence of the journey was at Newark, "in this town," says the continuator of Stow, "and in the Court, was taken a cut-purse doing the deed, and being a base pilfering thief, yet was all gentleman-like in the outside: this fellow had good store of coin found about him, and upon examination confessed that he had from Berwick to that place played the cut-purse in the Court. The King hearing of this gallant, directed a Warrant to the Recorder of Newark to have him hanged, which was accordingly executed, and all the rest of the prisoners in the Castle were pardoned." The Queen arrived at York, with her two eldest children, Prince Henry and the Lady Elizabeth, on June 11, where they rested several days. They went thence to Grimstone; and on the 27th to East Neston, the seat of Sir George Farmer, whence according to the Continuator of Stow, the King having met them, they proceeded to Sir John Fortescue's. A beautiful Letter from Dr. Tobie Matthews, Bishop of Durham, (Tobie Matthews' father) to Prince Henry, inviting him with the Queen to take rest at Bishop Auckland on their way, is preserved among the Harleian Manuscripts in the Museum. Charles Duke of Albany, the second son of James, being an infant not yet three years old, remained in Scotland till the following year. He began his journey for England July 16, 1604. Hume, speaking of the exultation of James' new subjects, as he passed from Scotland to London, thinks he was in haste, in making his returns of kindness and good offices. The following List of persons Knighted on the journey from Scotland to Belvoir Castle, with their Counties, amounting to a hundred and twenty-one in number, is preserved in the Lansdowne Vol., No. 94. Art. 56:

- In Scotland:  
Sir John Peyton, son to the Lieutenant of the Tower of London.
- At Darwicke:  
Sir William Selbye, Sir Ralph Grey.
- At Woodrington:  
Sir William Fenwick  
Sir Henry Woodrington  
Sir Edward Gorges  
Sir Robert Delavale  
Sir Bartheram Bulmer-Bishop  
Sir Christopher Lowther  
Sir Nicholas Curwen  
Sir James Billingham  
Sir Anderson, Mayor of Newcastle

Sir Nicholas Tufton of Kent

Sir John Conyers-Bishop

- At York April 17:

Sir William Cecil

Sir Edm. Trafford-Lancashire

Sir Thomas Holcroft-Chesh

Sir Philip Constable

Sir Richard Wortley

Sir Christopher Hilliard

Sir H. Chomley

Sir Richard Gargrave

Sir Maur. Vavasor

Sir Ralph Ellarker

Sir William Inglebie

Sir John Mallorie

Sir Marmaduke Grimston

Sir Fra. Boynton

Sir Ralph Bapthorpe

Sir Robert Swifte

Sir H. Bellasses

Sir He. Griffith

Sir Thomas Fairfax-Gilling

Sir Launcelot Alford

Sir George Trevill

- April 19 at Sir Edward Stanhope's House at Grimston:

Sir Roger Ashton, his Majesty's servant

Sir James Harrington

Sir Charles Mountague

Sir Thomas Dawney

Sir Thomas Levell

Sir Thomas Holte

Sir Thomas Ashton

Sir Tho. Gerrard

Sir William Barnburghe

Sir Robert Walter, Mayor of York

- April 21 at Worsop in Nottingham:

Sir John Manners

Sir Peter Frechville

Sir John Harpur



Sir Edward Cockeyn

Sir Henry Grey, nephew to the Earl of Kent

Sir H. Perpointe

Sir Pers Willoughby

Sir John Brion

Sir H. Beaumont

Sir William Skipwith

Sir Francis Newport

Sir Thomas Greysly

Sir Hugh Smith

Sir Thomas Stanley

Sir William Davenport

Sir Edm. Lucie

Sir Walter Cop

Sir Richard Thickeston

- April 22 at Newark Castle, Nottingham:

Sir Richard Mompesson

Sir Robert Brett

Sir John Parker

Sir Lewis Lewkenor

Sir Richard Warburton

Sir Richard Wigmore

Sir James Foxe

Sir Francis Duckett

That day on the way to Bever Castle, Nottinghamshire: Sir John Stanhope, Sir Bryan Lassels, Sir William Sutton and Sir Roger Ascoughe (Sheriff).

- April 23 at Bever Castle:

Sir Oliver Manners

Sir William Willoughby

Sir Thomas Willoughby

Sir William Pelham

Sir Thomas Grantham

Sir Philip Turwhit

Sir, Anthonie Markeham

Sir William Carre

Sir John Thorolde

Sir Edward Ascoughe

Sir H. Pakenham

Sir Roger Dallison

Sir Edm. Bussey  
Sir Ed. Turwhit  
Sir Ella. Carre  
Sir William Armyn  
Sir Nich. Saunderson  
Sir Valentine Browne  
Sir Richard Ogle  
Sir Ham. Whichcott  
Sir Edw. Rosseter  
Sir W. Hickman  
Sir H. Hastings  
Sir Tho. Beaumont  
Sir H. Beaumont  
Sir William Turpyn  
Sir Thomas Cave  
Sir Philip Sherrard  
Sir William Skevington  
Sir William Faunte  
Sir Basil Brooke  
Sir George Manners  
Sir John Zouche  
Sir Edw. Swifte  
Sir William Fairfax  
Sir Philip Strelley  
Sir John Thorney  
Sir John Ferrers  
Sir Edw. Littleton  
Sir William Feildinge  
Sir Everard Digbye  
Sir Gregory Cromwell  
Sir John Wentworth  
Sir William Jepson  
Sir Wa. Chewte

Twenty eight Knights were subsequently made by the King at Theobalds; the creation of Sir William Gardener at the Tower on May 20 made up (as was accompted) the number of two hundred and thirty-seven Knights, or better, made since the King entered Berwicke. (Ellis). <sup>519</sup>

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<sup>519</sup> Henry Ellis. *English History*, 1825

**King's Knights** On July 23, 1603 not less than three hundred Gentlemen reaped the fruits of his Majesty's laborious exertions; and were dubbed Knights in the Royal Garden at Whitehall. Among these, were such of the Judges, Serjeants at Law, Doctors of the Civil Law, and Gentlemen Ushers, as had not before received that honour. Francis Bacon was one. The majority attended according to the Summons:

1. Sir John Bennet, of London.
2. Sir Francis Gawdy, of Norfolk.
3. Sir Edward Fennor, of Middlesex.
4. Sir Christopher Yelverton, of Norfolk.
5. Sir Thomas Walmysley, Lancashire.
6. Sir David Williams.
7. Sir Peter Warberton, of Cheshire.
8. Sir John Hele, of Devonshire.
9. Sir George Kingsmill, of Hampshire.
10. Sir Edward Herne, of Lincolnshire.
11. Sir Robert Clarke, of Essex.
12. Sir Edward Philips, of Somersetshire.
13. Sir John Savill, of Yorkshire.
14. Sir Henry Hobart, of Norfolk.
15. Sir William Daniel, of London.
16. Sir Christopher Parkins, D. C. L. Kent.
17. Sir Daniel Dunne, D. C. L. of London.
18. Sir Thomas Harris, of Essex.
19. Sir Thomas Crompton, D.C.L. London.
20. Sir Thomas Flemyng, of Hampshire.
21. Sir Matthew Carew, D.C.L. of London.
22. Sir Henry Montagu, Northamptonshire
23. Sir George Carew, of London.
24. Sir Francis Bacon, of Hertfordshire.
25. Sir John Tyndall, D. C. L. of Norfolk.
26. Sir George Coppin, of Norfolk.
27. Sir John Gybson, D. C. L. of Yorkshire.
28. Sir Richard Connisby, of London.
29. Sir Edward Stanhop, D.C.L. of Yorkshire.
30. Sir John Drummond, of Scotland.
31. Sir Richard Swale, D.C.L. of Yorkshire.
32. Sir John [Thomas] Conway, of London.
33. Sir John Willoughby, of Lincolnshire.

34. Sir Francis Vincent, of Surrey.
35. Sir John Tyrrell, of Essex.
36. Sir John Cotton, of Cambridgeshire.
37. Sir Philip Scudamore, of Herefordshire.
38. Sir Robert Lane, of Warwickshire.
39. Sir Thomas Dabridgecourt, of Hants.
40. Sir Robert Edwards, of Kent.
41. Sir Rafe Boswell, of Kent.
42. Sir Nicholas Gilborn, of Kent.
43. Sir William Roper, of Kent.
44. Sir Samuel Sandes, Worcestershire.
45. Sir Anthony Roper, of Kent.
46. Sir Thomas Mildmay, of Herefordshire.
47. Sir Christopher Roper, of Kent.
48. Sir Thomas Hanmer [Harnond], of Cheshire.
49. Sir Thomas Bridges, of Gloucestersh.
50. Sir John Whitton.
51. Sir Thomas Smith, of Cheshire.
52. Sir Alexander Cave, of Leicestershire.
53. Sir John Gilbert, of Suffolk.
54. Sir Samuel [Thomas] Saltonstall, of London.
55. Sir Robert Varnam, of Cheshire.
56. Sir Thomas Clarke, of Essex.
57. Sir Thomas Penruddock, of Wiltshire.
58. Sir John Wood, of Essex.
59. Sir Edward Cooke, of Essex.
60. Sir Lewes Mansfield, of Glamorgansh.
61. Sir Thomas Humfrey.
62. Sir Richard Hawkyns, of Kent.
63. Sir John Tracy, of Gloucestershire.
64. Sir John Rogers.
65. Sir Rafe Lawson, of Kent.
66. Sir Robert Alexander, of Herts.
67. Sir William Meredith.
68. Sir John Brown, of Dorsetshire.
69. Sir George Selby, of Northumberland.
70. Sir Richard Skipwith, Leicestershire.
71. Sir Thomas Windebanck, of Berksh.

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72. Sir Thomas Barnardiston, of Essex.
  73. Sir William Gerard, of Bucks.
  74. Sir John Meres, of Kent [Lincolnshire].
  75. Sir Thomas Palmer, of Kent.
  76. Sir Richard Aston, of Cheshire.
  77. Sir Charles Dimmock, of Lincolnshire.
  78. Sir William Thorny, of Nottinghamsh.
  79. Sir Valentyne Brown, of Lincolnsh.
  80. Sir Francis Boylden, of Yorkshire.
  81. Sir John Read, of Lincolnshire.
  82. Sir Edward Dunton.
  83. Sir John Lee, of Lincolnshire.
  84. Sir William Harman, of Cheshire.
  85. Sir Edward Pitt, of Worcestershire.
  86. Sir Henry Longfield, of Bucks.
  87. Sir Thomas Rowe, of London.
  88. Sir Henry Savile, of Yorkshire.
  89. Sir John Bedell, of Huntingdonsh.
  90. Sir Walter Treadway, of Northampton.
  91. Sir Thomas Bedell, of Huntingdon.
  92. Sir George Knighton, of Nottinghamshire.
  93. Sir Edward Peinter.
  94. Sir Henry Day.
  95. Sir Henry Jones.
  96. Sir Henry Rowley, of Essex.
  97. Sir Anthony Everard, of Essex.
  98. Sir Francis Smyth.
  99. Sir Stephen Bood, of Sussex.
  100. Sir Henry Drury, of Norfolk.
  101. Sir Thomas May, of Sussex.
  102. Sir George Chowne, of Kent.
  103. Sir Arthur Acland, of Devonshire.
  104. Sir Thomas Reynell, of Devonshire.
  105. Sir George Reynell, of Devonshire.
  106. Sir William Barnes, of Kent.
  107. Sir Walter Rice, of Lincolnshire.
  108. Sir Robert Monson, of Lincolnshire.
  109. Sir Henry Ayschue, [of Lincolnshire].

110. Sir Charles Hussey, of Lincolnshire.
111. Sir James Pitts, of Worcestershire.
112. Sir Thomas Heneage, of Lincolnshire.
113. Sir Edward Thorold, of Lincolnshire.
114. Sir Walter Lavvson, of Westmoreland.
115. Sir Edmond Montford, of Norfolk.
116. Sir John Montford.
117. Sir William Rigden, of Lincolnshire.
118. Sir John Thornborowe, of Lincolnsh.
119. Sir Francis Sowthe, [of Wiltshire.]
120. Sir William Somervile, of Somersetsh.
121. Sir Nicholas Cotes.
122. Sir Ambrose Copinger, of Middlesex.
123. Sir Henry Blomer, of Gloucestershire.
124. Sir Edmond Thimblethorp, of Norfolk.
125. Sir Nicholas Lusher, of Surrey.
126. Sir Robert Philipps, of Somersetshire.
127. Sir Robert Hyde, of Cambridgeshire.
128. Sir John Philpot, of Hampshire.
129. Sir Thomas Nevill, of Berkshire.
130. Sir Robert Chichester, of Devonshire.
131. Sir Christopher Hart, of Kent.
132. Sir John Newdigate, of Bedfordshire.
133. Sir Edward George, of Somersetshire.
134. Sir Martyn Barnham, of Kent.
135. Sir William Dorrington, of Dorsetsh.
136. Sir Edward Giles, of Devonshire.
137. Sir Richard Elderton.
138. Sir Anthony Culpepper, of Sussex.
139. Sir Richard Cooper, of Surrey.
140. Sir John Granger, of Middlesex.
141. Sir William Reade, of Middlesex.
142. Sir Henry Raynsford, of Surrey.
143. Sir John Chamberlain, of Oxfordsh.
144. Sir Richard Lechford, of Kent.
145. Sir Thomas Harfleet, of Kent.
146. Sir Thomas Dutton, of Cheshire.
147. Sir Thomas Roberts, of Kent.

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148. Sir Francis Dowse, of Somersetshire.
  149. Sir Henry Williams.
  150. Sir Thomas Darrell, of Lincolnshire.
  151. Sir Henry Bowyer, of London.
  152. Sir Thomas Duckett, of Berkshire.
  153. Sir Robert Ashby, of Essex.
  154. Sir Thomas Culpepper, of Sussex.
  155. Sir Edward Avery, of Gloucestershire.
  156. Sir George Sommers, of Dorsetshire.
  157. Sir Richard Potman, of Kent.
  158. Sir Thomas Hunt, of Norfolk.
  159. Sir John Morley, of London.
  160. Sir John Wildgose, of Kent.
  161. Sir George Peter, of Essex.
  162. Sir Thomas Philipps, of Somersetsh.
  163. Sir Simon Steward, of Cambridgesh.
  164. Sir Nicholas Gascoyne, of Surrey.
  165. Sir Barnard Whetstone, of Lincolnshire.
  166. Sir Thomas Clark, of Essex.
  167. Sir George Waldgrave, of Suffolk.
  168. Sir William Barrow, of Suffolk.
  169. Sir John Wentworth, of Suffolk.
  170. Sir Richard Smith, of Kent.
  171. Sir William Slyngsby, of Yorkshire.
  172. Sir Arnold Lygon, of Worcestershire.
  173. Sir Edward Allamy.
  174. Sir George Young, of Somersetshire.
  175. Sir John Skynner, of Essex.
  176. Sir Conyers Darcy, of Yorkshire.
  177. Sir Matthew Gamble, of Lincolnshire.
  178. Sir William Harman.
  179. Sir John Gamble, of Lincolnshire.
  180. Sir Anthony Browne, of Essex.
  181. Sir Richard Weston, of Surrey.
  182. Sir Nicholas Poyntz, of Gloucestersh.
  183. Sir Leonard Hassell.
  184. Sir Owen Oglethorp, of Oxfordshire.
  185. Sir Francis Barnham, of Kent.

186. Sir George Walmore, of Nottingham.
187. Sir George Fane, of Kent.
188. Sir Henry Stoner, of Oxfordshire.
189. Sir Gregory Wilmore, of Lincolnshire.
190. Sir John Cams.
191. Sir George Buck, of Lincolnshire.
192. Sir Leonard Hyde, of Hertfordshire.
193. Sir John Buck, of Wore. [Lincolnsh.]
194. Sir Charles Morgan, of Herefordshire.
195. Sir Thomas Coney, of Lincolnshire.
196. Sir Rowland Morgan, of Herefordshire.
197. Sir Thomas Berney, of Norfolk.
198. Sir Thomas Hardres, of Kent
199. Sir Mark Steward, of Cambridgeshire.
200. Sir Richard Beaumont, of Leicestersh.
201. Sir Henry Cholrnlley, of Cheshire.
202. Sir Edward Peacock, of Middlesex.
203. Sir Drue Drury, of Norfolk.
204. Sir Christopher Yelverton, of Norfolk.
205. Sir Charles Yelverton, of Norfolk.
206. Sir William Gresham, of Norfolk.
207. Sir Henry Rowles, of Devonshire.
208. Sir John Hacher.
209. Sir William Blackston, of Durham.
210. Sir Thomas Mildmay, of Essex.
211. Sir Rowland Lacy, of Oxfordshire.
212. Sir William Goodyer, of Berkshire.
213. Sir Timothy Lowe, of Kent.
214. Sir Thomas Wanton.
215. Sir Julian Hanson, of Middlesex.
216. Sir Thomas Skynner, of Essex.
217. Sir James Croft, of Herefordshire.
218. Sir William Worlington, of Essex.
219. Sir John Dorrington, of Nottinghamsh.
220. Sir Anthony Denton, of Buckinghamsh.
221. Sir John Needham, of Northamptonsh.
222. Sir Edward Onley, of Northamptonsh.
223. Sir Thomas Seimor, of Somersetshire.



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224. Sir Henry Helmes, of Norfolk.
  225. Sir William Layton, of Shropshire.
  226. Sir William Mynne, of Rutlandshire.
  227. Sir James Stonehouse, of London.
  228. Sir Mark Ive, of Essex.
  229. Sir Thomas Horwolle.
  230. Sir William Thomas, of Carnarvonsh.
  231. Sir William Morris, of Carnarvonshire.
  232. Sir Edward Capel, of Hertfordshire.
  233. Sir Morris Griffith.
  234. Sir Andrew Ashley.
  235. Sir Edward Suliard, of Suffolk.
  236. Sir Benjamine Pellet, of Sussex.
  237. Sir Andrew Paschall, of Essex.
  238. Sir Edward Raleigh, of Warwickshire.
  239. Sir Richard Edgecombe, of Devonshire.
  240. Sir Richard Vaughan, of Herefordshire.
  241. Sir William Cob, of Norfolk.
  242. Sir Nicholas Gascoign, of Surrey.
  243. Sir Francis Cleer, of Norfolk.
  244. Sir George Forster.
  245. Sir James Calthrop, of Norfolk.
  246. Sir Thomas Darrell.
  247. Sir Thomas Roberts.
  248. Sir Henry Disney, of Lincolnshire.
  249. Sir Gilford Slingsby, of Yorkshire.
  250. Sir John Suliard, of Suffolk.
  251. Sir Philip Connisby, of Herefordshire.
  252. Sir Hugh Wyrall.
  253. Sir George Cotton, of Cambridgeshire.
  254. Sir Richard Saltonstall, of London.
  255. Sir John Gilbert, of Suffolk.
  256. Sir Robert Horton.
  257. Sir Edward Butler, of Hertfordshire.
  258. Sir Vincent Fulnetby.
  259. Sir Henry Thynne, of Wiltshire.
  260. Sir Francis Egeock, of Worcestershire.
  261. Sir Richard Kgerton, of Staffordshire.

262. Sir Philip Kighley.
263. Sir Edward Ashford.
264. Sir William Harris, of Essex.
265. Sir Ralph Gibbs, of Lincolnshire.
266. Sir Thomas Dalison, of Lincolnshire.
267. Sir John Gunbert.
268. Sir John Dormer, of Buckinghamshire.
269. Sir John Jenkins.
270. Sir William Bond, of London.
271. Sir William Bouchier.
272. Sir Francis Tanfield, of Norfolk.
273. Sir William Grey, of Norfolk.
274. Sir George Belgrave, of Line. [Leic.]
275. Sir Robert Dynley.
276. Sir Clement Spilman, of Norfolk.
277. Sir Daniel Norton, of Hampshire.
278. Sir Edward Sheffeld, of Yorkshire.
279. Sir George Gyll, of Hertfordshire.
280. Sir Calthrop Parker, of Suffolk.
281. Sir Clipesby Gawdy, of Suffolk.
282. Sir Edward Marbury, of Lincolnshire.
283. Sir William Wytherington, of Northumberland.
284. Sir John Daunsey, of Chester.
285. Sir William Wythens, of Kent.
286. Sir Richard Tracy, of Gloucestershire.
287. Sir Jngleby Daniel, of Yorkshire.
288. Sir John Powell.
289. Sir Robert Edolfe, of Kent.
290. Sir David Wodrofe.
291. Sir Manwood Penruddok, of Wiltshire.
292. Sir Thomas Harwell, of Worcestersh.
293. Sir Thomas Bigges, of Worcestershire.
294. Sir Edward Blenerhasset, of Norfolk.
295. Sir Robert Welsh, of Sussex.
296. Sir George Snelling, of Sussex.
297. Sir John Claxton, of Durham.
298. Sir Richard Manwaring, of Cheshire.
299. Sir George Parkins, of Kent.

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300. Sir Ralph Maddison, of Kent.
  301. Sir Richard Wyver.
  302. Sir Robert Stamford.
  303. Sir Robert Chester, of Hertford.
  304. Sir Thomas Gresham, of Surrey.
  305. Sir Henry Warner, of Suffolk.
  306. Sir Thomas Hayes.
  307. Sir Henry Ashley, of Kent.
  308. Sir Robert Wynde, of Norfolk.
  309. Sir Edward Cleyborne.
  310. Sir Francis Curson, of Shropshire.
  311. Sir Anthony Rowse, of Cornwall.
  312. Sir William Reynard.
  313. Sir William Steed, of Kent.
  314. Sir William Ap Rice, of Huntingdonsh.
  315. Sir Thomas Standish, of Lincolnshire.
  316. Sir Walter Devereux, of Suffolk.
  317. Sir William Hudson, of Northumb.
  318. Sir Edward Pynchon, of Essex.
  319. Sir Thomas Freak, of Dorsetshire.
  320. Sir Robert Miller, of Dorsetshire.
  321. Sir Thomas Prideaux, of Devonshire.
  322. Sir Fleetwood Dormer, of Buckingham.
  323. Sir Henry Maxey, of Essex.
  324. Sir Henry Buckingham.
  325. Sir William Samuel.
  326. Sir John Acton, of Devonshire.
  327. Sir Bartholomew Sambourne, Somers.
  328. Sir Thomas Rookby, of Yorkshire.
  329. Sir Alexander Barlow, of Lancashire.
  330. Sir Roger Portington, of Yorkshire.
  331. Sir Henry Whitehead, of Hampshire.
  332. Sir Reynold Scryven, of Shropshire.
  333. Sir Francis Hillesley, of Yorkshire.
  334. Sir Richard Pell, of Hampshire.
  335. Sir Thomas Bartlet, of Gloucestershire.
  336. Sir Thomas Eden, of Suffolk.
  337. Sir Anthony Ireby, of Lincolnshire.

- 338. Sir Henry James, of Kent.
- 339. Sir Anthony Pelliam.
- 340. Sir Edward Awbrey, of Pembrokeshire.
- 341. Sir Thomas Southwell, of Norfolk.
- 342. Sir William Awbrey, of Pembrokeshire.
- 343. Sir Edward Parham, of Lincolnshire.
- 344. Sir George Forster.
- 345. Sir John Bentley, of Derbyshire.
- 346. Sir William Howson, of Lincolnshire.
- 347. Sir Thomas Lambert, of Lincolnshire.
- 348. Sir William Wray, of Cornwall.
- 349. Sir Edward Sowthe, of Somersetshire.
- 350. Sir Richard Michelborne, of Sussex.
- 351. Sir John Hubert, of Norfolk.
- 352. Sir Isaac Appleton, of Essex.
- 353. Sir Alexander Barlow, of Lancashire.
- 354. Sir Tobie Chancy, of Northamptons.
- 355. Sir Thomas Fowler, of Middlesex.
- 356. Sir William Chancy, of Northampton.
- 357. Sir Charles Kelk, of Lincolnshire.
- 358. Sir Walter Ayscough, of Lincolnshire.
- 359. Sir Thomas Varnam, of Yorkshire.
- 360. Sir Richard Conquest, of Bedfordshire.
- 361. Sir Christopher Hodson, of Bucks.
- 362. Sir John Bynne.
- 363. Sir John Lockton.
- 364. Sir Giles Howland, of London.
- 365. Sir John Pawlet, of Wiltshire.
- 366. Sir Francis Ventrice, of Northamptons.
- 367. Sir Charles Barnaby, of Yorkshire.
- 368. Sir Henry Bunbury, of Cheshire.
- 369. Sir Thomas Drew, of Devonshire.
- 370. Sir George Southcot, of Devonshire.
- 371. Sir Robert Brown, of Dorsetshire.
- 372. Sir William Harris, of Kent.
- 373. Sir Hugh Brown, of London.
- 374. Sir Henry Windham, of Norfolk.
- 375. Sir Anthony Drury, of Norfolk.

376. Sir Robert Drury, of Suffolk.
377. Sir John Pretyman, of Suffolk.
378. Sir William Pawlet, of Wiltshire.
379. Sir John Ayhner, of Lincolnshire.
380. Sir Thomas Hanrner, of Flintshire.
381. Sir Jasper Moore.
382. Sir William Craford, of Kent.
383. Sir Robert Stanford, of Staffordshire.
384. Sir Robert Cotton, of Huntingdonsh.
385. Sir George Grenvile, of Cornwall.
386. Sir George Gilby, of Lincolnshire.
387. Sir Richard Feteplace, of Berkshire.
388. Sir Jerom Horsey, Buckinghamshire.
389. Sir Francis Goldsmith, of Kent.
390. Sir Thomas Elliot, of Surrey.
391. Sir Robert Prideaux, of Devonshire.
392. Sir Nicholas Stodder, of Kent.
393. Sir Robert Penruddoc, of Wiltshire.

**Kiss Oak** A remarkable old oak tree, hollow from age, known as the “Kiss oak,” stands within a few hundred yards of Gorhambury remains.

## L

**Latin** Bacon had no confidence in the permanent vitality of English as a classical language. “These modern languages,” he said, “will at one time or other play the bankrupts with books.” With the modern day ebooks on the World Wide Web, he has not strayed too far with his predictions that books are now becoming bankrupt in our hands. Those of his works therefore which he wished to live and which were not originally written in Latin, he translated or caused to be translated into that language, “The universal language,” as he called it. In the first century of the Imperial period it begins already to decay, by being mixed with poetical diction and becoming estranged from natural expression. The decay of accidence and syntax begins also about this time. Later on, the plebeian element found admission. And when the influence provincial writers, who were not guided by a native dense of language and who mingled popular and literary language and mixed up the diction and style of all periods, became prevalent in literature, the confusion became still greater. In Italy itself the language of literature became more and more different from the living language, and became entirely dependent upon the culture attained by each writer, which continually fell to a lower lever. The more provincial Latin (the Romance language) developed, the more did literary Latin become a foreign tongue, familiar only to the learned. (Mommsen).

<sup>520</sup> Latin was still a living language among scholars in Bacon's time. They used it not to show how well they could imitate the manner in which Cicero or Tacitus expressed his thoughts, but to express their own; and in Bacon's hands it became an organ of expression extremely powerful and sensitive, full of felicities and delicate effects, depending upon its own peculiar resources, and not transferable in the same form into a language of different structure. (Spedding). Latin was in active use as an elegance of manners, for working purposes as an international tongue, for the writing of scholars, in all things in which men consciously sought to show an elevation above the common. In the law, the procedure was still in Latin the ingenious torsions of classical use, and the absolute inventions, to make the Augustan tongue serve the purposes of naming things and expressing ideas Augustus never dreamed of, amuse and irritate. But they served their day.

**Le reckoninge** *Fr*; the reckoning, attributed to Kit Marlowe's murder.

**London Stone** A Roman milliarium or milestone, and to have marked the point in London whence all Roman roads radiated and distances were measured. Holinshed mentions Jack Cade striking his sword upon the stone after the storming of London Bridge and announcing himself Lord of the city; as does Shakespeare in *Henry VI*. (Owen). <sup>521</sup>

**Lord Chancellor** Bacon was appointed Lord Chancellor, being then Lord Verulam, January 4, 1617–18.

**Lord Keeper of the Great Seal** On March 7, 1616–17 the Great Seal is delivered to Sir Francis Bacon, the King's Attorney, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, whom the King admonished not to seal anything till after mature deliberation, to give righteous judgment between parties, and that he should not extend the Regal Prerogative too far." (Camden). In Camden's *Annals*, is given the following Order of the solemn Procession of Francis Bacon as he "rode in pomp to Westminster, accompanied by most of the Council and Nobility about town with other gallants to the number of more than two hundred horse, besides the Judges and Inns of Court" in 1617 when he was honoured the Great Seal: 1. Clerks and inferior Officers in Chancery; 2. Students in Law; 3. Gentlemen, Servants to the Keeper, Serjeant-at-Arms, and the Seal-bearer, all on foot; 4. Himself on horseback, in a gown of purple satin, between the Treasurer and the Keeper of the Privy Seal; 5. Earls, Barons, Privy Councilors; 6. Noblemen of all ranks; 7. Judges, to whom the next place to the Privy Councilors was assigned." And the satirical Weldon gives the following exaggerated but amusing account of Bacon's conduct during the King's absence: "Now he instantly begins to believe himself King, lies in the King's lodgings, gives audience in the great Banqueting House, makes all other Councilors attend his motions, with the same state the King used to come out to give audience to Ambassadors; when any other Councilor sat with him about the King's affairs, would, if they sat near him, bid them know their distance; (upon which Winwood the Secretary

<sup>520</sup> Mommsen. 1, 95. 228

<sup>521</sup> Will Owen. *Old London*, 1921

rose, went away, and would never sit more, but instantly dispatch one to the King, to desire him to make haste back, for his seat was already usurped, at which I remember the King reading it to us, both the King and we were very merry;) and if Buckingham had sent him any letter, would not vouchsafe the opening or reading in public, though it was said it required speedy dispatch, nor would vouchsafe him any answer.”

## M

**Mackey Albert's opinion on Bacon** In Albert G. Mackey's *An Encyclopaedia Of Freemasonry And Its Kindred Sciences* (1874), there is no name reference on Shaksper or Shakespeare; but on Bacon, and here it is:

Bacon, Francis. Baron of Verulam, commonly called Lord Bacon. Nicolai thinks that a great impulse was exercised upon the early history of Freemasonry by *The New Atlantis* of Lord Bacon. In this learned romance Bacon supposes that a vessel lands on an unknown island, called Bensalem, over which a certain King Solomon reigned in days of yore. This King had a large establishment, which was called the House of Solomon, or the College of the workmen of six days, namely, the days of the creation. He afterwards describes the immense apparatus which was there employed in physical researches.

There were, says he, deep grottoes and towers for the successful observation of certain phenomena of nature; artificial mineral waters; large buildings, in which meteors, the wind, thunder, and rain were imitated; extensive botanic gardens; entire fields, in which all kinds of animals were collected, for the study of their instincts and habits; houses filled with all the wonders of nature and art; a great number of learned men, each of whom, in his own country, had the direction of these things; they made journeys and observations; they wrote, they collected, they determined results, and deliberated together as to what was proper to be published and what concealed.

This romance became at once very popular, and everybody's attention was attracted by the allegory of the House of Solomon. But it also contributed to spread Bacon's views on experimental knowledge, and led afterwards to the institution of the Royal Society, to which Nicolai attributes a common object with that of the Society of Freemasons, established, he says, about the same time, the difference being only that one was esoteric and the other exoteric in its instructions. But the more immediate effect of the romance of Bacon was the institution of the Society of Astrologers, of which Elias Ashmole was a leading member.

Of this society Nicolai, in his work on the Origin and History of Rosicrucianism and Freemasonry, says: "Its object was to build the House of Solomon, of the New Atlantis, in the literal sense, but the establishment was to remain as secret as the island of Bensalem; that is to say, they were to be engaged in the study of nature; but the instruction of its principles was to remain in the society in an esoteric form. These philosophers presented their idea in a strictly allegorical

method. First, there were the ancient columns of Hermes, by which Iamblichus pretended that he had enlightened all the doubts of Porphyry. You then mounted, by several steps, to a chequered floor, divided into four regions, to denote the four superior sciences; after which came the types of the six days' work, which expressed the object of the society, and which were the same as those found on an engraved stone in my possession. The sense of all which was this: God created the world, and preserves it by fixed principles, full of wisdom; he who seeks to know these principles (that is to say, the interior of nature) approximates to God, and he who thus approximates to God obtains from his grace the power of commanding nature. This society met at Masons' Hall in Basinghall Street, because many of its members were also members of the Masons' Company, into which they all afterwards entered and assumed the name of Free and Accepted Masons," and thus he traces the origin of the Order to the New Atlantis and the House of Solomon of Lord Bacon.

It is only a theory, but it seems to throw some light on that long process of incubation which terminated at last, in 1717, in the production of the Grand Lodge of England. The connection of Ashmole with the Masons is a singular one, and has led to some controversy. The views of Nicolai, if not altogether correct, may suggest the possibility of an explanation.

**Magna Carta** In the historical drama of *King John* Shakespeare does not mention Magna Carta, the granting of which was the great event of the reign. The fair inference may be that he was not in sympathy with such a movement. Francis Bacon also in all his writings does not allude to the subject.

**Marprelate controversy** A pamphlet-war which raged so furiously in 1588 and 1589, between the revilers of the Bishops on the one side, and revilers of the Puritans on the other, and in which the appeal was made by both parties to the basest passions and prejudices of the vulgar. [Also see Part II: *Marprelate Martin*.]

**Mason etymology** The search for the etymology or derivation of the word Mason has given rise to numerous theories, some of them ingenious, but many of them very absurd. Thus, a writer in the *European Magazine*, for February 1792, who signs his name as "George Drake," lieutenant of marines, attempts to trace the Masons to the Druids, and derives Mason from May's being in reference to May-day, the great festival of the Druids, and on meaning men, as in the French on dit, for *homme dit*. According to this, May's therefore means the Men of May. But this idea is not original with Drake, since the same derivation was urged in 1766 by Cleland, in his *Essays on The Way to Things in Words*, and on *The Real Secret of Freemasons*.

Hutchinson, in his search for a derivation, seems to have been perplexed with the variety of roots that presented themselves, and, being inclined to believe that the name of Mason "has its derivation from a language in which it implies some strong indication or distinction of the nature of the society, and that it has no relation to architects," looks for the root in the Greek tongue. Thus he thinks that the word Mason may come from Mao Soon, "I seek salvation, or from Mystes, an initiate" and that Masonry is only a corruption of Mesouraneo, "I am in the



midst of heaven;" or from Mazourouth, a constellation mentioned by Job, or from *Mysterion* [Greek], "a mystery." Lessing says, in his *Ernst und Folk* that Masa in the Anglo-Saxon signifies a table, and that Masonry, consequently, is a society of the table. Nicolai thinks he finds the root in the Low Latin word of the Middle Ages Massonya, or Masonia, which signifies an exclusive society or club, such as that of the round-table.

Coming down to later times, we find C.W. Moore, in his *Boston Magazine*, of May 1844, deriving Mason from Lithotomos, [Greek] "a Stone-cutter." But although fully aware of the elasticity of etymological rules, it surpasses our ingenuity to get Mason etymologically out of Lithotomos. Giles F. Yates sought for the derivation of Mason in the Greek word *Mazones*, a festival of Dionysus, and he thought that this was another proof of the lineal descent of the Masonic order from the Dionysiac Artificers. William S. Rockwell, who was accustomed to find all his Masonry in the Egyptian mysteries, and who was a thorough student of the Egyptian hieroglyphic system, derives the word Mason from a combination of two phonetic signs, the one being MAI, and signifying "to love," and the other being SON, which means "a brother." Hence, he says, "this combination, MAISON, expresses exactly in sound our word MASON, and signifies literally loving brother, that is, philadelphus, brother of an association, and thus corresponds also in sense."

But all of these fanciful etymologies, which would have terrified Bopp, Grimm, or Muller, or any other student of linguistic relations, forcibly remind us of the French epigrammatist, who admitted that alphina came from equus, but that, in so coming, it had very considerably changed its route. What, then, is the true derivation of the word Mason? Let us see what the orthoepists, who had no Masonic theories, have said upon the subject.

Webster, seeing that in Spanish "masa" means "mortar", is inclined to derive Mason, as denoting one that works in mortar, from the root of "mass", which of course gave birth to the Spanish word. In Low or Mediaeval Latin, Mason was "machio" or "macio", and this Du Cange derives from the Latin "maceria", [a long wall]. Others find a derivation in "machince", because the builders stood upon machines to raise their walls. But Richardson takes a common sense view of the subject. He says, "It appears to be obviously the same word as "maison", a house or mansion, applied to the person who builds, instead of the thing built. The French "maissonner" is to build houses; "masonner", to build of stone. The word "Mason" is applied by usage to a builder in stone, and "Masonry" to work in stone." Carpenter gives "massom", used in 1225, for a building of stone, and "massonus", used in 1304, for a "mason"; and the Benedictine editors of *Du Cange define Massoneria* "a building, the French "maconnerie", and "massonerius," as Latomus or a Mason, both words in manuscripts of 1385.

As a practical question, we are compelled to reject all those fanciful derivations which connect the Masons etymologically and historically with the Greeks, the Egyptians, or the Druids, and to take the word Mason in its ordinary signification of a worker in stone, and thus indicate the origin of the Order from a Society or Association of practical and operative builders. We

need no better root than the Mediaeval Latin “Maconner”, to build, or “Maconetus”, a builder. (Mackey).<sup>522</sup> The Concise Dictionary of English Etymology gives it as follows: Mason. (F.=Low L.=G.?) O.F. *masson*; F. *maçon*. = Low L. *macionem*, acc. Of *macio*, *macho*, *maco*, *mactio*, *mattio*, *matio*. Perhaps from M.H.G. *mezzo*, a mason, whence G. *steinmetz*, a stone-mason; allied to O.H.G. *meizan*, to hew, cut (whence G. *meissel*, a chisel). + Icel. *meita*, to hew, Goth. *maitan*, to hew, cut, a strong verb. (Base MIT.)

De Quincey writes: “The immediate Father of Freemasonry was the author of the *Summum Bonum*, the work of a Friend of Fludd.” Robert Fludd being one of Francis Bacon’s fieldworkers propagating Rosicrucian Principles. According to Dodd,<sup>523</sup> Robert Fludd “lived for a time at Stratford and was responsible for the Stratford Monument with its Rosicrosse Signals in conjunction with Francis Bacon’s intimate friend, George Carew, whose influence in Stratford was paramount, and his cousin, Sir Anthony Cook, who also lived in the neighbourhood.” Robert Fludd, or, as he called himself in his Latin writings, Robertas de Fluctibus, was in the seventeenth century a prominent member of the Rosicrucian Fraternity. He was born in England in 1574, and having taken the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts at St. John’s College, Oxford, he commenced the study of physic, and in due time took the degree of Doctor of Medicine. He died in 1637. [Also see Part II: *Fludd Robert*.]

**Masonic Pillars** The Golden Pillars: Hiram, King of Tyre, according to Menander, dedicated a pillar of gold to Jupiter, on the grand junction he had formed between Eurichorus and Tyre (Ioscon-Apion). In the Temple of Jupiter Triphylius, in the fabulous island of Panchaia, there was a golden bed of Jupiter six cubits in length and four in breadth, upon which there stood a golden column, and a chronicle of the actions of Uranus, Saturn and Jove was inscribed upon the column in Panchaian letters, or, as Diodorus says in another passage, in the sacred Egyptian letters.

The Two Pillars Of Solomon: Pillars or obelisks were often used to commemorate remarkable events in the private annals of nations. The Wisdom of Solomon, therefore, induced him to construct a pair of commemorative pillars, and to place them at the entrance of the porch, for a reason which will shortly appear. He called their names Jachin and Boaz, which signified strength and erection, and their union stability. The right hand pillar was named after Jachin, the son Simeon, and that on the left from Boaz, the great grandfather of David. Our traditions say that Hiram gave a name to one pillar and Solomon to the other. Boaz referred to the Sun, because he rejoiceth as a strong man to run his course; and Jachin to the Moon, because it was predicted of Solomon that in his Kingdom, peace and righteousness should flourish so long as the Sun and Moon endure.<sup>524</sup>

De Quincey writes: “The two pillars, also, Jachin and Boaz (strength and power), which are amongst the memorable singularities in Solomon’s Temple, have an occult meaning to the

522 Albert G. Mackey, M. D. *An Encyclopaedia Of Freemasonry And Its Kindred Sciences*, 1874

523 Alfred Dodd. *The Personal Poems of Francis Bacon*, 1930

524 Lect. IX., p. 219, *The Theocratic Philosophy of Freemasonry*

Freemasons, which, however, I shall not undertake publicly to explain. This symbolic interest to the English Rosicrucian in the attributes, incidents and legends of the art exercised by the literal Masons of real life, naturally brought the two orders into some connection with each other. They were thus enabled to realize to their eyes the symbols of their allegories; and the same building which accommodated the guild of builders in their professional meetings, offered a desirable means of secret assemblies to the early Freemasons. An apparatus of implements and utensils such as were presented in the fabulous sepulchre of Father Rosycross, were here actually brought together. And accordingly, it is upon record that the first formal and solemn Lodge of Freemasons, on occasion of which the very name of Freemasons was first publicly made known, was held in Mason's Hall, Mason's Alley, Basinghall Street, London, in the year 1646.<sup>525</sup> Into this Lodge it was that Ashmole, the antiquary, was admitted. Private meetings there may doubtless have been before, and one at Warrington (half-way between Liverpool and Manchester) is expressly mentioned in the life of Ashmole; but the name of a Freemasons' Lodge, with all the insignia, attributes and circumstances of a lodge, first came forward in the page of history on the occasion mentioned. It is, perhaps, in requital of the services at that time rendered in the loan of their hall; that the guild of Masons as a body, and where they are not individually objectionable, enjoy a precedency of all orders of men in the light to admission, and pay only half fees. Ashmole, by the way, whom I have just mentioned as one of the earliest Freemasons, appears from his writings to have been a zealous Rosicrucian."<sup>526</sup>

**Merits to Francis Bacon** Peter Boener, who was private apothecary to Bacon for a time, wrote in 1647 a *Life*, of portions of which the following are translations: "But how runneth man's future. He who seemed to occupy the highest rank is alas by envious tongues near King and Parliament deposed from all his offices and Chancellorship, little considering what treasure was being cast in the mire, as afterwards the issue and result thereof have shown in that country. But he always comforted himself with the words of Scripture *nihil est novi*; [there is nothing new;] Because so is Cicero by Octavianus; Calisthenes by Alexander; Seneca (all his former teachers) by Nero; yea, Ovid, Lucanus, Statius (together with many others), for a small cause very unthankfully the one banished, the other killed, the third thrown to the lions. But even as for such men banishment is freedom death their life, so is for this author his deposition a memory to greater honour and

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525 W.F.C. Wigston. *The Columbus of Literature*, 1892: "De Quincey's essay is entirely borrowed from Buhle, even to the learned foot-notes, and I question, De Quincey had ever read any of the genuine and real Rosicrucian literature for himself at all. De Quincey cuts up Buhle's dissertation, as the Abyssinian is reported to do with regard to the living animal, carves a steak, helps himself, and tortures his subject, without killing him. De Quincey contradicts himself, and is just as confused over his subject as Buhle whom he ridicules for this identical reason. De Quincey tells us of the lodge meeting at Warrington in 1646, but omits to state what Oliver (in his *Discrepancies of Freemasonry*) adds, that Bacon's *New Atlantis* was there discussed and his pillars adopted. This proves Bacon's Rosicrucian (or at least Masonic) affiliations, and it gives the evidence all in favour of Nicolai, Buhle and many other German writers on this subject."

526 Essay on Rosicrucians

fame, and to such a sage no harm can come, whilst his fortunes were so changed, I never saw him either in mien, word or acts changed or disturbed towards whomsoever; he was ever one and the same, both in sorrow and in joy, as becometh a philosopher; always with a benevolent allocution. A noteworthy example and pattern for everyone of all virtue, gentleness, peacefulness, and patience.” Francis Osborn, in his *Advice to a Son*, writes: “And my memory neither doth nor (I believe possible ever) can direct me towards an example more splendid in this kind, than the Lord Bacon, Earl of St. Albans, who in all companies did appear a good Proficient, if not a Master in those Arts entertained for the Subject of everyone’s discourse. So as I dare maintain, without the least affectation of Flattery or Hyperbole, that his most casual talk deserveth to be written, as I have been told his first or foulest Copies required no great Labour to render them competent for the nicest judgments. A high perfection, attainable only by use, and treating with every man in his respective profession, and what he was most versed in. So as I have heard him entertain a Country Lord in the proper terms relating to Hawks and Dogs. And at another time out, cant a London Chirurgeon. Thus he did not only learn himself, but gratify such as taught him; who looked upon their callings as honoured through his notice; nor did an easy falling into arguments (not unjustly taken for a blemish in the most) appear less than an ornament in him: the ears of the hearers receiving more gratification, than trouble; and (so) no less sorry when he came to conclude, than displeased with any did interrupt him. Now this general Knowledge he had in all things, husbanded by his wit, and dignified by so Majestical a carriage he was known to own, struck such an awful reverence in those he questioned, that they durst not conceal the most intrinsic part of their Mysteries from him, for fear of appearing ignorant, or saucy. All which rendered him no less necessary, than admirable at the Council Table, where in reference to impositions, monopolies, the meanest manufacturers were an usual argument: and, as I have heard, did in this baffle, the Earl of Middlesex, that was born and bred a citizen. Yet without any great (if at all) interrupting his other studies, as is not hard to be imagined of a quick apprehension, in which he was admirable.”

Alfred Dodd: “Francis Bacon is the greatest genius and one of the most lovable men that the world has ever seen. Pope said: “Lord Bacon is the greatest genius that either England or perhaps any other country ever produced.” Lord Macaulay admitted that “he had the most exquisitely constructed intellect that has ever been bestowed on any of the children of men.” Ben Jonson declared “he stands as the mark and acme of our language. It is he that hath filled up all numbers,” all forms of versification. “He was retiring, nervous, sensitive, unconventional and very modest” (Spedding); “a man most sweet in his conversation and way” (Tobie Matthews, his friend); “all who were great and good loved him; a poet but concealed” (John Aubrey, a contemporary writer); “he was deeply religious for he was conversant with God and able to render a reason for the hope which was in him” (Dr. Rawley, his chaplain). Francis Bacon was a great lawyer; the Great Code Napoleon is based on his digest of law; a great states-man; he prevented the depopulation of England; a Founder of new States, the Virginias and the Carolinas; thus making

the New World English instead of Spanish; a great philosopher, for he acted as bell-ringer to all the Sciences and taught men to experiment for the good of humanity. To comparatively few is it known that he is also the greatest dramatist and poet of all time; that he is the Immortal Bard Shakespeare; and that he used the word as a pen-name, taking it from the goddess Pallas Athena, the Shaker of the Spear of Knowledge at the Serpent of Ignorance. No one has been more maligned and abused than Francis Bacon. The lie against his name has sunk deep into the souls of men. Macaulay is largely responsible with his brilliantly shallow *Essay* for the criminal slander, which alleges him to be a corrupt judge and a cold-hearted hypocrite. It is repeated in elementary School Readers. We were taught to believe the lie in our childhood. Few are aware that biographers like Montague, Spedding and Dixon; irrespective of the testimony of contemporary writers like Ben Jonson, Aubrey and Bushell; long ago refuted this infamous fiction. Writing as one who would not wantonly mislead anyone, as one who has closely examined all available documents, as one familiar with the various biographies *pro* and *con*, as a juror who actually entered the box severely prejudiced against him, I unhesitatingly declare that Francis Bacon not only leaves the dock without a stain on his character, but that his public actions give him rank with those immortal souls who preferred to suffer martyrdom rather than be false to the ideals they espoused. His character and life place him with martyrs like Socrates. He committed hara-kiri, socially and politically, at the bidding of his master King James, to save him and his Favourite Buckingham from a possible constitutional conflict with the Commons. He was the victim of a plot as diabolical as ever stained the pages of history. There is not, in fact, a single act, for which he has been condemned by purists who have suppressed vital evidence and distorted details to fit their preconceived prejudices, that even requires apology. This is the opinion of one who, misled by academic teachers, had never any time for Francis Bacon. From my youth upwards, I felt that "genius" was no excuse for corrupt double-dealing. An examination of the bed-rock documents has convinced me, however, that Francis Bacon's greatest "crime" was his virtue in a corrupt era, not his alleged sins. Forget, then, the harsh things that have been written against him. There is a complete reply to every charge. Suspend your judgment, at least, until you have become acquainted with the other side. Do not believe the truth about such myriad-minded personality is accurately mirrored in the pages of Campbell, Church, Abbott, Macaulay. The actual documents, letters, and knowledge of the times in which he lived are sufficient to clear his name. There is, moreover, a greater mystery in Francis Bacon's life than such biographers ever dreamed; a hidden life; the life of a man who was building great bases for Eternity to the glory of God and the good of humanity. In one of his lectures, Ruskin says in effect, "In my early days I trusted the Authorities. I thought they would tell me the truth of things. I now discover I have been deceived." I am, therefore, in good company when I say that pendants, with jaundiced eyes, are not safe guides. The "Authorities" are suspect, not only on Francis Bacon's character, but also the entire Shakespearean Problem, except, perhaps, purely textual matters. I have been driven to regard the orthodox mind, with its a priori judgments, as I would a "slippery customer." There are,

I find, twisters in the Literary World as there are in the Marts of Commerce. When Academic Scholarship libels the character of a man who cannot defend himself, when it robs a genius of his “good name which makes him poor indeed,” when it disseminates misleading views, whether ignorantly or wilfully respecting the truth of matters regarding our National Poet, it is little short of criminal. The nation has a right to demand from the custodians of our Literary and Historic Heritage, the Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth. The wilful manipulation of facts by men like Sir Sidney Lee in his *Life of Shaksper*, in order to bolster up a tradition, and by Lord Macaulay in his *Life of Francis Bacon*, to perpetuate and largely originate a wanton lie merely to display rhetorical flourishes, is not only dishonest, it is corrupt. It poisons the fountain of knowledge at the wellhead.”<sup>527</sup>

“It is necessary sometimes to correct the knowledge we receive” said D’Israeli in his *Miscellanies of Literature* (1840) but in honour of Francis Bacon’s name are to be found (only a few inserted here) in these following works worth giving:

1. John Davis of Hereford *The Scourge of Folly* (1610).
2. Henry Peacham *Minerva Britannia* (1612).
3. *Mirror of Majesty* (1618) authorship remains somewhat in doubt.
4. Ben Jonson *Ode for Lord Bacon’s Birthday* (1621) and *Discoveries* (1641).
5. Thomas Powell in his *Attorney’s Academy* (1630) compares Bacon to Seneca.
6. Edmund Waller *The Poems of Edmund Waller* (1645).
7. Whitney George *The Great Assizes* (1643–5).
8. *Manes Verulamiani*, thirty-two Latin poems in honour of Francis Bacon (1626). A few of the authors honouring Francis Bacon are S. Collins Rector of King’s College Cambridge, George Herbert, William Boswell, T. Vincent of Trinity College, Thomas Rhodes of King’s College Cambridge, Robert Ashley of the Middle Temple, William Loe of Trinity College, James Duport of Trinity College, Henry Ferne Fellow of Trinity College, N. Nashe of Pembroke Hall Cambridge, Henry Ockley of Trinity College, William Atkins household servant of Francis Bacon, Thomas Randolph of Trinity College. Many Latin elegies, as it is well known, were produced in Oxford and Cambridge in honour of Bacon at his death. In these he is not only called the “tenth muse,” but he is lamented under the name of Pallas itself. He is even praised as a singer, thus: “He sings of Nature’s laws and Princes’ secrets, as though he were Privy Councilor of them both.”

**Mermaid tavern** Was delightful outside and inside, with low panelled rooms, immense fireplaces and dog-grates. Many monograms, names, and dates were carved on the stone fireplaces. It used to stand on the south side of Cheapside, between Bread and Friday Streets, to attend the meetings of the famous Mermaid Club, said to have been founded by Sir Walter Raleigh. Here were to be found Spenser, Beaumont, Fletcher, Ben Jonson, Carew, Donne, and many others,

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527 Alfred Dodd. *The Personal Poems of Francis Bacon*, 1931

in eager witty converse. In later days the Elizabethan poets and dramatists, led by Ben Jonson, went even further afield to the Devil tavern, which stood at No. 1, Fleet Street, where they held their meetings in a room called the Apollo, the chief adornments of which, a bust of Apollo and a board with an inscription, *Welcome to the Oracle of Apollo*, are still to be seen in an upper room of Messrs. Child's Bank, which now occupies the site. Ben Jonson tells us that "the first speech in my *Catiline*, spoken to Scyllus Ghost, was writ after I had parted with my friends at the Devil tavern; I had drank well that night, and had brave notions." (Ordish).<sup>528</sup> Beaumont well described the brilliancy of these gatherings in his poem to Ben Jonson:

What things have we seen  
 Done at the Mermaid! Heard words that have been  
 So nimble, and so full of subtle flame,  
 As if that everyone from whence they came  
 Had meant to put his whole wit in a jest  
 And had resolved to live a fool the rest  
 Of his dull life.

**Minerva Britanna, 1612** By Henry Peacham, Mr. of Artes (1565–1646). Peacham's *Minerva Britanna*<sup>529</sup> is dedicated to Prince Henry, eldest son of King James I. Toward the end of the *Epistle*, he writes "It is now two years since I presented unto your Highness some of them, then done by me into Latin verse, with their pictures drawn and limned by mine own hand in their lively colours." And in his *Epistle to the Reader*, "For except the collections of Master Whitney, and the translations of some one or two else beside, I know not an Englishman in our age, that hath published any work of this kind: they being (I doubt not) as ingenious and happy in their invention as the best French or Italian of them all."

Francis Bacon was a great admirer of the young Prince Henry and it would not seem inconsistent that he would have created two volumes on Emblems for this unfortunate Prince. In 1618 *The Mirrour of Majestie* was issued, of which no more than two copies are said to exist, the only perfect one being in the choice library of Mr. Corser, of Stand. The edition "was sent abroad" and his defence of his country in his *Epistle to the Reader* sounds very like a commendation of Whitney's: "They term us *Tramontane Sempii*, simple and of dull concept, when the fault is neither in the Climate, nor as they would have it, in the constitution of our bodies, but truly in the cold and frozen respect of Learning and artes generally amongst us; comming far short of them in the just valuing of well-deserving qualities." On page 172 in the *Minerva Britanna*, Peacham implies that Whitney personally gave consent to Peacham's use of

<sup>528</sup> Ordish. *Elizabethan London*, 1908

<sup>529</sup> It was Minerva leaping on earth in her divine strength, and radiant armour, ready at the moment of her nativity to subdue and destroy her enemies

the device of Love and Death.<sup>530</sup> From Quarles's *Emblems* published in 1634, Emblem VI., has this peculiar line that may also be found in Bacon's poetic works: "The world itself, and all the world's command, is but a bubble." Also from the same edition the epistle to the reader: "An Emblem is but a silent parable: Let not the tender eye check, to see the allusion to our blessed Saviour figured in these types. In Holy Scripture he is sometimes called a Sower; sometimes a Fisher; sometimes a Physician: And why not presented so as well to the eye as to the ear? [Sonnet] Before the knowledge of letters, God was known by hieroglyphics. And indeed what are the Heavens, the earth, nay, every creature, but Hieroglyphics and Emblems of his glory? I have no more to say; I wish thee as much pleasure in the reading, as I had in writing."

The first English book on Stenography seems to have been that published by T. Bright in 1588. Here we may pause to note three particulars: T. Bright was Dr. Timothy Bright, under whose name the *Anatomy of Melancholy* was first published in 1587. This edition is entered in the British Museum Catalogue as the work of T. Bright. The subsequent editions take no notice of Bright, but are published in the name of Burton. "What's in a name?" In the introduction of Elizabeth Wells Gallup's *Bi-literal Cipher of Sir Francis Bacon* the Editor, calling attention to these facts, adds that "The Cipher mentions both Bright and Burton as names under which "Bacon" wrote the book, and also that the different editions contain each a different cipher story." And Tenison in *Baconiana* (1679) says, "Whosoever would understand the Lord Bacon's cypher, let him consult that accurate edition [*De Augmentis*]. For, in some other editions which I have perused, the form of the letters of the Alphabet, in which much of the mystery consisteth, is not observed; but the Roman and Italic shapes of them are confounded." A cipher in Sonnet 76 was discovered February 1, 1905 by a Mr. R.A. Smith, of Washington, D.C.: in line one the 6th word begins with b; in line 3 the 9th word begins with a; in lines 4, 5 and 6, the 6th word begins consecutively with c, o, n. Each numbered word is a multiple of 3, and the initials spell BACON.

### Sonnet 76

Why is my verse so **B**arren of new pride  
 So far from variation or quick change?  
 Why with the time do I not glance **A**side,  
 To new-found methods and to **C**ompounds strange?  
 Why wrote I still all **O**ne, ever the same,  
 And keep invention in a **N**oted weed,  
 That every word doth almost tell my name,  
 Showing their birth and where they did proceed?

T. Bright dedicated his book on short-hand writing to Queen Elizabeth, with the title *Characterie, or the Art of Short, Swift and Secret Writing*. At the time of the publication of the entitled book, Francis Bacon was twenty-seven years of age, and passing through a period of the

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530 Henry Green. *Whitney's Choice of Emblems*, 1866



greatest leisure which he ever enjoyed. From 1586 to 1590 there is hardly a trace of his doings, but the press was teeming with and issuing works of all kinds the English Renaissance had begun. To the *Treatise on Short Writing* of 1588, there followed *The Writing School-master*, by Peter Bale. Here we are told that “Brachygraphy, or the art of writing as fast as a man speaketh treatably, may in appearance seem difficult, but it is in effect very easy, containing a many commodities under a few principles, the shortness whereof is obtained by memory, the swiftness by practice, the sweetness by industry. A most Baconian utterance suggestive of its true source.” The date of this book is 1590. The next attempt towards improvement in the art seems to have been printed in 1602 by John Willis. It was entitled *The Art of Stenographic or Short Writing by Spelling Characterie*, and after this had passed through numerous editions, a fresh treatise was published by Edmund Willis in 1618, and two more in 1630, by Witt and Dix. Colonna Cypher found in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, published anonymously at Venice in 1499. He also refers to an earlier Bi-literal Cypher, as set forth, together with a Tri-literal and a Quinquiliteral Cypher in Mercury; or, the *Secret and Swift Messenger*, ascribed to Bishop Wilkins and dated 1641. Also of interest is the *Art of Secret Information* disclosed without a Key, by John Falconer, published in 1685:

1. You may discover from the number of characters in the writing, whether two Alphabets be used.
2. After you have found out, that two Alphabets or more are used, you may, from the frequency of each particular character, etc., observe the differing letters that express the same power.
3. And having by several Operations distinguished the Alphabets one from another, anything of new Difficulty vanisheth.

These few facts must surely be sufficient to prove that short-hand writing began and flourished in the reign of Elizabeth, and was vigorously used and improved upon during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. That Francis Bacon not only first introduced the art, but that he made good use of it, is without doubt. The scanty records published of his mysterious private life seem in many places to hint, although they do not plainly affirm that this was the case. Hear the saying of Dr. Rawley, when describing his master's habits of perpetual industry and the delight of his conversation; and Peter Boehner, private secretary and medical attendant to Francis Bacon, describes how in the morning he would call him or some other of his secretaries to his bedside, and how they wrote down from his lips the thoughts and ideas which he had conceived in the night. Had this process been so “slow and laborious” as the general belief is supposed to warrant, our indefatigable and nimble-minded author would have had to pass most of his days in bed. (Gallup).<sup>531</sup> [Also see Chapter entitled: *The Life of the Right Honourable Francis Bacon.*]

In Michael Bryan's *A Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, 1819, there is a Peacham Henry listed as follows: “This gentleman is said to have engraved a portrait of Sir Thomus Cromwell,

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531 Elizabeth Wells Gallup. *Bi-literal Cipher of Sir Francis Bacon*, 1899

afterwards Earl of Essex, after Holbein. He was the author of a book called *The Complete Gentleman*, published in 1633. He was born at South Mimms in Hertfordshire, and took the degree of M.A. at Trinity College, Cambridge. He was an amateur, not a professed artist, and was skilled in music as well as painting and engraving. In his book entitled *The Complete Gentleman*, and another entitled *The Gentleman's Exercise*, he lays down rules for drawing and painting in oil; for making of colours, blazoning Coats of Arms, &c. He died about 1650." This author undoubtedly is the author of *Minerva Britannia*, which title page shows an Emblem where a hand protrudes from a curtain writing the phrase *Mente, Vide Bori*. [By the mind shall I be seen.] In Ben Jonson's lines accompanying the Droeshout portrait in the Folio, he says this:

*To the Reader*

This Figure, that thou here seest put,  
It was for gentle Shakespeare cut;  
Wherein the Grauer had a strife  
With Nature, to out-doo the life:  
O, could he but have drawne his wit  
As well in brasse, as he hath hit  
His face; the Print would then surpasse  
All, that was euer writt in brasse.  
But, since he cannot, Reader, looke  
Not on his Picture, but his Booke.

It may be asked, how Jonson's address can be reconciled with the theory that neither the "Picture" nor the "Booke" are the actor's, and preserve the commonly accepted meaning of the address? A fair answer may be given to this by showing how in sincere such expressions were at the time this was written. There is ample evidence of their worthlessness, and Malone gives us his opinion in this case. Referring to Droeshout's portraits, he says: "By comparing any of these prints with the original pictures from whence the engravings were made, a better judgment might be formed of the fidelity of our author's portrait, as exhibited by this engraver, than from Jonson's assertion, that in "this figure" "the Grauer had a strife with Nature, to out-doo the life"; a compliment which in the books of that age was paid to so many engravers, that nothing decisive can be inferred from it."<sup>532</sup>

There is no doubt that it seems to reveal Ben Jonson's intention to identify the author of the works with the actor. We are quite willing to admit that he knew whether he was or was not their author, but whether he has revealed to us this knowledge is another matter. What, however, has been quoted to show the character of "Honest Ben" and his disregard of the verities is sufficient to disqualify him as a reliable witness; but though his testimony is of little value, so many believe that he, if nobody else, knew who was the author of the works, that we venture to introduce the swan story of Ariosto related

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<sup>532</sup> Johnson and Steevens. *The Plays and Poems of Shakespeare*, Vol. I. p. 88

by Bacon,<sup>533</sup> which is to the effect, that to the thread of every man's life is attached a medal bearing his name. When this thread is severed by the fatal shears, it is seized by a swan which bears it away. The swans in their aimless flight drop many of the medals which fall into the river Lethe, and are lost; but some swans, having medals with worthy names, bear them to the Temple of Immortality. This story was familiar to Jonson, and it might be asked whether, if he knew that the actor was not the author, he might not have figured him in one of his "fits of fantasie" as the swan who bore the real author's name to the Temple. The question is perhaps of small moment, but it is certainly suggestive. There are allusions also in Jonson's eulogy which are quite as misleading as this; but aside from the sufficient fact of his unreliability, we must not forget that he was exercising his talents professionally, and could not well have avoided allusion to the titular author of the book which he was introducing to his readers.

**Moral philosophy** It is well known that Aristotle wrote: "He errs *political*, not *moral*, philosophy." Bearing this in mind, there could have been a misinterpretation toward Socrates' sayings: "What goodness ensueth of the knowledge of *moral* philosophy" when these two quotations were put to print:

Bacon's Advancement Of Learning:

Is not the opinion of Aristotle worthy to be regarded, where he saith that young men are not auditors of *moral* philosophy, because they are not settled from the boiling heat of their affections, nor attempered by time and experience.

Shakespeare's Troilus And Cressida, Act II. Sc.3.:

Not much

Unlike young men, whom Aristotle thought

Unfit to hear *moral* philosophy.

**Murder** If one man kill another upon a sudden quarrel, this is manslaughter; for which the offender must die, except he can read; and if he can read, yet must he lose his goods and be burnt in the hand, but lose no lands. (Bacon, *The Use of the Law*).

## N

**Naked before marriage** In Thomas More's *Utopia* there's a law where young people should see themselves naked before marriage; a law that is also stated in Bacon's *New Atlantis*: "The married couple are permitted, before they contract, to see one another naked. They have near every town a couple of pools (which they call Adam and Eve's pools), where it is permitted to one of the friends of the man, and another of the friends of the woman, to see them severally bathe naked." Thomas More is described as a zestful man with "extraordinary facetious." In Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, an account is given of how More had two riders imagining a dragon had appeared in the sky.<sup>534</sup>

<sup>533</sup> *De Augmentis*, Spedding, Vol. VIII. p. 428

<sup>534</sup> *Selected English Letters*, XV–XIX Centuries

**Name variations** There can hardly be a reasonable doubt, that there was then no settled orthography of surnames and that a signature of Elizabethan days is not conclusive evidence of the mode in which a person's name should be spelt. Lord Robert Dudley's signature was generally Duddeley, his wife's, Duddley, and a relative's, Dudley. Allen, the actor, signed his name at various times, Alleyn, Aleyn, Allin, and Allen, while his wife's signature appears as Alleyne. Henslowe's autographs are in the forms of Hensley, Henslow, and Henslowe. Samuel Rowley signed himself, Rouley, Rowley, and Rowleye. Burbage sometimes wrote Burbadg while his brother signed himself Burbadge. One of the poet's sons-in-law wrote himself Quayney, Quayneye, and Conoy, while his brother, the curate, signed, Quiney. His other son-in-law, Dr. Hall, signed himself Hawle, Halle, Haule and Hall. Alderman Sturley, of Stratford-on-Avon, signed his name sometimes in that form and sometimes, Strelley. Similar variations occur in first names of the time, that of the poet's friend, Julius Shaw, positively appearing as Julyus, Julius, Julie, Julyne, Jule, Julines, Julynes, July, Julye, Julyus and Julyles. "Our English proper names," observed Coote, Master of the Free-school at Bury St. Edmunds, <sup>535</sup> "are written as it pleaseth the painter, or as men have received them by tradition;" and after giving some examples, he exclaims, "yea, I have known two natural brethren, both learned, to write their owne names differently." Bancroft, in his *Epigrammes*, 1639 says that "Shake-speare" was spelt by his literary friends. The martial character of the name was admitted from an early period, Verstegan classing it with "surnames imposed upon the first bearers of them for valour and feates of armes." Camden derives it from the mere use of the weapon; and Bogan, in his additions to the *Archeologicae Atticae* of Francis Rous, says that Shakespeare is equivalent to soldier. A parallel instance occurring in the broken lance in the arms of Nicholas Break-speare, as described by Upton, in his treatise *De Studio Militari*, fol. London 1654.

The Legitimist spells a famous name as Buonaparte to intimate that Napoleon was an Italian, while the Imperialist spell it Bonaparte to indicate that he was French; and in a somewhat similar way there is a school of critics who employ the word Shaksper to designate the Stratford Player, and reserve the word Shake-speare to designate the eminent person whom they regard as the Author of the Plays. The world has refused to make any such distinction. For over four hundred years it has identified the Player with the Playwright. The feeling with which he is regarded has been consecrated by authority, and has become venerable by the lapse of time. Admiration has risen to reverence, and reverence has been exalted into worship, and the Shaksper cult has overspread the world. Stratford-on-Avon has been converted into a literary Mecca, and thirty thousand pilgrims annually visit its Parish Church as their Caaba.

### **Nature of poetry**

The parts of human learning have reference to the three parts of man's understanding, which is the seat of learning: History to his memory, Poesy to his imagination, and Philosophy to

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<sup>535</sup> *English Schoole Master*, 1621, p. 23

his reason. Divine learning receiveth the same distribution, for the spirit of man is the same, though the revelation of oracle and sense be diverse; so as Theology consisteth also of History of the Church, of Parables, which is Divine Poesy, and of holy Doctrine or Precept. For as for that part which seemeth supernumerary, which is Prophecy, it is but Divine History, which hath that prerogative over human as the narration may be before the fact as well as after. History is natural, civil, ecclesiastical, and literary, whereof the three first I allow as extant, the fourth I note as deficient. For no man hath propounded to himself the general state of learning to be described and represented from age to age, as many have done the works of Nature and the State civil and ecclesiastical, without which the History of the world seemeth to me to be as the statua of Polyphemus with his eye out, that part being wanting which doth most show the spirit and life of the person. And yet I am not ignorant that in divers particular sciences, as of the Jurisconsults, the Mathematicians, the Rhetoricians, the Philosophers, there are set down some small memorials of the schools, authors, and books; and so likewise some barren relations touching the invention of arts or usages.

But a just story of learning, containing the antiquities and originals of knowledges and their sects, their inventions, their traditions, their diverse administrations and managings, their flourishings, their oppositions, decays, depressions, oblivions, removes, with the causes and occasions of them, and all other events concerning learning throughout the ages of the world, I may truly affirm to be wanting. The use and end of which work I do not so much design for curiosity or satisfaction of those that are the lovers of learning, but chiefly for a more serious and grave purpose, which is this in few words, that it will make learned men wise in the use and administration of learning. For it is not Saint Augustine's nor Saint Ambrose' works that will make so wise a divine as Ecclesiastical History thoroughly read and observed, and the same reason is of Learning. Poesy is a part of Learning in measure of words for the most part restrained, but in all other points extremely licensed, and doth truly refer to the imagination, which, being not tied to the laws of matter, may at pleasure join that which Nature hath severed, and sever that which Nature hath joined, and so make unlawful matches and divorces of things: *Pictoribus atque Poetis*. It is taken in two senses in respect of words or matter. In the first sense it is but a character of style, and belongeth to arts of speech, and is not pertinent for the present. In the later it is, as hath been said, one of the principal portions of learning, and is nothing else but feigned history, which may be styled as well in prose as in verse. The use of this feigned history hath been to give some shadow of satisfaction to the mind of man in those points wherein the nature of things doth deny it, the world being in proportion inferior to the soul; by reason whereof there is agreeable to the spirit of man a more ample greatness, a more exact goodness, and a more absolute variety than can be found in the nature of things.

Therefore, because the acts or events of true History have not that magnitude which satisfieth the mind of man. Poesy feigneth acts and events greater and more heroical; because true History propoundeth the successes and issues of actions not so agreeable to the merits of virtue and vice,

therefore Poesy feigns them more just in retribution and more according to revealed Providence; because true History representeth actions and events more ordinary and less interchanged, therefore Poesy endueth them with more rareness and more unexpected and alternative variations: so as it appeareth that Poesy serveth and conferreth to magnanimity, morality, and to delectation. And therefore it was ever thought to have some participation of divineness, because it doth raise and erect the mind, by submitting the shows of things to the desires of the mind, whereas reason doth buckle and bow the mind unto the nature of things. And we see that by these insinuations and congruities with man's nature and pleasure, joined also with the agreement and consort it hath with music, it hath had access and estimation in rude times and barbarous regions, where other learning stood excluded. The division of Poesy which is aptest in the propriety thereof (besides those divisions which are common unto it with History, as feigned chronicles, feigned lives, and the appendices of History, as feigned epistles, feigned orations, and the rest) is into Poesy Narrative, Representative, and Allusive.

The Narrative is a mere imitation of History with the excesses before remembered, choosing for subject commonly wars and love, rarely state, and sometimes pleasure or mirth. Representative is as a visible History, and is an image of actions as if they were present, as History is of actions in nature as they are, that is past; Allusive, or Parabolical, is a narration applied only to express some special purpose or conceit: which later kind of parabolical wisdom was much more in lose in the ancient times, as by the Fables of Aesop, and the brief sentences of the Seven, and the use of hieroglyphics may appear.

And the cause was for that it was then of necessity to express any point of reason which was more sharp or subtle than the vulgar in that manner, because men in those times wanted both variety of examples and subtlety of conceit: and as hieroglyphics were before letters, so parables were before arguments: and nevertheless now and at all times they do retain much life and vigour, because reason cannot be sensible, nor examples so fit. But there remaineth yet another use of Poesy parabolical opposite to that which we last mentioned; for that tendeth to demonstrate and illustrate that which is taught or delivered, and this other to retire and obscure it: that is, when the secrets and mysteries of Religion, Policy, or Philosophy, are involved in fables or parables. Of this in divine Poesy we see the use is authorized. In heathen Poesy we see the exposition of fables doth fall out sometimes with great felicity, as in the fable that the Giants being overthrown in their war against the Gods, the Earth their mother in revenge thereof brought forth Fame expounded, that when Princes and Monarchs have suppressed actual and open rebels, then the malignity of people, which is the mother of Rebellion, doth bring forth libels and slanders, and taxations of the states, which is of the same kind, with rebellion, but more feminine: so in the fable that the rest of the gods having conspired to bind Jupiter, Pallas called Briareus with his hundred hands to his aid, expounded, that monarchies need not fear any curbing of their absoluteness by mighty subjects, as long as by wisdom they keep the hearts of the people, who will be sure to come in on their side: so in the fable that Achilles was brought up under Chiron the Centaur, who was part

a man and part a beast, expounded ingenuously but corruptly by Machiavell, that it belongeth to the education and discipline of princes to know as well how to play the part of the lion in violence and the fox in guile, as of the man in virtue and justice.

Nevertheless, in many the like encounters, I do rather think that the fable was first and the exposition devised than that the moral was first and thereupon the fable framed. For I find it was an ancient vanity in Chrysippus that troubled himself with great contention to fasten the assertions of the Stoics upon the fictions of the ancient poets: but yet that all the fables and fictions of the poets were but pleasure and not figure, I interpose no opinion. Surely of those poets which are now extant, even Homer himself (notwithstanding he was made a kind of Scripture by the later schools of the Grecians), yet I should without any difficulty pronounce that his fables had no such inwardness in his own meaning: but what they might have, upon a more original tradition, is not easy to affirm, for he was not the inventor of many of them. In this third part of Learning which is Poesy, I can report no deficiency. For being as a plant that cometh of the lust of the earth, without a formal seed, it hath sprung up and spread abroad, more than any other kind: but to ascribe unto it that which is due for the expressing of affections, passions, corruptions, and customs, we are beholden to Poets more than to the Philosophers' works, and for wit and eloquence not much less than to Orators' harangues. (Bacon, *Adv.*, Bk. II, 1605).

**New year** In Bacon's day and age, the New Year calendar began on March 25 (Lady Day) which was used as the starting point of the year in England from the twelfth century down to 1752, although the 1st of January was accounted New Year's Day, following the Roman tradition and occurs as a Red Letter Day in the *Book of Common Prayer*. It was customary that friends exchange gifts and tokens at New Year. This custom was formalised at the Tudor Court when gifts at New Year became part of the cement of the patronage system and an indicator of political fortune. The comparative value of the Crown's gifts signalled the relative importance at Court of the recipients. If the monarch declined to make a gift to an individual, this signified loss of political favour.

**Northumberland crannies** Among Cole's manuscripts <sup>536</sup> is a copy of a letter from the Vice Chancellor of Cambridge, written to Lord Burghley, the Chancellor of that University in 1580, which shows that dramatic representations of a regular kind were rather discouraged than received there by the Heads of Houses. He says: <sup>537</sup>

My bounden duty remembered with most humble recommendation, whereas it hath pleased your honour to recommend unto me, and the Heads of the University, my Lord of Oxenford his Players that they might show their cunning in several Plays already practiced by them before the Queen's Majesty. I did speedily council with the Heads and others, *viz.* Dr. Still, Dr. Howland, Dr. Binge, Dr. Legge; *&c.* and considering and pondering that the seed, the cause, and the fear

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<sup>536</sup> Vol. XLI, p. 319

<sup>537</sup> Henry Ellis. *English History*, 1825

of the Pestilence is not yet vanished and gone this hot time of the year; this Midsummer Fair time having confluence out of all countries, as well of infected as not; the Commencement time at hand, which requireth rather diligence in study, than dissoluteness in plays; and also that of late we denied that like to the right honorable the Lord Leicester his servants; and especially that all Assemblies in open places be expressly forbidden in this University and Town, or within five miles in compass, by her Majesty's Council's letters to the Vice Chancellor, October 30, 1575; our trust is that your honour, our most dear loving Chancellor, will take our answers made unto them in good part; and being willing to impart something from the liberality of the University to them, I could not obtain sufficient assent thereto, and therefore delivered them but xx<sup>s</sup>. towards their charges. Also they brought Letters from the right honorable the Lord Chancellor, and the right honorable the Lord Sussex, to the Vice-Chancellors of Cambridge and Oxford; I trust their Honours will accept their Answers. Thus leaving to trouble your honour with my rude writing, I take my leave.

Your Lordship's humble and unworthy deputy.

John Hatcher. *Vice Can.*

Cambridge, June 21, 1580

Drama was encouraged at Trinity College Cambridge long after the reign of Queen Elizabeth I., as is shown by the titles of the four Plays which follow:

1. *Melanthe; Fabula pastoralis, acta cum Jacobus Magnae Brit. Franc; and Hiberniae Rex Cantabrigiam suam nuper inviseret. Egerunt alumni Coit sac. et individuae Trinitatis Cantabrigie.* 4° Cantr. Legge, Mart. 27. 1615. This play, written by Brookes, of Trinity College, was acted before King James I., Friday, March 10, 1614–16. A person who was present says, it was excellently written, and as well acted, which gave great contentment, as well to the King as to the rest.
2. *Pedantius; Comcedia, olim Canhbrig. acta in Coll. Trin. Nuuquam antehac typis evulgata.* 12° London. 1651. This play is by Nashe, in his *Strange News* 1593, ascribed to N. Wingfield. It was acted before the year 1591; being mentioned by Sir John Hamngton, in his *Apology* prefixed to *Ariosto*, printed in that year. This piece was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company, February 9, 1630. The printed edition has two copper-plates representing scenes in the play.
3. *Fraus Honesta; Comcedia, Cantabrigize olim actii: authore Mr. Stubb Collegii Trinitatis Socio.* 12° London. 1632. In a MS., copy of this play, in Emmanuel College library, the names of the performers are placed opposite the characters. It was performed at Trinity College.
4. *Nanfragiurn Joculrre; Comcedin, publice coram Academicis acta in Collegio S.S. et individuae Trinitatis* 4° nonas Feb. an. dom. 1688. authore Abrahamo Cowley. 18° London. 1635.



Many manuscript plays, in Latin, performed at Trinity College in the reign of Elizabeth I., remain unpublished.<sup>538</sup> There were even matters connected with the Game of Swans that were formerly of much interest, and “upping” (now called “hopping”) the Swans was a diversion greatly followed. In that interesting volume, Mr. A. J. Kempe’s *Loseley Manuscripts*, which contains so many curious and valuable documents connected with public and private affairs in the reigns from Henry VIII., to James I., are some papers, p. 305, which amusingly illustrate the subject: they are not however of so early a date as the subsequent Warrant for appointing Commissioners in Buckinghamshire, which must have been directed to Sir Nicholas Bacon, then Lord Keeper. The first name in the list of Commissioners ought to be Arthurus Dñs Grey de Wilton, and not Anthonius. Several of the names of the other Commissioners will be familiar to the ear. The object of the instrument was to authorise the persons mentioned in it to inquire into offences against the laws for the preservation of the Queen’s Swans. Indorsed, the names of the Commissioners appointed to hear and determine the causes and offences concerning the Game of Swans, in the Country of Buck in 1566, were:<sup>539</sup> Anthonius Dñs Grey de Wilton; Edwardus Dñs de Windsor; Robertus Drewrye, miles; Willelmus Dormer, miles; Henricus Lee, miles; Thomas Packington, miles; Nichas Weste, Ar; Johannes Thomson, Ar; Thomas Fletewood, Ar; Willelmus Hawtrey, Ar; Thomas Terringham, Ar; Thomas Pigott de Grendon, Ar; Willelmus Fletewoode, Ar; Edwardus Ardes, Ar. The Commissioners were to “require for the service of the Queen’s Majesty, to direct her Highness Commission, under the Great Seal of England, to the persons above reversed, or four of them, to enquire of such offences as have been and are committed against the ancient Laws and Orders made for the preservation of the Queen’s Majesty’s game and herd of Swans within the county of Buck. And for the dew punishment of the offenders in that behalf, as in like cases heretofore have been accustomed. And these presents shall be your warrant for the same.”

The Marginal Notes, together with an opinion at the close of the following document, are in the handwriting of Sir Walter Mildmay, who seems to have taken especial interest in all matters relating to the proposed marriage of Queen Elizabeth. The argument for and against the union is attributed in the title of the MS., to Sir Nicholas Bacon, but before the words “by the Lord Keeper,” there is a blank, and something has evidently there been erased, possibly expressive of a doubt upon the point of authorship. Sir Walter Mildmay does not appear to have been at all satisfied or convinced by the reasoning, and remarks that nothing whatever had been advanced upon the most important point of all: religion.

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<sup>538</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>539</sup> J. Payne Collier. *The Egerton Papers*, 1840

**Octain**  
**By**  
**Peter Coustau** <sup>540</sup>

Honour nourishes the arts.  
 The swan melodious chants no lay,  
 Attempts no song of worth to sing,  
 Should zephyrs, breathing graciously  
 Over the fields, no sweetness bring:  
 And who desert from letters seeks,  
 Or undertakes some poet's theme,  
 If praise on learning never breathes,  
 Nor honours over labour beam?

**Nova Philosophia** Written by Patricius published in 1593; a work long since so rare that Sorellus <sup>541</sup> says that a small library might be purchased for the price of this single book. (Bacon, *Sec. Fab. Cupidinis et Cæli*).

**O**

**Old Purpuli Britain's Ornament** Spedding's comment on the *Gesta Grayorum*: "It is a pity that the publisher, whoever he was, did not tell us a little more about the manuscript, though it is probable enough that he had not much more to tell. Nothing is more natural than that such a narrative should have been written at the time for the amusement and satisfaction of the parties concerned; should have been laid by and forgotten: and found again lying by itself, without anybody to tell its story for it." <sup>542</sup> The *Gesta Grayorum* must excite the interest of every true lover of Shakespeare, for in its pages the student will view to the life many of the men and women for whom he wrote the immortal poems and plays. Among the illustrious men, the following are named: "On January 3, at night, there was a most honourable presence of great and noble personages, that came as invited to our Prince; as namely the High Honourable the Lord Keeper, the Earls of Shrewsbury, Cumberland, Northumberland, Southampton, and Essex; the Lords Buckhurst, Windsor, Mountjoy, Sheffield, Compton, Rich, Burleygh, Mouteagle, and the Lord Thomas Howard; Sir Thomas Henneage, Sir Robert Cecil; with a great number of Knights, Ladies, and very worshipful personages; all of which had convenient places, and very good entertainment,

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<sup>540</sup> Peter Custau, or Costalius, issued at Lyons in 1552, and again in 1555, his rare and curious book, entitled *Pegma, cum narrationibus philosophicis*. The specimen given is "On the wretchedness of the human lot;" to which a few verses are added and then a dissertation, with each page elaborately ornamented, setting forth the nature of that wretchedness. Moral and religious reflections are interspersed. In 1560 the *Pegma* was translated from Latin into French by Lanteaume de Romieu, a gentleman of Artes

<sup>541</sup> Brucker Apud. Vol., IV. p. 28

<sup>542</sup> Spedding. *Letters and Life*, Vol. I. p. 343

to their good liking and contentment.”<sup>543</sup> Basil Brown’s comment is interesting as he tells us: “My opinion is that the *Gesta Grayorum* was originally a part of the *Northumberland Manuscript*, which was written circa 1594–1597. The original was first printed by W. Canning in 1688 and dedicated “To the most Honorable Mathew Smyth, Esq., Comptroller of The Honorable Society of The Inner Temple.” Where or when Canning found it is not known.”<sup>544</sup> Mr. John Nichols published the first reprint of same in his *Progresses of Elizabeth*, 1788–1823. Spedding said that “the printed copy in *Gesta Grayorum* is full of errors.” Nichols says that “this tract was printed in 1688 for W. Canning, at his shop in the Temple Cloysters. The publisher was Mr. Henry Keepe, who published the monuments of Westminster.” Henry Keepe was an antiquary, and published several works. [Also see Part V: *Bacon’s Works*.] It is worthy of remark that the name of Henry the Second, Prince of Graya and Purpulia, appears in the list of Subscribers to Minshew’s *Dictionary*, which was printed in 1617.

**To Grays  
By  
Francis Davison**

Ye Gray’s, or if you better like the name of old  
Purpulii Britains ornament,  
So may Astraea be pleased to bless your flock,  
So Pallas may; to favour trifles  
As comrades divided, may it please yourselves  
If these (the trifles) be neither vile, nor witless,  
But such as deservedly you are wont to produce with praise  
Yourselves when you are wont to dally.

**Oracle** Francis Bacon conceived the idea of resurrecting the Operative Craft of Temple Builders on an Ethical Basis which did not centre round actual work and wages and was therefore outside the law which forbade meetings respecting such things. It was he who created the Rituals. They did not “evolve.” With a band of Law Students at Gray’s Inn, Bacon organised the first Ethical Craft Lodges and the Arch and Higher Degrees at Twickenham Park.

*Tempest Act V, s.I, L.242.*

*The Oracle*

And there is in this business more than Nature  
Was ever conduct of: Some Oracle  
Must rectify our knowledge.

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<sup>543</sup> P. 33, *Gesta Grayorum*

<sup>544</sup> Basil Brown. *Law Sports at Gray’s Inn*, 1594

In a Freemason's Lodge, the Oracle is that speaks with authority on things Masonic in a Worshipful Master. Since the Author wishes the discerning reader to know the kind of Oracle he has in his mind, he writes the words so that the first letters of the three lines spell "A.W.M." All Masons know that "A.W.M." is the abbreviated Ritual Code for "A Worshipful Master." Abbreviations of technical terms or of official titles are of very extensive use in Masonry. They were however, but rarely employed in the earlier Masonic publications. For instance, not one is to be found in the first edition of Anderson's *Constitutions*. Within a comparatively recent period they have greatly increased, especially among French writers, and a familiarity with them is therefore essentially necessary to the Masonic student. Frequently, among English and always among French authors, a Masonic abbreviation is distinguished by three points, in a triangular form following the letter, which peculiar mark was first used, according to Kagon, on August 12, 1774 by the Grand Orient of France, in an address to its subordinates. No authoritative explanation of the meaning of these points has been given, but they may be supposed to refer to the three lights around the altar, or perhaps more generally to the number three, and to the triangle, both important symbols in the Masonic system where an officer in a Lodge whose duty it is to explain to a candidate after his initiation the mysteries of the degree into which he has just been admitted. The office is therefore, in many respects, similar to that of a lecturer. The office was created in the French Lodges early in the eighteenth century, soon after the introduction of Masonry into France. A writer in the London *Freemason's Magazine* for 1859 attributes its origin to the constitutional deficiency of the French in readiness of public speaking. From the French it passed to the other continental Lodges, and was adopted by the Scottish Rite. The office is not recognized in the English and American system, where its duties are performed by the Worshipful Master.

**Overbury case of 1616** Four years before the Overbury Case in 1612, Sir Walter Raleigh, at the age of sixty, was prisoner in two rooms on the second floor of the Bloody Tower. Prince Henry would be a frequent visitor taking good advice about shipbuilding. The young Prince's words would echo against stonewalls: "Who but my father would keep such a bird in a cage?" Raleigh, with no thought of venturing what to say, plans his *History of the World* for this teachable young man who obtains his father's promise to release Raleigh for Christmas, 1612; Prince Henry dies before the promise is made good. A constant coincidence that will also befall Francis Bacon and the unsigned pardon; there is some sort of fear that Death often lingered too close to the Majestic hand and convenience of King James.

**Owl**, Sacred bird of Pallas; engraved frontispiece of a Baconian work where two owls are depicted in the bottom corners holding torches.

## P

**Pallas Athena** Was the goddess of wisdom, poetry, and the fine arts. Her statue stood on the Acropolis, wearing a helmet on which were figured the heads of two goats. On her breast was the celebrated ægis, made of goatskins. The goat was sacred to the drama, the word “goat” in Greek being *trágos*, which, combined with *adein* (to sing), forms *trago-dia*, tragedy, or literally, goatsong. The name of Pallas was derived from *Pallein*, to shake, evidently in reference to the spear which she held in her right hand, and which was seventy feet in length. She was thus the Spear-shaker, or Shake-spear, of the Greek drama. The use of such a pseudonym was quite in Bacon’s manner. He thought at one time of publishing his great work on the *Interpretation of Nature* under a fictitious name. Indeed, he prepared to divide it into two parts, with a special pseudonym for each; one part in which he should appear as author, [Valerius Terminus] and the other in which he should appear as editor, [Hermes Stella]. His choice of names for these parts is significant; it shows that he gave no little attention to matters of this kind, and that he was fond of using classic models for his purpose. As author, in this instance, he selected the name of Valerius Terminus, evidently intending thereby to intimate that the work in question was destined (as Mr. Spedding expresses it) “to put an end to the wandering of mankind in search of truth.” As editor or annotator, he chose the name of Hermes Stella; Hermes being in Greek mythology the interpreter of the gods, and Stella signifying that the full meaning of the text could not at once be disclosed, but would be seen, as it were, by starlight. (Reed).<sup>545</sup>

We are told that upon the death of his wife Metis, Jupiter, in order to relieve the pains in his head, ordered Vulcan to cleave it open<sup>546</sup> and Minerva leaped forth from her father’s brain: full grown and armed with her ægis. Hence some have explained her epithet, Tritogeneia, from a Cretan word, *trito*, the “head,” so that it would mean the Goddess born from the head. “When the blue-eyed goddess sprang in shining armour from Jove’s immortal head, Olympus shook, earth and sea trembled, and the charioteer of the sun stopped his snorting steeds until she took off the divine weapons from her shoulder.”<sup>547</sup> Hence Minerva was always the favourite of Jupiter; she could hurl his thunders, and she defeated Mars when she met him in the conflict before Troy. She is the goddess of wisdom; she can bestow the gift of prophecy; and her clearness of understanding is rivalled only by her firmness of resolution and her vigour in action. Some mythologists suppose Minerva to be identical with the Egyptian Goddess Neith, that she was born in Libya near the Lake Tritonis, and that her worship was introduced into Attica by Cecrops, from Sais in lower Egypt.

The worship of Minerva is diversified, like that of the other deities, according as she is viewed under different aspects. As the goddess of high places, she was worshipped on the promontory of Sunium [modern: *Sounio*] in Attica; and hence Euripides, in his *Cyclops*, styles it the “rich rock

<sup>545</sup> Edwin Reed. *Bacon vs Shakspeare*, 1905

<sup>546</sup> Pind. Ol. VII. 35

<sup>547</sup> Hymn, in Pall. 10

of Sunium,” in allusion to the wealth of her temple. As the protecting goddess of the city and the Acropolis (*citadel*), she was worshipped in the Thessalian Larissa, Sicyon, Epidaurus, Thebes, Argos, Trœzen. As the patron divinity of the state, she also maintained the authority of law, justice, and order in the Courts and the assembly of the people; hence her epithets, the “avenger” as presiding over the senate and the forum. She is believed to have instituted the ancient Court of the Areopagus; and, in cases where the votes of the judges were equal, she gave the “casting vote” in favour of the accused. The olive-tree was sacred to Minerva; the owl, as the bird of wisdom, was her symbol on Athenian coins; the cock, as the bird of courage, was sometimes perched upon her helmet; the dragon among reptiles was sacred to her, in reference probably to the head of Medusa. In some medals a chariot drawn by four horses appears at the top of her helm.

Pallas AthenA was *tlie tutelar* Divinity of the Greeks. The name Pallas was derived from Palléin, meaning to shake, evidently so called from the fact that she is represented in statuary art as armed with a spear. On the Acropolis in Athens where her statue by Phidias was long the wonder of the world, the spear rose far above her head; it is said to have been seventy feet in length. In Liddell and Scott’s Greek-English lexicon her name is given etymologically as “The Brandisher of the Spear.” The Romans, viewing her in the light of her intellectual qualities, called her Minerva, a word derived from mews, signifying mind. With them accordingly she was the personification of thought; thus under the two appellations combined she is presented to us by these great nations as the Divine symbol of wisdom and power. Her father, Zeus, was the greatest of the gods, and her mother, Metis, the wisest of them. Among the ancients, therefore, Pallas AthenA naturally became the patroness of learning. As such she was universally worshipped. The great temple of learning in Athens, where poets, philosophers and men of letters generally were accustomed to meet and to read their works for the instruction of others, was named for her, Athenaeum (Athene). In the second century of the Christian era, Hadrian founded a similar institution in Rome under the same sacred name. Indeed, this has been the custom in nearly all literary communities throughout the world (as in Paris, London, Berlin, Boston, Brunswick and elsewhere) to the present day, however unconscious modern generations may be that the brightest, most god-like image of the highest civilization which the world has ever known is still animating and inspiring them: Athens, the home of the noblest cult; Pallas AthenA, the recognized source of its intellectual and moral power. That is to say, the goddess with her spear stands for the strength that is always inherent in the cause of truth.

Another and deeper view of the subject remains to be considered. Pallas AthenA represents not only art in general but also in the highest sense precisely that branch of art to which the plays of Shakespeare belong. Richard de Bury, who was High Chancellor of England in the fifteenth century and one of the most learned men of that age, attributed to Minerva (or Pallas AthenA) a special function in literature, thus: “The wisdom of the ancients devised a way of inducing men to study truth by means of pious frauds, the delicate Minerva secretly lurking beneath the mask of pleasure.” This was published under the title, *A vindication of Poetry*, meaning, of

course, epic or dramatic poetry, such as the Greek poets have given us, and such as *Macbeth*, *King Lear* and *Anthony and Cleopatra* are now recognized to be. These and all others of their kind, viewed historically, are what was meant by de Bury as “pious frauds.” It thus appears that in the highest cultivated circles of England, long before the time of Francis Bacon, Pallas AthenA was indentified with the Dramatic instinct, and became an exceedingly appropriate pseudonym for the author of plays to be known as Shakespeare’s, or as those of the goddess, so named. Reverend George Dawson of Birmingham, England, one of the most distinguished Shakespearean scholars of recent years, thus explained why the author of the Shakespeare plays, thought it necessary to conceal his true name and to write under a pseudonym: “There is heresy enough in Shakespeare to have carried him to endless stakes; political liberty enough to have made him a glorious jacobin. If he had appeared as a Divine, the authorities would have burned him; as a politician, they would have beheaded him.”

We must not forget that in one of Bacon’s Latin tracts (never translated into English by his biographer Spedding) he admits that he often wrote “behind a mask’, or under a pseudonym. Sir Philip Sidney uttered a similar sentiment in his *Apology for Poetry* in Bacon’s own time, thus: “The philosophers of Greece durst not for a long time appear to the world but under the mask of poets.” Bacon himself says: “In olden time metaphorical [or dramatic] writings were employed as a method of teaching, whereby what is new and abstruse may find an easier passage to the understanding. It was on this account that the world was then full of fables and parables of all sorts; and even now, if any one should wish to let new light on any subject into men’s minds, and without offense or harshness, one must still go the same way, and call in the aid of the imagination. Metaphorical writing has ever been a kind of ark in which the most precious things of life are preserved. It is in truth philosophy, and I hold it to be, in honor and importance, next to religion.” (Bacon, *Wisdom of the Ancients*). Furthermore, what has hitherto been inexplicable, the existence of a hyphen between the two syllables, Shake and speare, as printed in many of the original quartos and also in the First Folio of 1623. It occurs fifteen times in the early editions, and therefore cannot be, as claimed by our friends who advocate the cause of superstition in this controversy, a printer’s blunder, for it must have been made, if made in that way at all, at many different times and in many different places. No other similar name, pseudonymous or otherwise, has ever been found in the history of the world. It is precisely the one, translated from the Greek word Pallas, without the change of a single letter, and including also the strange hyphen, under which the Shakespeare dramas were actually written.

**Palladis Tamia, Wits Treasury** The obligation of Francis Meres, when compiling a comparative discourse of the English poets, with the Greek, Latin, and Italian poets, stated “I have had occasion to notice in another place J. Cambro-Vaughan, and also Henry Peacham, derived their information from the same unacknowledged authority.”<sup>548</sup> In 1599 appeared Granada’s

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548 *Palladia Tamia. Wits Treasury*, Sfc. 1598, 1634. 12mo

*Devotion* teaching how a man may truly dedicate and devote himself unto God: and so become his acceptable votary. Written in Spanish by the learned and reverend Divine F. Lewes of Granada. Since this work has been translated into Latin, Italian and French, and now perused in English by Francis Meres, Master of Artes, and student in Divinity, London, 1698. This is dedicated “to the worshipful and virtuous Gentleman M. William Sammes of the Middle Temple, Esquire,” as one devout in religion and learned in knowledge, because “the wittiest Emblematists’ will that in presentation of gifts we should a collection of moral sentences from ancient writers collect” and which Wood considered “a noted school-book.” From the comparative discourse upon our English poets, the work obtained considerable repute. Heywood in his *Apology for Actors*, calls him an approved good scholar, and says his *Account of Authors* is learnedly done. Oldys speaks of him as of no small reputation at that time for his moral and poetical writings. Meres’ reading was general and extensive, and the connecting his numerous transcripts shows taste, research, and strong critical judgment. The reader will not consider it to depreciate the labour of the author, that many of his authorities were gathered from his first book of Puttenham’s *Art of English Poesie*, and in particular should fit the humour of the party, to whom they are presented, as to send “black to mourners, white to religious people, green to youth and them that lie in hope, yellow to the covetous and Jealous, tawny to the man refus’d, red to martial captains, blue to mariners, violet to prophets and diviners, medley, gray and russet to the poor and meaner sort.”

And little boies, whom shamfastnes did grace,  
The Romans deck’d in scarlet like their face. <sup>549</sup>

In 1598 was published *Palladis Tamia, Wits Treasury*. Being the second part of *Wits Commonwealth*, 1598. p. 340. Again 1634 to which an engraved title was added as *Witts Academy, a Treasury of Golden Sentences, &c.* 1636. In 1637 appeared *Politeuphia, or Wits Commonwealth*, which was compiled by John Bodenham, and probably being well received suggested the attempt for making the *Palladis Tamia* a second part. They are never found together. About 1602, Meres became rector of Wing in the county of Rutland, and continued to hold it for the remainder of his life. Wood notes the *Sinner’s Guide of the whole Regiment of Christian Life* (1614). <sup>550</sup>

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<sup>549</sup> This dedication was dated “London the xi of May, 1598.”

<sup>550</sup> (a) *Apology for Actors. Somers’ Tracts*. Vol. III. p. 692. ed. 1810 (b) Joseph Haslewood. *Art of Ancient Critical Essays*, Vol. II. 1815



**A Comparative Discourse of our English Poets,  
With the Greek, Latin, and Italian Poets.**

**By  
Francis Meres  
1598**

As Greece had three poets of great antiquity, Orpheus, Linus and Musaeus, and Italy other three ancient poets, Livius Andronicus, Ennius and Plautus, so hath England three ancient poets, Chaucer, Gower and Lydgate.

As Homer is reputed the Prince of Greek poets, and Petrarch of Italian poets, so Chaucer is accounted the god of English poets.

As Homer was the first that adorned the Greek tongue with true quantity, so Piers Plowman was the first that observed the true quantity of our verse without the curiosity of rhyme.

Ovid writ a chronicle from the beginning of the world to his own time, that is, to the reign of Augustus the Emperor; so hath Hardyng the chronicler (after his manner of old harsh riming) from Adam to his time, that is, to the reign of King Edward the Fourth.

As Sotades Maronites the iambic poet gave himself wholly to write impure and lascivious things, so Skelton (I know not for what great worthiness surnamed the Poet Laureate) applied his wit to scurrilities and ridiculous matters; such among the Greeks were called pantomimi, with us, buffons.

As Consalvo Periz, that excellent learned man and secretary to King Philip of Spain, in translating the *Ulysses* of Homer out of Greek into Spanish, hath by good judgment avoided the fault of rhyming, although not fully hit perfect and true versifying, so hath Henry Howard, that true and noble Earl of Surrey, in translating the fourth book of Virgil's *Aeneas*, whom Michael Drayton in his England's *Heroical Epistles* hath eternized for an epistle to his fair Geraldine.

As these neoterics Jovianus Pontanus, Politianus, Marullus Tarchaniota, the two Strozae, the father and the son, Palingenius, Mantuanus, Philephus, Quintianus Stoa and Germanus Brixius have obtained reknown and good place among the ancient Latin poets, so also these Englishmen, being Latin poets, Walter Haddon, Nicholas Carr, Gabriel Harvey, Christopher Ocland, Thomas Newton with his *Leyland*, Thomas Watson, Thomas Campion, Brownsword and Willey, have attained good report and honourable advancement in the Latin empire.

As the Greek tongue is made famous and eloquent by Homer, Hesiod, Euripides, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Pindarus, Phocylides and Aristophanes, and the Latin tongue by Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Silius Italicus, Lucanus, Lucretius, Ausonius and Claudianus, so the English tongue is mightily enriched, and gorgeously invested in rare ornaments and resplendent habiliments by Sir Philip Sidney, Spenser, Daniel, Drayton, Warner, Shakespeare, Marlowe and Chapman.

As Xenophon, who did imitate so excellently as to give us *effigiem justi imperii* the portraiture of a just empire under the name of Cyrus (as Cicero saith of him) made therein an absolute heroical poem, and as Heliodorus writ in prose his sugared invention of that picture of love

in Theagines and Cariclea, and yet both excellent admired poets, so Sir Philip Sidney writ his immortal poem, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, in prose, and yet our rarest poet.

As Sextus Propertius said, *Nescio quid magis nascitur Iliade*, so I say of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. I know not what more excellent or exquisite poem may be written.

As Achilles had the advantage of Hector, because it was his fortune to be extolled and renowned by the heavenly verse of Homer, so Spenser's Elisa, the *Faerie Queene*, hath the advantage of all the Queens in the world, to be eternized by so divine a poet.

As Theocritus is famous for his Idyllia in Greek, and Virgil for his Eclogues in Latin, so Spenser, their imitator in his *Shepherds' Calendar*, is renowned for the like argument, and honoured for fine poetical invention, and most exquisite wit.

As Parthenius Nicaeus excellently sung the praises of his Arete, so Daniel hath divinely sonnetted the matchless beauty of his Delia.

As everyone mourneth when he heareth of the lamentable plangors of Thracian Orpheus for his dearest Eurydice, so everyone passioneth when he readeth the afflicted death of Daniel's distressed Rosamond.

As Lucan hath mournfully depainted the civil wars of Pompey and Caesar, so hath Daniel the civil wars of York and Lancaster, and Drayton the civil wars of Edward the Second and the barons.

As Virgil doth imitate Catullus in the like matter of Ariadne for his story of Queen Dido, so Michael Drayton doth imitate Ovid in his England's *Heroical Epistles*.

As Sophocles was called a bee for the sweetness of his tongue, so in Charles Fitzgeffrey's Drake, Drayton is termed golden-mouthed for the purity and preciousness of his style and phrase.

As Accius, M. Attilius and Milithus were called tragoediographi because they writ tragedies, so may we truly term Michael Drayton tragoediographus for his passionate penning the downfalls of valiant Robert of Normandy, chaste Matilda, and great Gaveston.

As John Honterus in Latin verse writ three books of cosmography with geographical tables, so Michael Drayton is now in penning in English verse a poem called *Poli-olbion Geographical and Hydrographical* of all the forests, woods, mountains, fountains, rivers, lakes, floods, baths and springs that be in England.

As Aulus Persius Flaccus is reported among all writers to be of an honest life and upright conversation, so Michael Drayton (*quem toties honoris & amoris causa nomino*) among scholars, soldiers, poets and all sorts of people, is held for a man of virtuous disposition, honest conversation, and well-governed carriage, which is almost miraculous among good wits in these declining and corrupt times, when there is nothing but roguery in villainous man, and when cheating and craftiness is counted the cleanest wit, and soundest wisdom.

As Decius Ausonius Gallus in *Libris Fastorum* penned the occurrences of the world from the first creation of it to his time, that is, to the reign of the Emperor Gratian, so Warner in his absolute Albions England hath most admirably penned the history of his own country from

Noah to his time, that is, to the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. I have heard him termed, of the best wits of both our Universities, our English Homer.

As Euripides is the most sententious among the Greek poets, so is Warner among our English poets.

As the soul of Euphorbus was thought to live in Pythagorus, so the sweet, witty soul of Ovid lives in mellifluous and honey-tongued Shakespeare, witnesses his *Venus and Adonis*, his *Lucrece*, his sugared Sonnets among his private friends, &c.

As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the best for comedy and tragedy among the Latins, so Shakespeare among the English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage; for comedy, witness his *Gentlemen of Verona*, his *Errors*, his *Love Labours Lost*, his *Love Labours Won*, his *Midsummer's Night Dream*, and his *Merchant of Venice*; for tragedy, his *Richard the 2*, *Richard the 3*, *Henry the 4*, *King John*, *Titus Andronicus*, and his *Romeo and Juliet*.

As Epius Stolo said that the muses would speak with Plautus' tongue if they would speak Latin, so I say that the muses would speak with Shakespeare's fine-filed phrase, if they would speak English.

As Musaeus, who wrote the love of *Hero and Leander*, had two excellent scholars, Thamyras and Hercules, so hath he in England two excellent poets, imitators of him in the same argument and subject, Christopher Marlowe and George Chapman.

As Ovid saith of his work: "amq opus exegi, quod nec Iouis ira, nec ignis Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas."

And as Horace saith of his: "Exegi monumentum aere perennius; Regaliq; situ pyramidum altius; Quod non imber edax; Non Aquilo impotens, possit diruere; aut innumerabilis annorum series & fuga temporum": so say I severally of Sir Philip Sidney's, Spenser's, Daniel's, Drayton's, Shakespeare's, and Warner's works: "Non Iouis ira: imbres: Mars: ferrum; flamma, senectus, Hoc opus unda: lues: turbo: venena ruent. Et quanquam ad plucherrimum hoc opus euertendum tres illi Dij conspirabunt, Cronus, Vulcanus, & pater ipse gentis; Non tamen annorum series, non flamma, nec ensis, Aeternum potuit hoc abolere Decus."

As Italy had Dante, Boccace, Petrarch, Tasso, Celiano and Ariosto, so England had Matthew Roydon, Thomas Atchelow, Thomas Watson, Thomas Kyd, Robert Greene and George Peele.

As there are eight famous and chief languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Italian, Spanish and French, so there are eight notable several kinds of poets, heroic, lyric, tragic, comic, satiric, iambic, elegaic and pastoral.

As Homer and Virgil among the Greeks and Latins are the chief heroic poets, so Spenser and Warner be our chief heroical makers.

As Pindarus, Anacreon and Callimachus among the Greeks, and Horace and Catullus among the Latins are the best lyric poets, so in this faculty the best among our poets are Spenser (who excelleth in all kinds), Daniel, Drayton, Shakespeare, Breton.

As these tragic poets flourished in Greece, Aeschylus, Euripides, Sophocles, Alexander Aetolus, Achaeus Erithriacus, Astydamas Atheniensis, Apollodorus Tarsensis, Nicomachus Phrygius, Thespis Atticus, and Timon Apolloniates, and these among the Latins, Accius, M. Attilius, Pomponius Secundus and Seneca, so these are our best for tragedy, the Lord Buckhurst, Doctor Legge of Cambridge, Doctor Edes of Oxford, Master Edward Ferris, the author of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, Marlowe, Peele, Watson, Kyd, Shakespeare, Drayton, Chapman, Dekker, and Benjamin Johnson.

As M. Anneus Lucanus writ two excellent tragedies, one called *Medea*, the other *de Incendio Troiae cum Priami calamitate*, so Doctor Legge hath penned two famous tragedies, the one of *Richard the 3*. The other of the destruction of Jerusalem.

The best poets for comedy among the Greeks are these, Menander, Aristophanes, Eupolis Atheniensis, Alexis Terius, Nicostratus, Amipsias Atheniensis, Anaxandrides Rhodius, Aristonymus, Archippus Atheniensis and Callias Atheniensis, and among the Latins, Plautus, Terence, Naevius, Sext. Turpilius, Licinius Imbrex, and Virgilius Romanus, so the best for comedy amongst us be Edward Earl of Oxford, Doctor Gager of Oxford, Master Rowley, once a rare scholar of learned Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, Master Edwards, one of her Majesty's Chapel, eloquent and witty John Lyly, Lodge, Gascoigne, Greene, Shakespeare, Thomas Nashe, Thomas Heywood, Anthony Munday, our best plotter, Chapman, Porter, Wilson, Hathway, and Henry Chettle.

As Horace, Lucilius, Juvenal, Persius & Lucullus are the best for satire among the Latins, so with us in the same faculty these are chief, Piers Plowman, Lodge, Hall of Emmanuel College in Cambridge, the author of *Pygmalion's Image and Certain Satires*, the author of *Skiaetheia*.

Among the Greeks I will name but two for iambics, Archilochus Parius, and Hipponax Ephesius; so amongst us I name but two iambical poets, Gabriel Harvey and Richard Stanyhurst, because I have seen no man in this kind.

As these are famous among the Greeks for elegy, Melanthus, Mymnerus Colophonius, Olympius Mysius, Parthenius Nicaeus, Philetas Cous, Theogenes Megarensis, and Pigres Halicarnassaeus, and these among the Latins, Mecaenas, Ovid, Tibullus, Propertius, T. Valgius, Cassius Severus and Clodius Sabinus, so these are the most passionate among us to bewail and bemoan the perplexities of love, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder, Sir Francis Bryan, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Edward Dyer, Spenser, Daniel, Drayton, Shakespeare, Whetstone, Gascoigne, Samuel Page, sometimes fellow of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, Churchyard, Breton.

As Theocritus in Greek, Virgil and Mantuan in Latin, Sannazar in Italian, and the author of *Amyntae Gaudia* and Walsingham's *Meliboeus* are the best for pastoral, so amongst us the best in this kind are Sir Philip Sidney, Master Chalonier, Spenser, Stephen Gosson, Abraham Fraunce, and Barnfield.

These and many other epigrammatists the Latin tongue hath, Q. Catullus, Portius Licinius, Quintus Cornificius, Martial, Cn. Getulicus, and witty Sir Thomas More; so in English we have these, Heywood, Drant, Kendal, Bastard, Davies.

As noble Mecaenas, that sprung from the Etruscan Kings, not only graced poets by his bounty, but also by being a poet himself, and as James the VI., now King of Scotland, is not only a favourer of poets, but a poet, as my friend Master Richard Barnfield hath in this distich passing well recorded: The King of Scots now living is a poet, as his *Lepanto* and his furies show it.

So Elizabeth, our dread sovereign and gracious Queen, is not only a liberal patron unto poets, but an excellent poet herself, whose learned, delicate and noble muse surmounteth, be it in ode, elegy, epigram, or in any other kind of poem heroic or lyric.

Octavia, sister unto Augustus the Emperor, was exceeding bountiful unto Virgil, who gave him, for making 26 verses, 1137 pounds, to wit, ten sesterces for every verse, which amount to above 43 pounds for every verse; so learned Mary, the honourable Countess of Pembroke, the noble sister of immortal Sir Philip Sidney, is very liberal unto poets; besides she is a most delicate poet, of whom I may say, as Antipater Sidonius writeth of Sappho: “Dulcia Mnemosyne demirans carmina Sapphus, Quaesiuit decima Pieris unde foret.”

Among others in times past, poets had these favorers, Augustus, Mecaenas, Sophocles, Germanicus, an emperor, a nobleman, a senator, and a captain, so of latter times poets have these patrons, Robert, King of Sicil, the great King Francis of France, King James of Scotland, and Queen Elizabeth of England.

As in former times two great cardinals, Bembus and Biena, did countenance poets, so of late years two great preachers have given them their right hands in fellowship, Beza and Melancthon.

As the learned philosophers Fracastorius and Scaliger have highly prized them, so have the eloquent orators Pontanus and Muretus very gloriously estimated them.

As Georgius Buchananus’ Jephthe, amongst all modern tragedies is able to abide the touch of Aristotle’s precepts, and Euripides’ examples, so is Bishop Watson’s Absolam.

As Terence, for his translations out of Apollodorus & Menander, and Aquilius for his translation out of Menander, and C. Germanicus Augustus for his out of Aratus, and Ausonius for his translated Epigrams out of Greek, and Doctor Johnson for his *Frog-fight* out of Homer, and Watson for his *Antigone* out of Sophocles, have got good commendations, so these versifiers for their learned translations are of good note among us, Phaer for Virgil’s *Aeneads*, Golding for Ovid’s *Metamorphosis*, Harington for his *Orlando Furioso*, the translators of Seneca’s tragedies, Barnabe Googe for *Palingenius*, Turberville for *Ovid’s Epistles* and Mantuan, and Chapman for his inchoate *Homer*.

As the Latins have these emblematisers, Andreas Alciatus, Reusnerus, and Sambucus, so we have these, Geoffrey Whitney, Andrew Willet, and Thomas Combe.

As Nonnus Panoplyta write the gospel of Saint John in Greek hexameters, so Gervase Markham hath written Solomon's canticles in English verse.

As C. Plinius writ the life of Pomponius Secundus, so young Charles Fitzgeffrey, that high towering falcon, hath most gloriously penned the honourable life and death of worthy Sir Francis Drake.

As Hesiod write learnedly of husbandry in Greek, so hath Tusser very wittily and experimentally written of it in English.

As Antipater Sidonius was famous for extemporal verse in Greek, and Ovid for his *Quicquid conabar dicere versus erat*, so was our Tarleton, of whom Doctor Case, that learned physician, thus speaketh in the seventh book, and seventeenth chapter of his Politics: "Aristoteles suum Theodoretum laudauit quendam peritum Tragoediarum actorem; Cicero suum Roscium: nos Angli Tarletonum, in cuius voce & vultu omnes iocosi affectus, in cuius cerebroso capite lepidae facetiae habitant."

And so is now our witty Wilson, who, for learning and extemporal wit in this faculty, is without compare or compeer, as to his great and eternal commendations he manifested in his challenge at the Swan on the Bankside.

As Achilles tortured the dead body of Hector, and as Antonius, and his wife Fulvia tormented the lifeless corpse of Cicero, so Gabriel Harvey hath shewed the same inhumanity to Greene, that lies full low in his grave.

As Eupolis of Athens used great liberty in taxing the vices of men, so doth Thomas Nashe, witness the brood of the Harveys.

As Actaeon was worried of his own hounds, so is Tom Nashe of his *Isle of Dogs*. Dogs were the death of Euripides, but be not disconsolate, gallant young Juvenal; Linus, the son of Apollo died the same death. Yet God forbid that so brave a wit should so basely perish; thine are but paper dogs; neither is thy banishment like Ovid's, eternally to converse with the barbarous Getes. Therefore comfort thyself, sweet Tom, with Cicero's glorious return to Rome, and with the counsel Aeneas gives to his sea-beaten soldiers, lib. I. *Aeneid*: Pluck up thine heart, & drive from thence both fear and care away, to think on this may pleasure be perhaps another day. Durato, & *temet rebus seruato secundis*.

As Anacreon died by the pot, so George Peele by the pox.

As Archesilaus Prytanaeus perished by wine at a drunken feast, as Hermippus testifieth in Diogenes, so Robert Greene died of a surfeit taken at pickled herrings and Rhenish wine, as witnesseth Thomas Nashe, who was at the fatal banquet.

As Jodelle, a French tragical poet, being an epicure and an atheist, made a pitiful end, so our tragical poet Marlowe, for his epicurism and atheism had a tragical death; you may read of this Marlowe more at large in the *Theatre of God's Judgments*, in the 25. Chapter entreating of epicures and atheists.

As the poet Lycophron was shot to death by a certain rival of his, so Christopher Marlowe was stabbed to death by a bawdy serving-man, a rival of his in his lewd love.

**Paper Making of the Age** “Paper,” observed Fuller <sup>551</sup> “is entered as a manufacture of Cambridgeshire because there are mills nigh Sturbridge fair, where paper was made in the memory of our fathers. Pity the making thereof is disused, considering the vast sums yearly expended in our land for paper out of Italy, France, and Germany, which might be lessened were it made in our nation.” The first successful attempt to manufacture an article resembling modern paper, so far as we know, was made in Egypt at a very remote time. An aquatic plant, known to us as papyrus, having a soft cellular flower-stem, afforded the material. The stem of the plant grew from ten to twenty feet high, of a triangular shape, from the thin coats or pellicles of which the paper was made. These were separated by means of a pin, or pointed muscle-shells, and spread on a table sprinkled with Nile water, in such a form as the size of the sheets required, and washed over with the same. On the first layer of these slips, a second was placed cross-wise, so as to form a sheet of convenient thickness, which, after being pressed and dried in the sun, was polished with a shell or other hard and smooth substance. Twenty sheets was the utmost that could be separated from one stalk, and those nearest the pith made the finest paper. The Romans at a later day improved upon the papyrus made by the Egyptians; they sized it in a similar manner to that pursued with rag-paper, making their size of the finest flour. The paper of the Romans was very white; that of the Egyptians of a yellowish or brown tinge. The Egyptian paper was manufactured in Alexandria and other cities of Egypt in such large quantities that one individual boasted of the possession of so much paper that its revenue would maintain a numerous army. Alexandria was for a long time solely in the enjoyment of this manufacture, and acquired immense riches by it. Europe and Asia were supplied there from during several centuries. The art of making paper from fibrous matter reduced to a pulp in water, appears to have been first discovered by the Chinese about a thousand years ago.

The Chinese paper is commonly supposed to be made of silk; but silk alone cannot be reduced to a pulp suitable for making paper. Refuse silk is said to be occasionally used with other ingredients, but the greater part of the Chinese paper is made from the inner bark of the bamboo and mulberry tree, hempen rags, &c. The latter are prepared for paper by being cut and well washed in tanks. They are then bleached and dried; in twelve days they are converted into a pulp, which is then made into balls of about four pounds weight. These are afterwards saturated with water and made into paper on a frame of fine reeds; and are dried by being pressed under large stones. A second drying operation is performed by fastening the sheets on the walls of a room. The sheets are then coated with gum size, and polished with stones. They also make paper from cotton and linen rags, and a coarse yellow sort from rice straw, which is used for wrapping. They are enabled to make sheets of a large size, the mould on which the pulp is made into paper being sometimes ten or twelve feet long, and very wide, and managed by means of pulleys. The article popularly known as Chinese rice paper, is prepared from the pith of a plant, which is cut spirally

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551 *Worthies*, Vol. I., p. 224, ed. Nuttall

into a thin slice, and when spread out and compressed, forms a light and fragile sheet, sometimes a foot in length, and five or six inches in breadth.

The Japanese prepare paper from the mulberry as follows: in the month of December the twigs are cut into lengths, not exceeding thirty inches, and put together in bundles. These fagots are then placed upright in a large vessel containing an alkaline ley, and boiled till the bark shrinks so as to allow about a half an inch of the wood to appear free at the top. After they are thus boiled, they are exposed to a cool atmosphere, when the bark is stripped from the wood and dried, and laid away for future use. When a sufficient quantity has been thus collected, it is soaked in water three or four days, when a blackish skin which covered it is scraped off. At the same time also the stronger bark, which is of a full year's growth, is separated from the thinner, which covered the younger branches, and which yields the best and whitest paper.

The ancient Mexicans also, were found to have a kind of paper prepared from the maguey plant, or American aloe, the product of which resembled the papyrus of the Egyptians, and took ink and colour well.

The Arabians, in the seventh century, appear to have either discovered, or to have learned from the Chinese or Hindoos, quite likely from the latter, the art of making paper from cotton; for it is known that a manufactory of such paper was established at Samarcand about the year 706 A.D. The Arabians seem to have carried the art to Spain, and to have there made paper from linen and hemp as well as from cotton. The art of manufacturing paper from cotton is supposed to have found its way into Europe in the eleventh century.

The Greeks, it is said, made use of cotton paper before the Latins. It came into Germany through Venice, and was called Greek parchment.

The Moors, who were the paper-makers of Spain, having been expelled by the Spaniards, the latter, acquainted with water mills improved the manufacture so as to produce a paper from cotton nearly equal to that made of linen rags. It is not known when cotton paper was introduced into England, but it appears that its use continued until the latter part of the fourteenth century, when it was gradually supplanted by linen paper, which began to be used in 1342.

Paper manufactures early became a very flourishing product in France, and the paper-makers in that country soon excelled their neighbours in the art, and were therefore enabled to export considerable quantities, which increased so much yearly, that in 1658 two million francs in value was exported to Holland alone; and it provided Spain, England, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, but chiefly Holland, and the Levant, with paper for printing and waiting; and as to the 1800's twenty-five thousand reams were annually exported to Switzerland and Germany. But at this time the art of paper-making had arrived at a great degree of perfection in England and Holland, whereby the export from France was so much reduced, that, of four hundred paper-mills in two provinces, three hundred were discontinued.



The chronology of paper-making from 1558 to 1635 one year before Francis Bacon died: <sup>552</sup>

- 1558. Churchyard's *Spark of Friendship* was first printed this year, and mentions the paper mill of Spilman, which is often quoted as the first paper mill in England under the date of 1588, *q.v.*
- 1562. A work printed in this year mentions a paper mill at Fen Ditton, near Cambridge, England.
- 1564. Charles IX., of France having put an impost upon paper, the University brought the subject before the Parliament, when Montholon and De Thou advocated the abolition of the tax, and the University gained its cause.
- 1565. Charles IX., of France, at the remonstrance of the University and the decision of the Parliament, abolished the duty which he had laid upon paper.
- 1588. Nicholas, in his *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth.*, gives a poem with the following title *A Description and Playne Discourse of Paper, and the whole Benefits that Paper brings, with Rehearsall, and setting foorth in Verse a Paper-myll built near Dearthforth, by a high Germaine, called Master Spilman, Jeweller to the Queen's Majestie.* This is supposed to have been the second paper mill in England, and is often mentioned as the first. It was erected by a German named Spielman, or Spilman, in reward of which he received from Elizabeth the honour of Knighthood in 1591. A document in the Land Revenue Records of England, reads: "Fenclifton, Co. Cambridge; lease of a water mill called paper mills, late of the bishopric of Ely, to John George, dated 14th July, 34th Eliz." This is evidence of a third paper mill in England at this time.

**Master Spilman, <sup>553</sup> Jeweller to the Queen's Majesty <sup>554</sup>**

**By  
Thomas Churchyard**

(Then) he that made for us a paper-mill,  
Is worthy well of love and world's good will,  
And though his name be *Spill-man*, by degree,  
Yet *Help-man* now, he shall be called by me.  
Six hundred men are set at work by him,  
That else might starve, or seek abroad their bread;  
Who now live well, and go full brave and trim,  
And who may boast *they* are with paper fed.  
A high Germaine he is, as may be proved,  
In Lyndoam Bodenze, borne and bred,  
And for this mill, may here be truly loved,  
And praised, too, for deep device of head.

<sup>552</sup> Joel Munsell. *Chronology of the Origin and Progress of Paper and Paper-Making*, Ed. 5, 1876

<sup>553</sup> Also spelt Spielmann

<sup>554</sup> *Notes & Queries*, No. 59, 1850

- 1635. Under the reign of Louis XIII., of France, an impost upon paper was established, but with the condition that the *fermier* should pay each year the sum often thousand livres to the royal printing office and the University of Paris.

**Paradoxes not written by Bacon** Grosart's little book <sup>555</sup> probably was of the main interest and value to prove that the memorials were extrinsic, as enabling finally to determine the non-Baconian authorship of *The Paradoxes*, which for upwards of three centuries have been ascribed to Francis Bacon. The facts are of importance and worthy a space in this work.

Among the Thomason *Tracts* in the British Museum, there is an edition of *The Paradoxes*, printed for Richard Wodenothe, at the Star, under Peter's Church in Cornhill (1645). It is a small 8vo, and, including title page, makes 12 pages. On the title, with his usual exactness, Thomason has written *July 24*, which denotes the day of publication. It does not appear who prepared and published this anonymous version. In the Epistle, there is claim that it was unauthorised to be printed by the author: "I meant thee somewhat more: but whilst (in the midst of many employments) I was getting it ready, a strange hand was like to have robbed me of the greatest part of this, by putting to the Press (unknown to me) an imperfect copy of *The Paradoxes*. This made me hasten to tender a true one, and to content myself for the present with the addition of the other lesser pieces which here accompany them." This Epistle is signed "Thine and the Churches servant together, Herbert Palmer," and is prefixed to Part II., of the *Memorials* this second part being added to a new edition of Part I., which had been originally published in 1644, on December 13. The "true copy" mentioned in the Epistle is arranged with the aphorisms under eighty-five heads. All the editions of the completed *Memorials*, from first to last, bore the name of Herbert Palmer on the title page, as well as the above separate note of *The Paradoxes*, as forming a portion of the volume. Spedding noted that there had been an edition published in 1643, and bearing Bacon's name on the title page: <sup>556</sup> "*The Character of a Believing Christian in Paradoxes and Seeming Contradictions*, is said to have appeared first in 1643 as a separate pamphlet, under Bacon's name." Spedding's authority is Rémusat. But on turning to Rémusat <sup>557</sup> it is found that Spedding has misread the date, overlooked a statement about the "three years" that elapsed between the pamphlet of 1645 and *The Remains* of 1648, and erred in supposing that Rémusat described the tractate of 1645 as bearing Bacon's name. The "imperfect copy" of July 24, 1645 therefore, was the first edition of *The Paradoxes*, and it is anonymous. The first "true copy" is Palmer's own in Part II., of his *Memorials*, published on July 25, 1645. No edition whatever bore the name of Bacon, until in 1648 *The Paradoxes* were included in his *Remains*.

How *The Paradoxes* came to be thus included in *The Remains* of Bacon a volume "to which," observes Spedding, "nobody stands sponsor," <sup>558</sup> is impossible to say. Whatever the explanation, it

<sup>555</sup> Rev. Alexander B. Grosart. *Lord Bacon Not The Author Of The Christian Paradoxes*, 1865

<sup>556</sup> Spedding. *Works*, Vol. VII. p. 289

<sup>557</sup> Rémusat. *Bacon*, p. 150, 1858

<sup>558</sup> Spedding. *Works*, Vol. VII. p. 594

is plain that *The Paradoxes* were not Bacon's; and that the author, Herbert Palmer, did not claim his own when they appeared in Bacon's *Remains* is accounted for by Palmer's death in the previous year, 1647. Spedding remarks, "Rawley says nothing of it: and as he can hardly be supposed to have overlooked it in the collection, his silence must be understood as equivalent to a statement that it was one of the many "pamphlets put forth under his Lordship's name, which are not to be owned for his." This is put at the end of the 1657 *Resuscitatio*. Tenison says nothing about it. No traces of it, or of any part of it, or of anything at all resembling it, are to be found among the innumerable Baconian manuscripts, fair and foul, fragments, rough notes, discarded beginnings, loose leaves, which may still be seen at Lambeth, in the British Museum, and other repositories."<sup>559</sup>

After Bacon's *Remains* of 1648 the first edition of the *Works* of Bacon which included *The Paradoxes* was Blackburn's (1730); from a note in which it would appear that Archbishop Sancroft revised, or, as Blackburn puts it, gave them a careful review; the meaning of which is explained to be, that he had compared it with the other copy, printed in London (1645); and by which again must be understood the anonymous edition described earlier. Ever since Blackburn's edition, *The Paradoxes* have been included therein, with less or more of suspicion. [Also see Part IV: *Bacon's Works*.]

**Parallelism in Elizabethan literary works** "You are Mistaken, insatiable thief of my writings, who think a poet can be made for the mere expense which copying, and a cheap volume cost. The applause of the world is not acquired for six or even ten sesterces. Seek out for this purpose verses treasured up, and unpublished efforts, known only to one person, and which the father himself of the virgin sheet that has been worn and scrubbed by bushy chins, keeps sealed up in his desk. A well known book cannot change its master. But if there is one to be found yet unpolished by the pumice-stone, yet unadorned with bosses and cover, buy it: I have such by me, and no one shall know it. Whoever recites another's compositions, and seeks for fame, must buy, not a book, but the author's silence." (Martial).<sup>560</sup>

The remarkable charge that Bacon borrowed from Shakespeare is not original. Massey in his book on the Sonnets, runs through several pages in this fashion: "It may be have sometimes thought there was something conscious, not to say sinister, in the silence of Bacon respecting Shakespeare and vice versa. As Spedding points out, Bacon had a regular system of taking notes, and of intentionally altering the things that he quoted. This opens a vast vista of responsibility in his covert mode of assimilating the thoughts, purloining the gold, and clipping the coinage of Shakespeare. It has often been a matter of surprise that Bacon should not have recognized Shakespeare or his work. His *Promus* is the record of much that he took directly from Shakespeare. For eight or ten years he had free play and full pasturage in Shakespeare's field before he published his first ten essays. It is this borrowing from Shakespeare by Bacon that has given so much trouble and labour in vain to

<sup>559</sup> Spedding. *Works*, Vol VII. p. 289

<sup>560</sup> Martial. Epigram LXVI

Baconians. The simple solution is that Bacon was the unsuspected thief, who has been accredited with the original ownership of the property purloined by Shakespeare.”<sup>561</sup>

Dyce asserts “plays were scarcely recognised as literature, and authors seldom presumed to approach the mansions of the aristocracy,”<sup>562</sup> and Bayley<sup>563</sup> offers a plethora similarities of playwrights taking from Bacon’s works: “A peculiar demonstration of the manner in which the dramatists borrowed from the works of Bacon, occurs in connection with Duelling. This evil was one of the many, which Bacon endeavoured to crush. In the year 1613 he drew up a *Proposition of Advice*, to some extent adopted by the Government, for in the same year two duellists were arrested and brought up before the Star Chamber. That there was some relationship between Bacon and the playwrights, is to be inferred by the fact that many of them seemingly had access to his private manuscripts. The identities cannot be explained on any other hypothesis.” It will be noticed that Massinger, in a play printed in 1636, apparently quotes from a private letter written by Bacon in 1616 to the Duke of Buckingham, but not printed until 1661. In the same play he borrows also from certain other works of Bacon as from *A Declaration of the demeanour and carriage of Sir Walter Raleigh*; 1618:

Bacon:

Although Kings be not bound to give account of their actions to any but God alone; yet, such are his Majesty’s proceedings as he hath always been willing, etc.”

Massinger’s *Great Duke of Florence*, Act n. Sc. 2., 1636:

Though we stand not bound to yield account to any why we do this or that (the consent to our subjects being included in our will), we, out of our free bounties will deliver the motives that divert us.

Bacon, *Letter of Advice* to the newly made Viscount Villiers (1616) and first printed 1661:  
Sir I cannot flatter.

Messenger’s *Great Duke of Florence*, Act II. Sc. 1.:

Thou flatter’st me! I cannot.

Bacon, same letter:

You serve a gracious master and a good, and there is a noble and hopeful Prince whom you must not disserve. Adore him not as the rising sun in such a measure as that you put a jealousy into the father who raised you.

Messenger’s *Great Duke of Florence*, Act I. Sc. 2.:

All true pleasures circle your Highness.

As the rising sun we do receive you.

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<sup>561</sup> Edwards. *Shakspeare Not Shakespeare*

<sup>562</sup> Dyce’s *Works of Marlowe*, p. 25

<sup>563</sup> Harold Bayley. *The Shakespeare Symphony*, 1906

The passages from Massinger are merely from two acts of one play; this writer's total indebtedness to Bacon is quite beyond estimate; not to mention the plethora similarities between Bacon and Shakesporean literature. In the freeing of Thought perhaps no man did more than Francis Bacon. Among his unpublished manuscripts we find a note, "Thought is free."<sup>564</sup> In his *Numismata* Evelyn states, "By standing up against the dogmatists, Bacon emancipated and set free Philosophy." That Bacon's writings or miniature writings may show some similarities with Shakespeare's or vice versa, was not an unknown circumstance even in the Antiquarian Learning period where the Latin grammatical literature was almost entirely founded on the Greek, and hardly possessed any scientific independence, and was chiefly practical in its purpose. Considerable light is thrown upon the interesting subject of early printing. The grammarians, like the early writers in general, had no idea of literary property; quite unconcernedly Verrius Flaccus copied out Varro, Probus Verrius, Pliny Probus, Caper Pliny, Julius Romanus Caper, Charisius Julius Romanus, Aphthonius Juba, Marius Victorinus Aphthonius, etc., and this indeed is generally done with but little care. An earlier text book is altered and recast at discretion, a more detailed one is abbreviated one for more advanced students is toned down to suit the requirements of beginners, and then brought out as an original work. Sometimes too the first part of a textbook is adapted from one writer, and the second from another, and then possibly the name of the first author is transferred to the whole work, especially if the name was a famous one, such as Probus.<sup>565</sup>

Copying was chiefly practical in its purpose. Take for instance John Heydon's *Holy Guide* which was published in 1662, and is largely based on adaptation of Bacon's *New Atlantis* published in 1627 a year after his death. That Bacon's fable was adapted on the *Fama* comes from an observation by F.W.C. Wigston in his *Bacon, Shakespeare, and the Rosicrucians*, published in 1888.

**Poems: Written By Wil. Shakespeare. 1640** William Aspley's edition of Sonnets are deemed the first edition to have been printed in 1609. In some copies the latter part of the imprint reads that it is to be sold by John Wright and not William Aspley. Why these two different names, is uncertain, since the printer, Thomas Thorpe remains the same. At the end of both volumes, *A Lover's Complaint* was printed. In 1640 the Sonnets (except Nos. 18, 19, 43, 56, 75, 76, 96, and 126), rearranged under various titles, with the pieces in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, *A Lover's Complaint*, *The Phoenix and the Turtle*, the lines "Why should this a desert be," etc. (A. Y. L. III. 2. 133 fol.), "Take, O take those lips away," etc. (M. for M. IV. 1. 1 fol.), and sundry translations from Ovid, evidently not Shakespeare's, were published by one Tho. Cotes and to be sold by John Bensen (*d.*1667). (Many biographers tend to spell this *Benson*). The Sonnets in this edition were then so effectually disguised by an arbitrary process of interpolation, omission, re-arrangement, and misleading description as to excite but little attention, until in 1780 Malone opened a new era of research into their bearing on the life and character of Shakespeare. This edition of 1640 was reprinted several times in the eighteenth century; the text of the quarto 1609, by Lintott

<sup>564</sup> Bacon. *Promus*, 1594

<sup>565</sup> Teuffel & Schwabe. *History of Roman Literature*, 1873; Vol. I. p. 60

1711, in Steevens's *Twenty Plays*, 1766, and by Malone. Gildon and Sewell, editors of the first half of the century, having the 1640 text before them, assumed that the Sonnets were addressed to Shakespeare's mistress. It remained for the editors and critics of the second half of the century to discover that the greater number was written for a young man. (Dowden). <sup>566</sup>

The earliest known reference to the Sonnets is in the *Palladis Tamia* of Francis Meres, who speaks of them as "his sugared Sonnets among his private friends." This was in 1598, and the next year two of them (138 and 144) were printed in *The Passionate Pilgrim*. We do not know that any of the others were published before 1609, (Rolfe) <sup>567</sup> though reference to Shakespeare was made earlier than 1598: in 1594 only four years prior to Meres' mention, there is an edition entitled *Willobie His Avis*, with a most valuable critical introduction to Shakespeare and his *Lucrece*. To the date of the Sonnets' composition, George Wyndham in his *Poems of Shakespeare*, published in 1898, tells of "a clue, so far as I am aware, unnoted, which may assist in dating the Sonnets," occurs in Sonnet 98. 1–4:

From you have I been absent in the spring  
When proud pide Aprill (drest in all his trim)  
Hath put a spirit of youth in euery thing:  
That heaueie Satume laught and leapt with him.

Shakespeare describing an absence in the spring here associates Saturn with the burst of new life in April. A visual apprehension of Nature, at once accurate and sensuous, is a marked feature of his style, and, specially, in the case of the luminaries and of all effects of light in the heavens. The sun, the moon, "that full star that ushers in the even," "the grey cheeks of the East" before dawn, "the twilight, after sunset fadeth in the West," are noted with a vivid appreciation in *Venus*, *Lucrece*, and the Sonnets. And, again, in accordance with the prevailing belief of his age, he attributes occult power to the stars. "Indeed, he derives the ascription of "heaviness" to Saturn in this passage from books on Astrology: a science which seems to have engaged his interest no less than the other sciences of his day. Knowing the astrological characteristics of Saturn, he finds it effective to contrast that "leaden" planet with the exhilarating outburst of April. But he would not have done so had not Saturn been a visible feature in the sky during the month of April to which he refers. To have dragged Saturn, without reason or rhyme, into a description of a particular month of April would have been a freak without a parallel in his poems." (Wyndham).

And for the above information, Wyndham remains "indebted to my friend, Dr. Dobie, for the information, derived by him from competent authorities, that, taking the years 1592–91, Saturn was in opposition and, therefore, a somewhat conspicuous feature in the sky during the month of April in the years 1600, 1601. This is confirmed by Mr. Heath, of the Royal Observatory, Edinburgh, with whom Mr. Blaikie has kindly conferred on this question. Mr.

<sup>566</sup> Edward Dowden. *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, 1887

<sup>567</sup> William J. Rolfe. *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, 1883

Heath informs me that Leovitius in his *Ephemeris* 1556 gives the dates of the opposition of Saturn as follow: March 24, 1599; April 4, 1600; April 17, 1601; April 29, 1602; May 11, 1603. The planet would have been bright for some nights both before and after opposition, but, since it rose, according to Mr. Blaikie, about sunset in April 1600 and gradually later in the Aprils of succeeding years, my suggestion that Shakespeare had the real planet in his mind would still fit in with the years 1602 and 1608, when opposition fell respectively on April 29 and May 11, while it would hardly fit in with an earlier date than 1600. Saturn would have been a conspicuous figure in the evening sky, rising in the heavens to much the same height as Sirius. In confirmation of my theory, it should be remembered that Saturn goes through a series of changes according as his rings are tilted to wards us or presented edge on. During the early years of the century, the apparent opening of the rings would be steadily increasing until April 1, 1605 which Mr. Heath has calculated as the date of maximum opening, when the planet at opposition must have shown a very large bright disc. This calculation tallies with Galileo's historical mystification at the disappearance of Saturn's accessories (the rings were not then known) in 1612.<sup>568</sup> To sum up: if, as I hold, Shakespeare wrote Sonnet 118 with the real Saturn in his mind, then he cannot have written it before 1600 and may, with greater probability, have written it in 1601 or 1602, when Saturn was more conspicuous and gradually presenting a larger disc." Alfred Dodd holds a different opinion as toward the date of composition to this particular Sonnet: "This canto was written after Francis Bacon's fall in 1621. He returns to literature, to the passion of his youth, poesy, his dramatic creation. It is like the return, after long absence, of a father to his child. The Sonnets in the canto are in their original order as written and extend from the date of his return, during revision of the Great Folio, and after its publication."<sup>569</sup> And Dodd gives the following numbering Sonnets for the canto: 97, 98, 99, 62, 102, 75, 64, 63, 126, 59, and 60.

The publisher of the Sonnets was John Bensen (*b.*1667) who was a London publisher of the middle seventeenth century, best remembered for the above-mentioned publication of the Sonnets in 1640. His career began as a stationer in 1635; he maintained shops in Chancery Lane (from 1635 on) and St. Dunstan's Churchyard in Fleet Street (1640 and after). In his publishing career, Bensen generally concentrated on the lower end of the market for printed matter in his era; he "specialized in the publication of ballads and broadsides." Yet he published books too, like Joseph Rutter's *The Shepherds' Holy-Day* (1635); he issued Ben Jonson's *Execration Against Vulcan* also in 1640. Bensen partnered with other stationers for some projects. He joined with fellow stationer John Waterson to publish the first quarto of Fletcher and Massinger's *The Elder Brother* (1637). Bensen and John Saywell issued Francis Quarles's *Hosanna, or Divine poems on the Passion of Chirst* (1647). In 1651 he formed a partnership to print music books with John Playford. Their edition of John Hilton's *Catch That Catch Can*, a collection of "catches, rounds, and canons," appeared in 1652. He then entered his edition of Shakespeare's poems in the Stationers' Register

<sup>568</sup> Grant. *History of Physical Astronomy*, p. 255

<sup>569</sup> Alfred Dodd. *The Personal Poems of Francis Bacon*, 1931

on November 4, 1639; since Thomas Thorpe, the original publisher of the Sonnets and *A Lover's Complaint*, had died c1635, his copyright to the material was likely considered lapsed. The volume was published in octavo the following year. The title of the publication reads:

POEMS: VVRITTEN BY WIL. SHAKESSPEARE. Gent. Printed at *London* by Tho. Cotes, and are to be sold by John Bensen dwelling in St. Dunstans Church-yard. 1640.

The book opens with engraver William Marshall's portrait of Shakespeare, a reduced and reversed version of Martin Droeshout's engraving from the First Folio. This is followed by Benson's preface "to the Reader," commendatory poems by Leonard Digges and John Warren, and then the poems themselves. The edition combined most of Shakespeare's Sonnets (numbers 18, 19, 43, 56, 75, and 76 are omitted), mingled with poems from *The Passionate Pilgrim* (the corrupt 1612 edition), plus *A Lover's Complaint*, *The Phoenix and the Turtle*, Milton's poem to Shakespeare from the Second Folio, poems by Ben Jonson, Francis Beaumont, Robert Herrick and others, and miscellaneous pieces.

Thomas Cotes, who was Benson's printer for the publication, also printed the Shakespeare Second Folio (1632), and the first quarto of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (1634). Bensen is notorious for rearranging the order of the Sonnets into groups, which he presented as complete poems, for which he invented titles. He also changed the pronouns in several of the Sonnets to create the impression that they were written to a woman. The "derivative and unauthoritative character" of Bensen's edition was not recognized until Shakespeare scholar Edmund Malone re-directed critics' attention to the original 1609 edition of the Sonnets; "for almost a century and a half Bensen's mangled hodgepodge was an accepted repository of Shakespeare's lyric verse." The discussion which has raged about this "Dedication" is very difficult to condense, which concerns the identification of "Mr. W.H." Malone does not discuss the general character or phrasing of the "Dedication" but in connection with his mention of Tyrwhitt's suggestion that "H" was William Hughes he implies that "W.H." was the "begetter" in the sense of the person to whom Sonnets 1–126 were addressed. Chalmers gives his opinion as "How he [Mr. W.H.] was the begetter of them it is not easy to tell, unless we presume, what is not improbable, that he begot a desire in Shakespeare to deliver a copy to the Bookseller, for publication: "W.H." was the getter of the MS., imperfect as it was, from which the Sonnets were printed." In a subsequent note (p. 90) he cites Skinner as deriving "beget" from A.S. begettan, obtinere: Johnson adopts this derivation and sense; so that "begetter," in the quaint language of Thorpe the Bookseller, Pistol the ancient, and such affected persons, signified the obtainer; as "to get" and "getter" in the present day mean obtain and obtainer.

Coming to Drake's opinion: On the first perusal of this address, the import would seem to be, that "Mr. W.H." had been the sole object of Shakespeare's poetry, and of the eternity promised by the Bard. But a little attention to the language of the times in which it was written will induce us to correct this conclusion; for as a part of our author's Sonnets is most certainly addressed to



a female, it is evident that “W.H.” could not be the “only begetter” of them in the sense which primarily suggests itself. [Chalmers gives the true meaning.] We must infer, therefore, that “Mr. W.H.” had influence enough to obtain the MS., from the poet, and that he lodged it in Thorpe’s hands for the purpose of publication, a favour which the bookseller returned, by wishing him “all happiness and that eternity which had been” promised by the Bard, in such glowing colours, to another, namely, to one of the immediate subjects of his Sonnets. That this is the only rational meaning which can be annexed to the word “promised” will appear, when we reflect that for Thorpe to have wished “W.H.” the eternity which had been promised for him by an ever-living poet, would have been not only superfluous, but downright nonsense: the “eternity” of an “ever-living” poet must necessarily ensue, and was a proper subject of congratulation, but not of wishing or of hope. Boswell’s words tell how “The “begetter” is merely the person who gets or procures a thing, with the common prefix “be” added to it. So in Decker’s *Satiromastix*: “I have some cousin-germans at Court shall beget you the reversion of the master of the King’s Revels.” Knight pursues Drake’s argument that the fact that some of the Sonnets are addressed to a female disposes of the assertion that “Mr. W.H.” was the “only begetter” in the sense of only inspirer. Collier does the same, and agrees that the dedication was written in compliment of “W.H.” for “collecting Shakespeare’s scattered Sonnets from various parties.” <sup>570</sup>

White says, “This dedication is not written in the common phraseology of its period; it is throughout a piece of affectation and elaborate quaintness, in which the then antiquated prefix *be-* might be expected to occur; *beget* being used for *get*, as Wiclif uses *betook* for *took* in Mark, XV., 1: “And ledden him and betoken him to Pilate.”

Practically no progress was made in this discussion, then, during the first half of the nineteenth century. But in 1862 M. Philarete Chasles, Director of the Mazarin Library, proposed an entirely new interpretation in a communication to the *Athenaeum* of January 25 (p. 116), to the following effect: that we have here no dedication, properly so called, at all, but a kind of monumental inscription; that this inscription has not one continuous sense, but is broken up into two distinct sentences; that the former sentence contains the real inscription, which is addressed by and not to “W.H.”; that the person to whom the inscription is addressed is, for some reasons, not directly named, but described by what the learned call an “Antonomasia” (the onlie begetter of these insuing Sonnets); that the latter sentence is only an appendage to the real inscription; that the publisher, in the latter sentence, is allowed to express his own good wishes (not for an eternity of fame to the begetter of the Sonnets, which would be an impertinence on his part), but for the success of the undertaking in which he (the adventurer) has embarked his capital. Stripped of its lapidary form [*i.e.*, a form modelled on ancient lapidary inscriptions], the inscription will then run thus: “M.W.H. wisheth to the only begetter of these insuing Sonnets all happiness and that eternity promised by our ever-living poet.”

Thorpe, in Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, left the salutation to stand alone, and omitted the supplement of a dedicatory epistle; but this, too, was not unusual.<sup>571</sup> But Thorpe was too self-assertive to be a slavish imitator. His addiction to bombast, and his elementary appreciation of literature, recommended to him the practice of incorporating in his dedicatory salutation some high sounding embellishments of the accepted formula, suggested by his author's writing. In his dedication of the *Sonnets* to "Mr. W.H." he grafted on the common formula a reference to the immortality which Shakespeare after the habit of contemporary Sonneteers, promised the hero of his *Sonnets* in the pages that succeeded. It is obvious that he did not employ "begetter" in the ordinary sense. "Begetter," when literally interpreted as applied to a literary work, means "father", "author", "producer", and it cannot be seriously urged that Thorpe intended to describe "Mr. W.H." as the author of the *Sonnets*. "Begetter" has been used in the figurative sense of inspirer, and it is often assumed that by "only begetter" Thorpe meant "sole inspirer," and that by the use of those words he intended to hint at the close relations subsisting between "W.H." and Shakespeare in the dramatist's early life; but that interpretation presents numberless difficulties. It was contrary to Thorpe's aims in business to invest a dedication with any cryptic significance and thus mystify his customers. Moreover, his career and the circumstances under which he became the publisher of the *Sonnets* confute the assumption that he was in such relations with Shakespeare or with Shakespeare's associates as would give him any knowledge of Shakespeare's early career that was not public property. When Thorpe had the luck to acquire surreptitiously an unprinted MS., by "our ever-living poet," it was not in the great man's circle of friends or patrons, to which hitherto he had had no access, that he was likely to seek his own patron. "Beget" was not infrequently employed in the attenuated sense of "get," "procure," or "obtain," a sense which is easily deducible from the original one of "bring into being." Hamlet, when addressing the players, bids them "in the very whirlwind of passion acquire and beget a temperance that may give it smoothness."

**Poets' Corner** Rich as is Westminster Abbey in historical associations and time-honoured legends, there is not, perhaps, in the whole edifice a more revered spot than the Poets' Corner in the south transept. It is not known who christened the place thus, but a writer in the fourth volume of *The Antiquary* points out that the name was probably subsequent to the burial of, and the first placing of Chaucer's table-tomb against the west screen of St. Benedict's Chapel, and also to the burial of Spenser, and the erection of his monument by Ann Clifford, Duchess of Dorset, soon after 1598. Addison, in a charming paper on Westminster Abbey and its silent inhabitants, speaks of the "poetical quarter," where he "found there were poets who had no monuments, and monuments which had no poets."<sup>572</sup> Although John Dart, the author of *Westmonasterium* (1723), has not actually written the name of "Poets' Corner," he did the next best thing by illustrating it in one of the vignette initials preceding some of his chapters. It occurs in the first and again in the

571 Cf. Spenser's dedication of *Faerie Queene*; Drayton's of *Idea and Poems Lyric and Pastoral*; Braithwaite of his *Golden Fleece*

572 *Spectator*, March 30, 1711

second volumes of his work. The initial is a Roman I, standing in the midst of a perspective view of the Poets' Corner. In the left-hand angle is shown the open door and doorway of the eastern, or palace, entrance. Behind it is the door of the south-east turret, and the way to the crypt of the Chapter House. On the right is the lower part of the wall of St. Blaizes' Chapel, against which is the mural monument of Shadwell, and at the corner is shown a part of the monument of St. Evremond. Behind the initial is the monument of Spenser, and on the left wall is that of Butler in the first and original place. "This state of things," observes the Master Mason of the Abbey, "seems to answer all the conditions of Poets' Corner, and gives its exact position and limit, soon after through the loss of all trace of the Chapel of St. Blaize to be expanded to the whole of the transept, so as to include the graves of succeeding poets, as well as the monuments of some of them, and cenotaphs of others."

Like many other public institutions, the Poets' Corner is suggestive of glaring inconsistencies. There is not, for example, any record of Shelley, Byron, Keats, Burns, Mrs. Browning, Chatterton, Herrick, Scott, Marlowe, Ford, Massinger, or Cowper; whilst such miserable poetasters as Prior, Butler, Gay, Davenant, Mason, and last, least, and lowest of all the tribe Shadwell. The place is, as Dr. Brewer points out, a caricature, so far as a memorial of British poets is concerned, a state of things which will exist so long as the deans of Westminster make a market of the wall.<sup>573</sup>

**Pott's visit to Stratford in 1888** When we visited Stratford-on-Avon, five years ago, we were fortunate enough to do so under the guidance of the President of the Birmingham Shakespeare Society and of the Vicar. Said our chief conductor: "Now you are to see one of our great treasures, an undoubted portrait of William Shakespeare. It came from the house of his elder daughter, Susanna, who married in 1607, Dr. John Hall, the medical practitioner of the town." Three thousand pounds, we were told, had been paid for the picture, "Yes," (we were further told) "and a much higher price would have been demanded, had we been certain that this was a portrait of the poet. But that was not really ascertained until, under the hands of the cleaner, the disguising beard was removed, revealing the clean-shaven face of the actor." "What!" I said, "a beard, painted over the portrait! Whyso?" I exclaimed. "Well, you see," was the reply, "Susannah had married above her station; for although in those days doctors had no position in society, yet they were far above actors, and in puritan times when the stage was in such a state of degradation, no respectable married woman would wish to have a portrait of her father, as an actor hanging in her house." History furnishes no parallel to the imposition that prevails in and around Stratford; a whole community devoting itself more than four hundred years to every kind of deception and fraud for commercial purposes in the name of a poet; whilst a nation of thirty million of people, admittedly one of the most intelligent and high-minded in the world, looks on and approves. Under these circumstances we may even forgive Count Leo Tolstoy for his failure to worship the Stratford false god.

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573 *The Bookworm*, Vol. II., 1889

**Premonition of death** Before Bacon's father died, he saw a dream that his father's country house in Gorhambury, near St Albans, was plastered over with black mortar. (Bacon, *Apo*). Ben Jonson had a similar premonition of his son's death in 1603 while staying at Sir Robert Cotton's house in Huntingdonshire.<sup>574</sup>

**Prince Henry's fatal illness** A very complete account of the fatal illness of Prince Henry, exhibiting his state during the twelve days of its duration, was published by Sir Charles Cornwallis in his *Life of the Prince*.

But now, whether the continual violences of his exercises, or too frequent eating of abundance of grapes and other fruits, or some settled melancholy engendered by some unknown causes, I cannot determine, yet did he look still more pale and thin, from day to day, complaining now and then of a cold lazy drowsiness in his head, which, as I think, moved him many times to ask questions of divers about him, concerning the quality, cure, and nature of the fever, called, for the strange diversity, the New Disease; belike, fearing some such like thing by his indisposition. He often used before this now and then, and in his sickness, to sigh often, whereof being sometimes demanded the cause by his Physician Dr. Hammond, and others near him, he would sometimes reply, that he knew not, sometimes that they came unawares, and sometimes also that they were not without cause.

At the beginning of October 1612, Prince Henry's continual headache, laziness, and indisposition increasing, which notwithstanding because of the time he strove mightily to conceal, whereas often before he used to rise early in the morning to walk the fields, he did go to bed almost every morning until nine o'clock, complaining of his laziness, and that he knew not the cause; during which time, belike jealous of himself, he would many mornings before his rising ask the grooms of his Bed-chamber, "How do I look this morning?" And at other times the same question again; which they, fearing no danger, to make his Highness laugh, would put off with one jest or other. But he still continuing ill, on October 10, he had two small fits of an ague, forcing him to keep his chamber; which his Highness finding, had some speech with Dr. Hammond his Physician, willing belike to have taken some strong physique, the sooner to have removed the cause. But he not daring to be too bold with his Highness, without a further consent, did only give unto him a softening glister, which had its own good effects. On October 13, he having, as was thought, taken cold, was seized with a diarrhea; yet on the morrow he finding himself, as he said, reasonably well, because of the Palsgrave's coming, he hasted from thence to Saint James', whereupon he gave order, and would needs remove on Thursday the 15th, notwithstanding any persuasions whatsoever to the contrary.

To Saint James' he came, seeming well, but that he looked pale and ill, so that sundry did speak suspiciously of his looks, fearing some distemper in his body; yet so strong was his mind, that,

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<sup>574</sup> Linklater Eric. *Ben Jonson and King James*, 1972

complaining of nothing, he did bear out the matter very bravely in show, being so well that he gave his Physician, who had waited a long time, leave to go home to his house. Meanwhile his indisposition still continuing and increasing, there might have been perceived in him a sudden great change; for he began to be displeased almost with everything, exceeding curious in all things, yet not regarding, but looking as it were with the eyes of a stranger upon them; for sundry things showed him, which before he wanted to talk of, ask questions, and view curiously, he now scarce vouchsafed to look upon, turning them away with the back of his hand, and departing, as who would say, I take pleasure in nothing. Yet was he wonderfully busy in providing, and giving order for everything belonging to his care, for his Sister's Marriage, advancing the same by all means possible, keeping also his Highness the Palsgrave company, so much as conveniently he could, together with Count Henry, his Excellency Grave Maurice his brother, whom he also much honoured and esteemed, belike because of a noble and heroic disposition which he saw in him fitting his humour, with whom he used to play often at cards and tennis,<sup>575</sup> delighting much in his company; and, above all the rest, one great match they had at tennis on Saturday October 24, the day before his last sickness, where his undaunted courage, negligently, carelessly, and willfully (neither considering the former weak estate of his body, danger, nor coldness of the season), as though his body had been of brass, did play in his shirt, as if it had been in the heat of summer; during which time he looked so wonderful ill and pale, that all the beholders took notice thereof, muttering to one another what they feared; but he, the match being ended, carried himself so well as if there was no such matter, having all this while a reasonable good stomach to meat; yet this night, at his going to bed, complaining more than usual of his laziness and headache.

On Sunday morning, October 25, 1612 the morrow after his Highness' violent play at tennis, it was told him, (the custom of the house being to have the Sermon betimes in the morning, for the most part where the Court lay so near, because he used after his own to hear the King's also,) that Master Wilkinson, one of his Father's Chaplains was ready and did present his service to preach that morning if it pleased his Highness to hear him; which he no sooner heard, but, contrary to his late usual custom of long time, although that morning he found himself somewhat drowsy and ill, addressed himself to be made ready; for he wonderfully delighted to hear the said Mr. Wilkinson, ever since the time, long before, in which he heard him preach a Sermon of Judgment, which he did so well like of that many times he did speak of the same, affirming it to have been so excellent that he in a manner did show them the same. Long it was not ere his Highness was ready and gone to the Chapel to hear him.

Sermon being ended, his Highness did commend the same, being very attentive all the time thereof; presently thereafter going into Whitehall, where he also did hear another Sermon with the King his Father; which being also done, to dinner they went, his Highness in outward appearance eating with a reasonable good stomach, yet looking exceeding ill and pale, with

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<sup>575</sup> Tennis and Pike had always been the Prince's most favourite amusements

hollow ghastly dead eyes perceived of a great many. After dinner, for all his great courage and strife to over-master the greatness of his evil, dissembling the same, the Conqueror of all, about three a clock in the afternoon, began to skirmish with a sudden sickness and faintness of the heart, usual unto him, whereupon followed shortly after a shaking, with great heat and headache, which from henceforth never left him. His Highness finding himself thus suddenly taken, was forced to take his leave, departing home unto his bed; where being laid he found himself very ill, remaining all this evening in an agony, having a great drought, which after this could never be quenched but with death; his eyes also being so dim that they were not able to endure the light of a candle. This night he rested ill.

The second day, his Highness finding intermission, which continued all that day, did arise, and put on his clothes, playing at cards that day, and the next also, with his Brother the Duke of York and Count Henry. Meanwhile there were many messages sent from the Court and everywhere else, to know how things went, all which, no person surmising the least danger, were answered with good hopes; yet his Highness for all this looked ill and pale, spoke hollow, and somewhat strangely, with dead sunk eyes, his dryness of mouth and great thirst continuing. This night resting quietly. On Tuesday the 27th, the third day of his sickness, he found some ease in the morning; so that all were in good hope that it would have proved but some tertian, or bastard tertian at the most, notwithstanding that his Highness' ghastly rowling uncoath looks did put them in some fear. This day his Majesty did send Master Nasmith, his Surgeon, to attend his Highness during his sickness; unto whom, and divers others conferring of his Highness' sickness and the danger of the same, Doctor Mayerne <sup>576</sup> (his Majesty's chief Physician) did say, that, in his judgment, the surest way for his Highness' safety was bleeding. But his opinion not being allowed of the rest, there was as yet no consultation for blood-letting, nor any inclination that ways. This morning he did rise and put on his clothes; but his fit coming about none, first with a cold, then with a great heat, without any sweat, continuing until eight at night, he was forced to go to bed again. This night resting quietly.

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<sup>576</sup> This eminent Physician, son of Louis de Mayerne, author of a *General History of Spain* and of the *Monarchic aristo-democratique*, dedicated to the States General, was born at Geneva in 1572, and had for his godfather Theodore Beza. His religion only had prevented his being appointed Physician to Henry the Fourth of France. He first visited England in 1607, having had under his care an Englishman of quality, who on his recovery brought him to this country. He then had a private conference with James, but returned to Paris, and remained there till the assassination of Henry IV., in May 1610. It was in the following year, only the preceding one to the present, that the King had caused him to be invited by his Ambassador, to become First Physician to himself and the Queen, in which capacity he continued to James, Charles the First, and Charles the Second, (though under the latter his office was merely nominal,) till his death in 1655. He was admitted Doctor at both Universities, and into the College of Physicians. His opinion on the present occasion respecting bleeding appears to have been confirmed by the melancholy event; but he incurred some obloquy at the time, which should rather have fallen on Dr. Butler. Dr. Mayerne's conduct, however, obtained the approbation of the King and Council, of which certificates, couched in the most satisfactory terms, were given him. He was knighted by the King, July 14, 1624 and was a particular favourite of Queen Henrietta Maria

On Wednesday the 28th, and fourth day of his sickness, in the morning came Master Butler, <sup>577</sup> the famous Physician of Cambridge, a marvelous great scholar, and of long practice and singular judgment, but withal very humorous; who, whatsoever he thought, comforting him with good hopes that he would shortly recover and that there was no danger, yet secretly unto others did not let to speak doubtfully, as they say his humour is, that he could not tell what to make of it, and that he did not well like of the same; <sup>578</sup> adding further, that if he did recover, he was likely to lie by it for a great while, with divers other like speeches; neither could he be persuaded all the time of his Highness' sickness to stay any longer with him than one hour or thereabouts every morning, and so in the afternoon to give his counsel and advice with the rest. What moved him I know not; whether he did mislike the French Doctor's company, [Mayerne] or because the cure was not committed to him as chief, or being jealous and misliking his Highness' disease, and therefore loved not to meddle too much in the cure, which I rather imagine, or whether his health or humour impeached the same, I dare not judge, the curious may best learn from himself; yet having at his coming enquired what was done, he approved the same, and wished the continuance of the same proceedings until a further judgment might be given of the same event. Yet did his Highness find small or no ease, but his fever as yet not being continual, he did rise and put on his clothes, they all as yet conceiving reasonable good hopes.

On Thursday the 29th, and fifth day of his sickness, hopes began a little to diminish; howbeit that morning his headache was somewhat lessened, his breath also, which before was short, being longer, which moved him to put on his clothes, endeavouring to rise as he had done before; but his head being so giddy that he was not able to stand alone, he was forced to betake him to his bed again; from henceforth ever keeping his bed. This evening there appeared a fatal sign, about two hours or more within the night, bearing the colours and show of a rainbow, <sup>579</sup> which hung directly cross and over Saint James' House. It was first perceived about seven a clock at night, which I myself did see, which divers others looking thereupon with admiration, continuing until past bed-time, being no more seen. This night was unquiet, and he rested ill.

On the seventh day, nature, as the day before, though not in quantity, did, as was said, show the necessity of bleeding; for which cause, it was with more instance again propounded and urged

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<sup>577</sup> Master William Butler, one of the greatest Physicians and most capricious humourists of his time, was Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge, and afterwards settled in that town. Among the many droll stories told of him, is one of Aubrey's, that when he was once sent for to King James at Newmarket, he suddenly turned back to go home, and the messenger was forced to drive him before him. He died in 1618, aged 82. His sagacity in judging of distempers was very great, and his method of cure was sometimes as extraordinary; he was bold and singular in his practice, and the oddity of his manners gave him a very great character among the vulgar, who conceived that he must possess very extraordinary abilities

<sup>578</sup> Butler is said to have made an unfavourable prognostic at first sight from the Prince's cadaverous look

<sup>579</sup> A lunar rainbow. The dread of these meteorological phenomena, as presaging the death of Princes and desolation of Kingdoms, was deeply impressed upon the wisest men of the time; the Poets on Prince Henry's death, as may be imagined, did not forget to allude to so poetical an assistant as this rainbow

than ever, as the only means, under God, to save his Highness. At length, after much ado pro and contra, Doctor Mayerne urging and Master Butler chiefly withstanding the same, mistaking the first beginning of his Highness' sickness; in the end the three Doctors, Mayerne, Hammond, and Butler, did agree, that on the morrow, being Sunday, the eighth broken and the seventh whole day of his last sickness, a vein should be opened; all this while, until the bleeding was past, they conceived good hope of his recovery, yet he remained dangerously ill. You must imagine that all this while of his sickness the whole world did almost every hour send unto Saint James' for news; the better sort, who were admitted to visit him, or acquainted with those near unto him, knowing the danger, the rest fearing nothing, imagining only to have been some common tertian, for which cause in many places near unto the City he was thought dead and gone, before they knew that he was dangerously sick. This night was more cruel and unquiet unto him than any other.

On Sunday November 1st, and the eighth day of his sickness, according to their former agreement, after much ado, Master Butler resisting to consent that he should be let blood, because, as he said, it was the eighth day, preferring to have left them, until he was forced to stay and give his consent; Dr. Hammond and others proving unto him that it was not the eighth day, his Highness being ill of a long time before, howsoever he strangely, with a wonderful courage and patience, concealed the same. His Highness being still, after one, in the presence of the foresaid Doctors and divers others of very good worth, was drawn out of the median of his right arm, seven or eight ounces of blood; during which time he fainted not, bleeding well and abundantly, desiring and calling to them to take more, as they were about to stop the same, finding some ease as it were upon the instant. This day after his bleeding he found great ease; and in the afternoon he was visited by his Royal Father, Mother, Brother, Sister, the Palsgrave, with others of the Court; all which conceiving good hopes departed from thence reasonably cheerful. Yet that night, though better than others, he passed unquietly.

On Monday, November 2nd, the ninth day, Doctor Atkins,<sup>580</sup> a Physician of London, famous for his practice, honesty, and learning, was sent by his Majesty to assist the rest in the cure; whose opinion, as they said, was that his Highness' disease was a corrupt putrid fever. This day and the next he was visited by the King his Father, and others of the Court, whose exceeding sorrow I cannot express; yet were they still fed with some good small hopes of his recovery. At this while, although he grew worse and worse, yet none discouraged him with any speech of death, so loath were they to think of his departure, he himself being so tormented with this and the next day's sickness that he could not think thereof; or, if he had, yet the Physicians' courage and hope of life, which good opinion, (his unspeakable patience not any way complaining, so that he could not have been known to be sick but by his looks,) moved them to conceive, telling him there was no danger, dashed the same. This night came upon him greater alienations of brain, ravings, and idle speeches out of purpose, calling

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580 Dr. Atkins had attended the Earl of Salisbury during his fatal illness. He died at his house in Warwick-court, near Warwick-lane, September 22, 1634



for his clothes and his rapier, &c., saying, he must be gone, he would not stay, and I know not what else, to the great grief of all that heard him, whose hopes now began to vanish.

On Tuesday, November 3rd, and the tenth of his sickness, he became worse than before, all his former accidents increasing exceedingly, his bounding being turned into convulsions, his raving and benumbing becoming greater, the fever more violent; whereupon bleeding was again proposed by Dr. Mayerne and the favourers thereof, who still affirmed that he did mislike the too sparing proceeding with his Highness; alleging, that in this case of extremity, they must, if they mean to save his life, proceed in the cure, as though it were to some mean person, forgetting him to be a Prince whom they had now in hand, otherwise he said, for ought he saw, because he was a Prince he must die, but if he were a mean person he might be saved. This day, for easing of the extreme pain of his head, the hair was shaven away, and pigeons and cupping glasses applied to lessen and draw away the humour and that superfluous blood from the head, which he endured with wonderful and admirable patience, as though he had been insensible of pain; yet all without any good, save perhaps some small seeming hope of comfort for the present. Now began the pilots who guided this frail barque of his Highness' body almost to despair to escape the ensuing tempests; some of whose looks did now more than ever discourage the rest. For this night he became very weak, the fever augmenting, the raving becoming worse than ever, in which he began to toss and tumble, to sing in his sleep, proffering to have leaped out of the bed, gathering the sheets together, the convulsions being more violent.

On the following (the eleventh day) a cock was cloven by the back, and applied unto the soles of his feet, but in vain; the cordials also were redoubled in number and quantity, but without any profit. This afternoon his Majestic hearing of his undoubted danger, although more sober than at other times, came to see him; but being advertised how matters went, and were likely to go, and what addition of grief it would be unto him to see his best-beloved Son in that extremity, he was at last persuaded to depart without visitation; yet giving order and command before his departure, that from thenceforth, because his Highness was continually molested with a number which out of their love came to visit him, no creature should be admitted to see him, save those who of necessity must tend upon him, until the event and issue of his disease was seen, which was accordingly done; his Highness, for his more ease, being removed into another longer and quieter chamber.<sup>581</sup> But now all things appearing to be out of frame and confusedly evil, without hope of amendment, whereof the Archbishop of Canterbury hearing he made so much the more haste unto his Highness, when, after some discourse fitting that time, seeing so much care to be taken for the mortal body, the immortal soul being neglected, he asked his Highness whether there had been any prayers said in his chamber since his sickness, or no? To whom he answered that there had not, alleging the cause to have been the continual toile of the Doctors, Apothecaries,

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<sup>581</sup> Just over this chamber, wherein he died, did the fatal rainbow afore-mentioned hang, as Doctor Mayerne observed

and Surgeons about him; and further, that until now, he was not put in mind thereof; but that for all that he had not failed to pray quietly by himself; which his answer pleasing them well, the Archbishop again demanded, if his Highness would now from thenceforth be contented to have prayers said in his chamber, which he willingly assented unto, asking which of his Chaplains were there present; amongst whom finding that Doctor Milbourne, <sup>582</sup> Dean of Rochester, was then present, he willed the said Dean to be called, as being one whom for his learning, good carriage, and profitable preaching, above all the rest he ever affected and respected. The Archbishop meanwhile, not willing too much to disquiet his Highness, called for to say prayers that evening at his Highness' bed-side, where speaking somewhat low, fearing to offend his distempered ears, his Highness willed him to speak aloud, thereafter repeating the confession of his faith word by word after him; from henceforth the foresaid Dean continued to pray daily with him at his bed-side until his departure. This night was unquiet as the rest.

On Thursday morning, November 5, and the twelfth of his sickness, news was sent to his Majesty of the undoubted danger, and that there now remained no hopes or means of his Highness' recovery, but with desperate and dangerous attempts; which his Majesty considering gave leave and absolute power to Doctor Mayerne, his chief Physician, to do what he would of himself without advice of the rest, if in such an extremity it were possible to do anything for his Highness' safety; but he, weighing the greatness of the care and eminency of the danger, would not for all that adventure to do anything of himself, without advise of the rest, which headways took, saying, it should never be said in after ages that he had killed the King's eldest Son. <sup>583</sup> His Majesty meanwhile, whose sorrow no tongue can express, not willing nor being able to stay so near the gates of so extreme sorrow, more like a dead than a living man, full of most wonderful heaviness removed to Theobalds, there to expect the doleful event. Meanwhile, amongst the Doctors Mayerne, Hammond, Butler, and Atkins, bleeding was now the third time proposed; but the rest of the counsel misliking this advice did conclude to double and treble the cordials, making a revulsion from the head with a cluster, whose working was to small effect, save that his Highness became more sensible thereafter. In the meantime the Archbishop of Canterbury, hearing of the danger, came unto his Highness in great haste, where, rending him in extreme danger, he thought it more than high time to go about another kind of cure; and therefore, like a wise and skilful Physician, first trying the humour of his patient before he would proceed in the cure, he addressed himself gently and mildly to ask how his Highness found himself since his departure; at whose reply, seeing everything amiss, he began again further to feel his mind, first preparing him his antidote against the fear of death, that the preparation thereunto, meditation and thinking thereof, could nor would bring death the sooner, but the contrary

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582 Richard Milbourne, D.D. born at London, though of a Pembrokeshire family, and educated at Winchester and Queen's College, Cambridge. He was Minister of Sevenoke in Kent; Cantor of the Cathedral of St. David's Dean of Rochester; Bishop of St. David's in 1615; Carlisle 1621; and died in 1624

583 And to this physician's comment, the rumour of Prince Henry's death being of poison, was born

rather, arming himself so much the more against it; withal putting him in mind of the excellency and immortality of the soul, with the unspeakable joys prepared for God's children, and the baseness and misery of the earth, with all the vain, inconstant, momentary, and frail pleasures thereof in respect of heavenly joys, with many other most excellent meditations against the same fear of death. Having thus prepared him to hear, he went further, putting him in mind of the exceeding great danger he was in; and that although he might recover, as he hoped he should, yet he might also die; and that since it was an inevitable and irrevocable necessity that all must die once, late or soon, death being the reward of sin, he asked, if it should so fall out, whether or no he was well pleased to submit himself to the will of God; to which he answered, yea, with all his heart. Then the Archbishop went on demanding questions of his faith; first, of the Religion and Church wherein he lived, which his Highness acknowledged to be the only true Church, wherein only, and without which there was no salvation; then of his faith in Christ only, by Him and in Him, without any merits of his own, being assured of the remission of all his sins, which he professed he did, hoping and trusting only therein; then of the resurrection of the body, life everlasting, and the joys of Heaven; all which he confessed and believed, hoping with all saints to enjoy the same. This conference, with a great deal more, the Archbishop had with him to this purpose; which may also give unto you absolute satisfaction of his soul's health, if thereunto his life be considered. After which, fearing he should too much disquiet him, with many good exhortations, he took leave for that time.

This day, being November 5th, a day of everlasting remembrance and thanksgiving for our deliverance from the Powder Treason, was order given everywhere unto all Churches to pray for his Highness, until when the great danger was unknown to the Commons, which was effectually as ever until his death performed.

This day, and at sundry other times since his confusion of speech, he would many times call upon Sir David Murray, Knight, (the only man in whom he had put choice trust,) by his name, "David! David! David!" who when he came unto his Highness demanding his pleasure, in extremity of pain and stupefaction of senses confounding his speech, sighing, he did reply, "I would say somewhat, but I cannot utter it." Which form he still used so long as he had any perfect sense or memory. This done also, but too late to assist the rest, came Doctor Palmer and Doctor Giffard,<sup>584</sup> famous Physicians for their honesty, learning, and physic, who with the former four went all six to a consultation what now remained finally to be done; wherein by some, as they say, was again propounded the necessity of bleeding, the opportunity whereof was now over passed. In the end, the Doctors, long before this despairing of his recovery, did at last agree upon diascordium and the only means under God, now remaining, which, tempered with cooler cordial, was given him in the presence of many honourable Gentlemen about ten o'clock at night; the operation whereof was small or none. This night was unquiet as the rest,

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<sup>584</sup> This physician appears in the Disputation before the Prince and his Royal Father at Oxford in 1605

his accidents remaining in the same sort, but now and then speaking, but so confusedly that he could not be understood.

Among the rest this night, about midnight, Master Nasmith, his Majesty's surgeon, sitting on his bed-side, his Highness pulled him unto him by the hand, speaking unto him somewhat, but so confusedly, by reason of the rattling of his throat, that he could not be understood; which his Highness perceiving, giving a most grievous sigh as it were in anger, turned him from him, thereafter, unless he was urged, never speaking unto him or any. In this extremity Sir David Murray, who in this one death suffered many, came unto him, entreating him, and asking him, that if he had anything to say which troubled him, that he would betimes make known his mind; but his spirits being overcome, and nature weak, he was not able to say anything, save that of all other business he gave order for the burning of a number of letters in a certain cabinet in his closet, which presently after his death was done.<sup>585</sup>

Not long after as I think on Friday morning about three o'clock his backbone, shoulders, arms, and tongue, by reason of the horrible violence of the convulsions, disjointly dividing themselves, the effect showing that the retentive power was gone, the spirits subdued, the seat of reason overcome, and nature spent; in which extremity, fainting and swooning, he seemed twice or thrice to be quite gone; at which time there arose wonderful great shouting, weeping, and crying in the chamber, Court, and adjoining streets, which was so great, together with something else which they used, that they brought him again. This cry was so great that all those in the streets thought he had been dead; whereupon it went for the most part current in the city and country that he was gone. Thus given over of all into the hands of God did his Highness lie in extreme pain, during which, still now and then, till two or three hours before his death, looking up, and speaking, or endeavouring to speak, which for confusion and extremity of pain, being so near gone, could not be understood, all the world were ready in this despair to bring cordial waters, diaphoretic and quintessential spirits, to be given unto him; amongst which one in the afternoon was ministered which set that little nature remaining on work, forcing a small sweat, which too late, was the first he had. Sir Walter Raleigh also did send another from the Tower, which whether or not to give him they did a while deliberate.<sup>586</sup> After the operation of the first, his Highness

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<sup>585</sup> One would suspect how the dying Prince had the senses and strength to utter such a command

<sup>586</sup> Dr. Welwood, in his notes on Wilson's Life of James I., in the Complete History of England, Vol. II., p. 714, says, it was sent at the desire of the Queen, who had received relief from it in a fever some time before. Raleigh sent with it a Letter, expressing the most tender concern for the Prince; "and, boasting of his medicine, stumbled unluckily upon an expression to this purpose, that it would certainly cure him, or any other, of a fever, except in case of poison. The Prince dying though he took it, the Queen in the agony of her grief, showed Raleigh's Letter, and lay so much weight on the expression about poison, that to her dying day, she could never be dissuaded from the opinion that her beloved Son had foul play." Raleigh's expressions probably flowed from an overweening conceit in the force of his own medicine, but are perhaps to be numbered among the circumstances, which ensured his destruction. The report that the Prince was poisoned was extremely general. Some surmised that he was poisoned by a scent, but this Sir Charles

rested quietly a little while, presently after falling into his former extremities; whereupon, as the last desperate remedy, with the leave and advice of the Lords of the Counsel there present, the cordial sent by Sir Walter Raleigh, after it had been tasted and proved, was given unto him, but in vain, save that forcing that spark of life that remained, it brought him again into a sweat; after which, as before, he had some rest for a little while. But, no remedy, death would needs be conqueror. In vain did they strive against the stream; for he shortly after became wonderful ill again; sight and sense failing, as also all the infallible signs of death approaching.

In which extremity, the Archbishop of Canterbury being there present, who seeing it was now the time of times, before the last gasp, to minister some comfort unto his Highness, if as yet there were any sense remaining, came unto him, first speaking aloud, putting him in mind of all those things which he had spoken unto him the day before in his perfect sense, calling aloud in his ear to remember Christ Jesus, to believe, hope, and trust in him, with assured confidence of mercy, to lift up his heart, and to prepare him to meet the Lord Jesus, with many other divine exhortations, thereafter calling more loud than ever, thrice together in his ear, "Sir, hear you me, hear you me, hear you me? If you hear me, in certain sign of your faith and hope of the blessed resurrection, give us for our comfort a sign, by lifting up your hands" which he did, lifting up both his hands together; again he desired him yet to give him another sign, by lifting up his eyes; which having done, they let him alone; for the Archbishop had, with streams of tears, poured out at his bed-side a most exceeding powerful passionate prayer. All this while also, from three o'clock in the morning until night, there was continual prayer in the house, and in every place where the danger was known. His Highness, at last, half a quarter, or thereabouts, before eight a clock at night, yielded up his spirit unto his immortal Maker, Saviour, and Restorer, being attended unto Heaven with as many prayers, tears, and strong cries, as ever soul was. The corpse shortly after, as the custom is, was laid along upon a table on the floor, being the fairest, cleanest, and best proportioned, without any kind of spot or blemish, as ever was seen.

On the morrow after came the Lords of the Council, by appointment from his Majesty, to give order for the opening of his body, &c., which was the same night effected about five a clock in the evening, in presence of the Physicians and Chirurgeons who assisted the cure, together with the Physician of the Prince Palatine, with many other Knights and Gentlemen, in the chamber where he died, by the Chirurgeons of his Majesty and his late Highness, under all their hands.<sup>587</sup>

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Cornwallis, considering the premises, thought great folly. Raleigh's cordial was afterwards celebrated, as is proved by the following extract from Evelyn's *Diary*, September 20, 1662: "I accompanied his Majesty to Mons. Febure, his chymist, (and who had formerly been my master in Paris) to see his accurate preparation for ye composing Sir Walter Raleigh's rare cordial; he made a learned discourse before his Majesty in French on each ingredient." *Memoirs*, Vol. I., p. 340

<sup>587</sup> Dr. Birch, p. 359, gives the official report of the dissection, signed by the Physicians, from a MS., in the Cotton Library

**Printing of a play** It is well ascertained that the printing of a play was considered injurious to its stage success; and although in the sale of a piece to the theatre there may have been no express contract to that effect between the vendor and the vendee, the purchase apparently was understood to include, with the special right of performing such piece, the literary interest in it also. Authors, however, were not always faithful to this understanding. Thomas Heywood, in the address to the reader prefixed to his *Rape of Lucrece* (1608), observed: "Though some have used a double sale of their labours, first to the stage and after to the press, for my own part, I here proclaim myself ever faithful in the first and never guilty in the last." Sometimes plays were printed surreptitiously without the cognizance of either the authors or the company to which they belonged, and there is an admonition directed to the Stationers' Company, in the office of the Lord Chamberlain, dated June 10, 1637 against the printing of plays, to the prejudice of the companies who had bought them: "After my hearty commendations, whereas complaint was heretofore presented to my dear brother and predecessor by his Majesty's Servants the players, that some of the Company of Printers and Stationers had procured and printed divers of their books of Comedies, Tragedies, Interludes, Histories, and the like, which they had for the special service of his Majesty, and their own use, bought and provided at very dear and high rates," Occasionally, too, an author, from apprehension or in consequence of a corrupt version of his piece getting abroad, was induced to have it printed himself. (Staunton).

The laws of England have never violated the freedom and the dignity of its press. "There is no law to prevent the printing of any book in England, only a decree in the Star Chamber," said the learned Selden. Proclamations were occasionally issued against authors and books; and foreign works were, at times, prohibited. The freedom of the press was rather circumvented, than openly attacked, in the reign of Elizabeth, who dreaded the Roman Catholics, who were at once disputing her right to the throne, and the religion of the State. Foreign publications, or "books from any parts beyond the seas," were therefore prohibited. The press, however, was not free under the reign of a sovereign, whose high-toned feelings, and the exigencies of the times, rendered as despotic in *deeds*, as the pacific James was in *words*. Although the press had then no restrictions, an author was always at the mercy of the government. Elizabeth too had a keen scent after what she called treason, which she allowed to take in a large compass. She condemned one author (with his publisher) to have the hand cut off which wrote his book; and she hanged another. It was Bacon, or his father, who once pleasantly turned aside the keen edge of her regal vindictiveness. (Disraeli).<sup>588</sup>

The decree proceeds to ordain that if an entry of a book is made in favour of a member of the company, and any other member shall print, import, or expose for sale any copy of the book so entered, the member "so offending shall forfeit" to the company "the sum of twelve pence for every copy" so imprinted, imported, or exposed for sale. The decree authorizes the Master and Wardens of the Company to search the warehouse of any person suspected of evading the law,

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588 Disraeli Isaac. *Curiosities of Literature*, Vol. II

and to impose upon him a penalty of ten pounds in case he should refuse to permit the search. Of course the stationer could not register a book as his copy until he had procured the manuscript from the author or his representatives; and in the case of a work which was likely to be popular a smart price was paid for the manuscript, as we learn from the stationer who published the first collected edition of the works of Beaumont and Fletcher. Accordingly Heywood, who, if we may believe him, had a hand in some two hundred and twenty plays, records the fact that some of his contemporary playwrights “used a double sale of their labours, first to the stage and after to the press.” Such, notably, was the practice of Jonson; and Mr. Knight is of opinion that the publication of the Shakespearian plays, which were published in the life of Shakspeare, was “authorised by some power having the right,” if it thought proper, “to prevent it.”

Even when works were circulated in manuscript the pirates could easily be baffled. Bacon, in the dedication of the first edition of his Essays to his brother Anthony, compares himself to those that have an orchard ill-neighbourd, and gather their fruit before it is ripe to prevent stealing. “These fragments of my conceits,” he says, “were going to print; to labour the stay of them had been troublesome, and subject to interpretation; to let them pass had been to adventure the wrong they might receive by untrue copies, or by some garnishment which it might please any that should set them forth to bestow upon them; and therefore, I held it best discretion to publish them myself.” Accordingly Bacon disposed of his manuscript to a member of the company; and the Essays were forthwith entered as “the copy” of Humfrey Hooper, “under the hand of Master Francis Bacon.”<sup>589</sup>

**Privy Council** Bacon was sworn into the Privy Council Sunday May 1, 1616.

## R

**Rawley's Notebook** In Rawley's Notebook, an anecdote in English writing begins with the words: “The same Mr. Bacon,” there can be no doubt, but that Bacon was also meant in the first apophthegm, by the words “My Lord,” contained therein Rawley's notebook that had begun in September 1626, *i.e.*, not until after Bacon's death. And yet, for all that, such precautions on the part of his secretary. Another entry of interest also emanated from Bacon's lips, for the “He” referred to is none other than Bacon. The anecdote had evidently never been told outside the most intimate circle, and Rawley thought it better, even in this case, to enter it curiously [cautiously] in his notebook. The words read: “He thought Moses was the greatest sinner that was, for he never knew any break both tables at once but he.” To consider Moses a sinner who broke all the Ten Commandments at once, was a thought, which, in the year 1626, it was wise to express in a secret (veiled) language, by means of a cipher.

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<sup>589</sup> Judge Webb. *The Mystery of William Shakespeare*, 1902

**Returning the Great Seal** On May 1, 1621 Sir Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Alban, offered up the Great Seal. Says Sir Simonds D'Ewes in his *Diary*, "He had been often questioned during this Parliament in the Upper House for his gross and notorious bribery; and though he had abstained from coming to the Parliament House, yet he had the Broad Seal still remaining with him till this first day of May in the afternoon, and he by that means as yet remained Lord Chancellor of England." The four Lords that came for it were:

1. Henry Viscount Mandeville, Lord Treasurer
2. Lodowicke Steward, Duke of Lenox Lord Steward of the King's Household
3. Thomas Earl of Arundel, Earl Marshall of England
4. William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain of the Household.

"They coming to York House to him, where he lay, told him they were sorry to visit him on such an occasion, and wished it had been better. 'No, my Lords,' replied he, 'the occasion is good;' and then delivering them the Great Seal, he added, 'It was the King's favour that gave me this, and it is my fault that he hath taken it away: *Rex dedit, culpa abstulit*;' or words to that effect. So leaving him, the said four Lords carried the gage they had received to Whitehall to the King, who was overheard by some near him to say, upon the delivery of it to him, 'Now, by my soul, I am pained at my heart where to bestow this; for as for my lawyers, I think they be all knaves.' Which, it seemed, at that time was to prepare a way to bestow it upon a Clergyman, as the Marquise of Buckingham had intended, for otherwise there were at this present divers able wise lawyers, very honest and religious men, fit for the place, in whom there might easily have been found as much integrity, and less fawning and flattery, than in the Clergy; and accordingly Dr. Williams, now Dean of Westminster, and before that time made Bishop of Lincoln, was sworn Lord Keeper, and had the Great Seal delivered to him October 9 next ensuing, being the first day of Michaelmas term." (D'Ewes).

**Robe of Honour** Title of Viscountess; a quotation by Dr. Rawley toward Bacon's investment to his wife, Alice Barnham (1592–1650). [Also see Part II: *Barnham Alice*.]

**Rosicrucian Mysteries** From Max Heindel's <sup>590</sup> work is an extract of interest on the topic:

Masonry is an art equally useful and extensive. In the centuries that have gone by since the Rosicrucian Order was first formed they have worked quietly and secretly, aiming to mould the thought of Western Europe through the works of Paracelsus, Boehme, Bacon, Shakespeare, Fludd and others. Each night at midnight when the physical activities of the day are at their lowest ebb, and the spiritual impulse at its highest flood tide, they have sent out from their temple soul-stirring vibrations to counteract materialism and to further the development of soul powers. To their activities, we owe the gradual spiritualization of our once so materialistic science. When we take a number of balls of even size and group them around one, it will take just

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<sup>590</sup> *The Rosicrucian Mysteries*, Vol. I, 1912



twelve balls to hide a thirteenth within. Thus the twelve visible and the one hidden are numbers revealing a cosmic relationship and as all Mystery Orders are based upon cosmic lines, they are composed of twelve members gathered around a thirteenth who is the invisible head. There are seven colours in the spectrum: red, orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo and violet. But between the violet and the red there are still another five colours which are invisible to the physical eye but reveal themselves to the spiritual sight. In every Mystery Order there are also seven brothers who at times go out into the world and there perform whatever work may be necessary to advance the people among whom they serve, but five are never seen outside the temple.

It is well to keep in view the important facts to which we have alluded: that Spedding, Bacon's indefatigable biographer, could not connect him with the authorship of any important published work for fifteen years after his return from the French Court; that the *Advancement of Learning*, published at the age of forty-four, was his first published work of importance, and Rawley's statement that he wrote the majority of his philosophical works during the five closing years of his life. It must have been in the earlier period of his career, then, that many of the anonymous plays, afterwards published under the pen name Shakespeare, were written. This alludes to no connection whatsoever to Shaksper, the actor of Stratford. Bacon must have done more literary work during the best years of his life than write bright letters or a few Masques for the entertainment of the Court, and as playwriting would have ruined his official prospects, to say nothing of sensitiveness to public clamour, he of set purpose concealed his authorship as others often have done. This was made easier by his adoption of the Rosicrucian doctrine of Silence. (Baxter). <sup>591</sup>

The order and discipline, the rules and prescripts, which were instituted for the use of the Rosicrucian Fraternity, was:

1. The society was to consist of sixty-three members, of various grades of initiation, apprentices, brethren, and an "imperator". The possibility of Bacon's having produced the enormous quantity of books which will surely, in the future ages, be claimed for him, and which can be proved, by all that has hitherto passed as conclusive evidence with regard to other works, to be the work of one author.
2. These were all sworn to secrecy for a period of one hundred years. This suffices to answer the oft-repeated query: Why did not Bacon acknowledge his own works? Or why did not his friends vindicate his claim to them? He, as well as his friends, had sworn solemnly to keep the secrets of the society for a period of one hundred years.
3. They were to have secret names, but to pass in public by their own names. This enables us to reconcile many difficulties as to the authorship of certain works. For instance, in the anthology entitled *England's Helicon*, there are poems which have, at different times, borne two, three or even four different signatures. If the Rosicrucian publications were

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591 Baxter. *The Greatest Literary Problems*, 1915

not, as a rule, to bear the name of the author, and if the feigned names of the brethren were to be frequently changed, confusion and mystification as to the true author would inevitably be produced. It would be impossible to draw any irrefutable conclusions as to the date and sometimes as to the aim of the works in question, and this, doubtless, was precisely what the secret society desired. [Also see *England's Helicon*.]

4. To wear the dress of the country in which they resided.
5. To profess ignorance, if interrogated, on all subjects connected with the society, except the Art of Healing. This shows that the incognito maintained by the brethren was to extend, not merely to their names and authorships, but also to their knowledge and mental acquirements. The very fact of their belonging to a secret society was to be concealed; they were to pass through the world as ordinary members of society, wearing the dress of the country in which they lived and doing nothing to draw upon them the special notice of others. They were even to conceal any special or superior knowledge which they might have acquired, actually professing ignorance when interrogated, the only science of which they were allowed to show any knowledge being "the science of healing." Perhaps this is to be taken partly in its literal sense, and the rule may have been made with the benevolent intention of encouraging the study of medicine and surgery, which Bacon found to be terribly deficient; also, this permission would enable the experts in these subjects to come to the rescue on emergency, and to help to alleviate the bodily sufferings of their fellow-creatures. Still, a comparison of the Rosicrucian works obliges us to see that it was to remedy the deformities of the age, to heal the sores and cankers [cancers] of miserable souls, to minister to the mind diseased, that the Rosy Cross brethren were really labouring and this fifth rule gives a good hint as to the reason why Bacon did not "profess to be a poet," and why Burton "should not profess to be a theologian," or Montaigne "profess to be a philosopher."
6. To cure the sick gratis (sickness and healing seem to have been terms used, metaphorically, for ignorance, and instruction or knowledge).
7. In all ways and places to oppose the aggressions and unmask the impositions of the Romish church the Papacy.
8. To aid in the dissemination of truth and knowledge throughout all countries. Especially when taken together with the preceding, throw great light on the publication of such works as Montaigne's *Essays* in France, of its supposed translation, in 1603, from French into pure Baconian English, by the Italian Florio, tutor to the English royal family, and of the large additions and alterations, such as none but the author could have presumed to make, in the later edition published by Cotton in 1685-86. This seems also to explain the fact of many of Bacon's most intimate friends having passed so much of their time abroad, in days when to travel was a distinction, but not an every day occurrence, and when, indeed, it required the royal sanction to leave the country. So Anthony Bacon

lived for many years in Italy and the south of France, very little being absolutely known about his proceedings. Mr. Doyly, Bacon's first recorded correspondent, was at Paris when he received a mysterious letter explaining something in an ambiguous manner. Bacon's answer is equally misty: "he studiously avoids particulars, and means to be intelligible only to the person he is addressing."<sup>592</sup> This Mr. Doyly had travelled with Anthony Bacon, and after residing in Paris, went to Flanders, where "he was of long time dependent on Mr. Norris." What his business was is unknown; he returned to England in 1583. The letter from Mr. Doyly to Francis Bacon shows great intimacy: it begins, "To my very dear friend, Mr. Doyle." Then there was Anthony Bacon's very intimate friend Nicholas Faunt, at one time Walsingham's secretary, a gentleman attached to the Puritan party. From 1580 to 1582 we find him travelling, with no ostensible object, through France and Germany, spending seven months between Geneva and the north of Italy, back to Paris, and home to London in 1582. He is described as an "able intelligencer," and is just such a man as we should expect to find Bacon making good use of.

9. Writings, if carried about, were to be written in ambiguous language, or in "secret writing."
10. Rosicrucian works were, as a rule, not to be published under the real name of their author. Pseudonyms, mottoes, or initials (not the author's own) were to be adopted. This enables us to reconcile many difficulties as to the authorship of certain works.
11. These feigned names and signatures were to be frequently changed. The "imperator" to change his name not less frequently than once in ten years. This suffices to answer the oft-repeated query: Why did not Bacon acknowledge his own works?
12. The places of publication for the "secret writings" to be also periodically changed.
13. Each Member was to have at least one "apprentice" to succeed him and to take over his work. (By which means the secret writings could be passed down from one hand to another until the time was ripe for their disclosure.)
14. The Brethren must suffer any punishment, even to death itself, sooner than disclose the secrets specially confided to them.
15. They must apply themselves to making friends with the powerful and the learned of all countries.
16. They must strive to become rich, not for the sake of money itself, for they must spend it broadcast for the good of others, but for the sake of the advantages afforded by wealth and position for pushing forward the beneficent objects of the society. The working of this rule is observable throughout the whole of Bacon's life and writings. It accounts for the diametrically opposite accusations which have been levelled against him and which his enemies have delighted to magnify, of meanness and lavishness. "Riches," he says, "are for spending, and spending."

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<sup>592</sup> Spedding, *Letters and Life*, Vol. II. p. 9

17. They were to promote the building of “fair houses” for the advancement of learning, and for the relief of sickness, distress, age, or poverty. This would account for the extraordinary impetus given in Bacon’s time to the building and endowing of libraries, schools, Colleges, hospitals, almshouses, theatres, etc. The names of many such “fair houses,” munificently endowed, will rise to the minds of all who are well acquainted with London and the two great Universities. Let the reader inquire into the history of Gresham College, Sion College, and the splendid library attached to it; Dulwich College, with its school, almshouses, and library, originally intended to benefit poor actors; the Bancroft Hospital and many other similar establishments; the library and other buildings at Trinity College, Cambridge; the additions to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the library at Lambeth Palace, and the great printing-houses established at both Universities he will find that he can never get away from Bacon and his friends. Either we find Bacon suggesting the need or encouraging the performers, or inspecting and approving the work, but himself, as a rule, unrecognised in public documents; so with the societies. His portrait alone hangs in the great library of the Royal Society. His friends are all closely associated with the founding of the Arundel Society, the Society of Antiquaries, the Camden Society, the Ray Society, and, we think, with the Colleges of Surgeons and Physicians; but, as usual, although the names appear, in connection with these and other institutions, of his intimate friends. Bacon, the great instigator and promoter of them all, remains in the background.
18. When a Rosicrucian died he was to be quietly and unostentatiously buried. His grave was either to be left without a tombstone, or, if his friends chose to erect a monument in his honour, the inscription upon it was to be ambiguous.

**Royal Society** Sprat tells us that, “The Royal Society was a work well becoming the largeness of Bacon’s wit to devise, and the greatness of Clarendon’s prudence to establish.”<sup>593</sup> The enrichment of the storehouse of Natural Philosophy was a work begun by the single care and conduct of the excellent Lord Verulam, and is now prosecuted by the joint undertakings of the Royal Society. (Oldenburg).<sup>594</sup> Here are some who would persuade us, that the taste for experimental philosophy was introduced into England from the Continent, and that the first idea of the Royal Society was copied from similar associations abroad. This certainly was not the language of the founders and early historians of that Society. It is curious to remark, that while some of our own writers ascribe its origin, and the philosophical spirit which gave it birth, to foreign influences, there are, on the other hand, foreign writers who trace the Academies of the Continent to the effects produced by the writings of Bacon. (Napier).<sup>595</sup>

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<sup>593</sup> Sprat. *History of the Royal Society*, 1667

<sup>594</sup> Oldenburg. *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 22, p. 391

<sup>595</sup> Napier. *Lord Bacon and Sir Walter Raleigh*, 1853

## S

**Salomon's House** The erection and institution of an Order or Society, which we call Salomon's House, the noblest foundation, as we think, that ever was upon the earth, and the lanthorn of this Kingdom. It is dedicated to the study of the works and creatures of God. Some thing it beareth the founder's name a little corrupted, as if it should be Salomona's House; but the records write it as it is spoken. I find in ancient records this Order or Society is sometimes called Salomon's House, and sometimes the College of the Six Days. God had created the world, and all that therein is, within six days. (Bacon, *New Atlantis*, 1623).

**Schoolmaster** Roger Ascham, author of this work, had three sons, who were treated with kindness by Queen Elizabeth. The Queen always spoke in respectful terms of the memory of her old schoolmaster. When attached to her Court, Elizabeth conversed with Ascham on classical and learned subjects on three stated days each week. Sir Nicholas Bacon states that it was "a very interesting scene to witness the pupil and the schoolmaster going over the old ground again." On those occasions the Queen was accompanied by one lady and a gentleman, sometimes Christopher Hatton, Sir William Cecil, or Lord Leicester. "Of the learning of the latter, Elizabeth thought little." Roger Ascham did not live to see his celebrated book published. (Burke).<sup>596</sup>

In the spring of 1570, John Marsh was reporting that Sir William Cecil and Sir Nicholas Bacon were marked for assassination and since November of 1569 a rebellion of feudal aristocrats and their followers in the staunchly Catholic north of England was put down by savage military force; while Roger Ascham's *Schoolmaster* came into print. Ascham was growing from forty-eight to fifty-three years of age when he wrote this book. The Italian influence had come in like a flood after the publication of Tottel's *Miscellany* in June 1557. Ascham had taught Elizabeth and read Greek with her, as she desired. Being thus about the Court, and the Court resting at Windsor on December 10, 1563 the officers in attendance dined together under the presidency of the Secretary of State, that begun in December 1563, and it was prosecuted off and on for two years and a half, until Sir Richard Sackville's death in July 1566. It was then, for sorrow's sake, flung aside. Ascham tells us in person: "Almost two years together, this book lay scattered, and neglected," and then finished, so far as we now possess it, by the encouragement of Lord Burghley, in the last six or eight months of Ascham's life.

Ascham's method is avowedly based upon Cicero's *De Oraton* and more especially upon the latter portion of it. When the great plague was at London (1563) the Queen lay at her Castle of Windsor: "Where, upon December 10, it fortun'd, that in Sir William Cecil's chamber, her Highness Principal Secretary, there dined together these personages, M. Secretary himself, Sir William Peter, Sir J. Mason, D. Wotton, Sir Richard Sackville Treasurer of the Exchequer, Sir Walter Mildmay Chancellor of the Exchequer, M. Haddon Master of Requisites, M. J. Astley Mailer of the Lower House, M. Bernard Hampton, M. Nicasius. Of which number, the most

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596 S.H. Burke. *Historical Portraits*, Vol IV. 1883

part were of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and the rest serving her in very good place. I was glad then, and do rejoice yet to remember, that my chance was so happy, to be there that day, in the company of so many wise and good men together, as hardly than could have been picked out again, out of all England beside. M. Secretary hath this accustomed manner, though his head be never so full of most weighty affaires of the Realm, yet, at dinner time he doth seem to lay them always aside: and findeth ever fit occasion to talk pleasantly of other matters, but most gladly of some matter of learning: wherein, he will curtly hear the mind of the meanest at his Table." <sup>597</sup> It deserves to be mentioned, that Alfred Dodd, in his *Francis Bacon's Personal Life-Story* states that Ascham's book was written by the order of Elizabeth for one soul purpose: "It must not be supposed that Queen Elizabeth, though remaining *in umbra*, was uninterested in her offspring. [Francis Bacon.] There are strong grounds for belief that Sir Roger Ascham, the Queen's old tutor, the finest educationist and scholar in that age, had a sort of watching brief in the child's educational development. It was at the direct command of the Queen that he wrote his celebrated classic *Schoolmaster*. It deals with the education of young noblemen. Ascham was invited to dinner at Windsor Castle. He was there pressed by a Privy Councillor to write a book "concerning the right order of teaching." He declined and excused himself whereupon he "was suddenly called to the Queen. The night following I slept little, my head so full of our talk." The fact that the command was made in the Queen's Privy Chamber, and the book intended to be dedicated to the Queen, suggests she was directly interested in a curriculum for the training of one particular nobleman, Francis Bacon, who was two years of age when Ascham began his task. He was five years old when the book was finished about 1566. The author died two years later. It still remained in manuscript for private use until 1571, when it was printed. But the prefatory letter entitled *Divae Elizabethae* dated October 30, 1566 was suppressed. It was kept carefully in hiding for two hundred years when it was published by James Bennet in 1761. The suppressed preface (which simply dare not have been published in his day) was left as a record and a hint of his knowledge of the Queen's Secret, and that he had been commissioned to do the work for the training of her concealed son. He compares her to David who committed adultery and murder to obtain Bathsheba: "God suffered him to fall into the deepest pit of wickedness, the shamefullest adultery, as in a mirror may your Majesty see and acknowledge, by God's dealing with David, even very many like dealings of God with your Majesty. And in the end have as David had, Prosperity and surest Felicity for you and your Posterity." This letter was written to a Virgin Queen with no prospect of posterity openly. What had the sin of David to do with a Virgin Queen? Was Amy Robsart the Elizabethan Uriah? Sufficient is said to indicate that Ascham writes the book in the hope that it will train the boy who had the natural right to sit on the Throne of the Tudors. And that he was so trained is proved by the fact that it contains to an astonishing extent the elements of Francis Bacon's philosophy." <sup>598</sup>

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<sup>597</sup> Extract from the Preface to Roger Ascham's *The Schoolmaster*, 1570

<sup>598</sup> Also see Hickson. *Prince of Poets*, p. 20 on the subject

**Setting of the stage** It was a custom of old to introduce a play with a prologue, in which was struck the keynote of the theme, to attune the sympathies of the auditors to the scheme of the drama about to be unfolded to view; "All the world's a stage; And all the men and women merely players." The action of our drama lies within the meager compass of a half-century, between the meridian splendour of the last Tudor reign and the waning of that of the first Stuart, a period crowded with events of more real import to the English race than any other in its annals. It was an era of feudal splendour emblazoned banners plumes purple and cloth of gold the glint and clangour of steel ruthless emblems of autocratic rule. It was, too, one of cruelty and corruption; of an illiteracy hampered by a rude jargon of popular speech, the survival of a less civilized age.

As the pageant in imagination sweeps on before our eyes amid the moil and murk of the streets, riding high on the tumultuous waves of applause from the mob, in whose shadowy minds it seemed a realization of the visions of old romance, of which they had glimpses in filthy Inn-yards, and the low theatres in the purlieu of Shoreditch and Moorfields, we wonder if this tinsel can be transmuted into gold, this rude speech transformed into the expression of a divine ideal. Outside of these hopeless conditions, rumours of wars, of Jesuit plots, of Scotch intrigues, filled the public mind with apprehension of evil; for there was no time when the black shadow of Spain's mailed hand did not dim the glow of English firesides; no time in which the suspicion of French dissimulation did not give edge to the fears of an entente with the ogre of the Escorial. Yet this epoch had its heroes: Drake, who through fire and blood, encompassed the world; Gilbert, who sang his swan song amid tempest and gloom, triumphant in the thought that heaven was as near him as in his beloved Devonshire; Frobisher, who drove his frail keel through the ice-locked portals of Boreal seas; and scores of others, who, on sea and land, proved the invincible courage of the English heart. Those in power, however, paid them scant heed, and they played their great roles, and made their exits, leaving no deep impress upon the minds of their contemporaries, except, perhaps, Drake, who struck Spain such a staggering blow that it stirred the enthusiasm of his phlegmatic countrymen, though his stingy sovereign haggled over its cost. However imperfect and inadequate this outline of a remarkable epoch, it seems beyond credence that it held a capability of reformation; yet it is true that during its existence a remarkable transformation took place in the thought and expression of the English mind. The language of Tudor England, defiled by the barbarisms of a rude age, began to purge itself of its crudities, and to enrich its vocabulary with new vehicles of thought, giving it flexibility, and enlarging its scope of expression.

To realize what was accomplished within the brief period we have named, it will be suggestive to compare the King James Bible of one of the psalms, or Bacon's *New Atlantis*, with this excerpt from the dedication of a poem to Lord Wilton in 1576, by George Gascoigne, one of the foremost literary men of his day: "I have loitered (my Lord) I confess, I have lien streaking me (like a lubber) when the sun did shine, and now strive all in vain to load the carte when it raineth. I regarded not my comeliness in the May-moon of my youth, and yet now I stand prinking me in the glass when the crow's feet is grown under mine eye." Or this from a letter of Queen Elizabeth I., in

1594: "What danger it breeds a King to glorify to hide and to suddenly a boy of years and conduit, whose untimely age for discretion breeds rash consent to indecent actions. Such speak or the way, and attempt or the consider. The weight of a Kingly state is of more poix than the shallowness of a rash young man's head can weigh, therefore I trust that the causeless zeal that you have borne the head of this presumption shall rather carry you to extirpate so ungracious a root, in finding so sour fruit to spring of your many favours evil-acquitted, rather than to suffer your goodness to be abused with his many excuses for colours of his good meanings." (Bruce).<sup>599</sup>

We may well inquire how this change was inaugurated and carried to a successful issue. It could not have sprung up and come to fruition by dissociated individual effort. A presiding genius was required to foster and direct its growth. Across the Channel it was Ronsard, who, designing to regenerate the language of France, and perpetuate it in his own literary productions, associated with himself others whom he encouraged to like effort. Who in England could have undertaken this great work? What was its beginning? If we attune our ear to distinguish amid the prevailing dissonance its primal note, we shall unmistakably trace it to the oaten pipe of the gentle Colin, whose haunting melody holds our attention, and, following these strains with awakening sense, we shall hear them re-echoed until they culminate in that symphony of the greatest master of poetic numbers, the author of *Lucrece*, of *Hamlet*, and of the Sonnets.

When, however, we seek the inspired mortals, whom we are told caught the sweet strains of the artless Shepherd, and came singing down the shining steeps of Olympus with a divine message to ennoble their fellowmen, we find them in dens of infamy, the tippling-shop, the gambling-hell, the brothel, and are moved to exclaim, such a paradox is monstrous; God does not ordain the vilest among men to be his messengers of peace and enlightenment to mankind: and, certainly, the men to whom our pretentious guides have introduced us were among the vilest of their kind. No wonder the world is awakening to the necessity of a higher criticism than that with which it has hitherto been cloyed, and turning to one incomparable genius, who, voicing the primal strains of the Renaissance in Tudor England, bore them on with ever swelling Majesty to the close of the grand symphony which ended with his life. This great genius was Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Albans. It will be objected at the outset that Bacon could not have written that great body of philosophy, the Shakespeare Works and others, and have had any time left to perform his political duties, to say nothing of the common affairs of life. Those intimately associated with him witness to Time. Says Rawley: "He would ever interlace a moderate relaxation of his mind with his studies, as walking or taking the air abroad in his coach, or some other befitting recreation."<sup>600</sup> Boener and Bushell, both his amanuenses, give like testimony. His great philosophical works were written in an incomparably short space of time, while he was in great mental distress, says Rawley: "The last five years of his life he employed wholly in contemplation and study in which time he composed the greatest part of his books and

<sup>599</sup> Bruce. *Letters of Queen Elizabeth and King James VI.*, p. 109, London 1849

<sup>600</sup> Rawley's *Life*, p. 48



writings, both in English and Latin.”<sup>601</sup> His public duties, apparently uncongenial, occupied but a small portion of his time, so that the much longer time which this man of ceaseless activity had to devote to more congenial pursuits becomes an argument in favour of his occupation in other than philosophical fields of labour. Anyone who will carefully study his various biographies will be convinced that he had ample time to produce all the works, which have been ascribed to him, not excepting the poems and plays known as the Shakespeare Works. If it were necessary, many examples could be cited of voluminous authorship. For a single instance, Thomas Heywood, a contemporary, claimed to be the author of two hundred plays besides much other literary work. There are thirty-six in the Folio. That it was a common custom for authors to use the names or initials of others on their productions cannot be questioned. Books, too, were often falsely dated, or registered years before printing. The author of *The Arte of English Poesie*, published in 1589, says: “I know very many notable Gentlemen in the Court that have written commendably, and suppressed it again, or else suffered it to be published without their own names to it, as if it were a discredit for a Gentleman to seem learned, and to shew himself amorous of any learned Art.” Henry Cuffe, a scholar of distinction, not wishing to use his own name on a manuscript, sent it to a correspondent to ask Greville to permit him to publish it with his initials, and told his correspondent in case of refusal to print it with the initials “R.B” which, he said, “some no doubt will interpret to be Beale”. The *Historic of the Life and Death of Mary Stuart Queene of Scotland* was published in 1624, and the dedication bore the name of the supposed author, Wil Stranguage. In 1636, in a second edition, the same dedication bore the name W. Udall.

Among the books, which once masqueraded under assumed names, many still survive, and their ghostly authors grin at us behind their false masks so nicely adjusted to them by the editors of biographical dictionaries. Said the German critic, Schlegel, in 1808, “Generally speaking I consider all that has been said about him [Shaksper] personally to be a mere fable, a blind extravagant error.” And Samuel Taylor Coleridge, in 1811, “What! are we to have miracles in sport? Does God choose idiots by whom to convey divine truths to man?” Benjamin D’Israeli wrote, in 1837: “And who is Shakespeare?” said Cadurcis. Did he write half the plays attributed to him? Did he ever write a single whole play? I doubt it.” And Ralph Waldo Emerson declared in 1838, that he could not “marry” him “to his verse,” characterizing his life as “obscure and profane.”<sup>602</sup> Said Joseph Hart, in 1848: “He was not the mate of the literary characters of his day, and none knew it better than himself. It is a fraud upon the world to thrust his surreptitious fame upon us. The inquiry will be, who were the able literary men who wrote the dramas imputed to him?” And William H. Furness,<sup>603</sup> in 1866: “I am one of the many who have never been able to bring the life of William Shakespeare and the plays of Shakespeare within a planetary space of each other; are there any two things in the world more incongruous? Had the plays come

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<sup>601</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43

<sup>602</sup> *Representative Men*, p. 215. Boston, 1866

<sup>603</sup> The father of the literary *ébéniste*

down to us anonymously, had the labour of discovering the author been imposed upon after generations, I think we could have found no one of that day but Francis Bacon to whom to assign the crown. In this case it would have been resting now on his head by almost common consent?" Said Edwin P. Whipple, in 1869: "To this individuality we tack on a universal genius, which is about as reasonable as it would be to take the controlling power of gravity from the sun and attach it to one of the asteroids." And Cardinal Newman, in 1870: "What do we know of Shakespeare? Is he much more than a name, *vox et prateria nihil?*" The same year James Russell Lowell wrote: "Nobody believes any longer that immediate inspiration is possible in modern times; and yet everybody seems to take it for granted of this one man Shakespeare"; and so on; Gervinus, Hawthorne, Ruggles, Dickens, Holmes, Walt Whitman, Professor Winchell, Whittier, Parkman; it would require a large volume to record all the testimony of this nature.

This feeling extended until the question was pressed, in 1848, who were the able literary men who wrote the dramas imputed to him? It was evident to most critics that in spite of some differences of style they were the product of one mind. Who, then, was this great literary genius? A new interest was awakened in Elizabethan literature. Naturally the search began with dramatists and poets; Marlowe for a time was discussed and dropped; so were others. Deeper students, realizing that the poetic gems in the works which charmed so many were strung on a precious thread of philosophy, sought a poet among the philosophers, having taken a hint from Sydney who said: "The philosophers of Greece durst not a long time appear to the world but under the mask of poets. So Thales, Empedocles, and Parmenides sang their national philosophy in verse. So did Pythagoras and Phocylides their moral counsels." At this juncture Spedding's work on Bacon was published, in which it was seen that the great philosopher applied to himself the now famous phrase, "A concealed poet"; and from this time attention was focused upon him, and the sentiment of thousands outside the influence of the Stratford cult, that there was but one man in England to whom the authorship of the Shakespeare works could be assigned, became conviction. Spedding's work was published in 1857, and it was in this year that Delia Bacon in America, and William Henry Smith in England, simultaneously published the two pioneer works which opened the case of Bacon vs. Shaksper.<sup>604</sup> "The process by which Shakespeare is reduced to nothing is certainly startling. Take away all the evidences of the poet's supreme intellect refuse him the witness of his works and it is, of course, very easy to say the poor player was unequal to his mighty task. But the same process could reduce Bacon from a great law-giver in the empire of thought, to a corrupt lawyer and base flatterer in the Court of King James. Take the facts which stand apart from his intellectual action erect the idea of man upon them and it will be as easy to raise a theory that not Bacon but Shakespeare wrote the *Essays* and *Novum Organum*."<sup>605</sup>

<sup>604</sup> The spelling of the actor's name is so variable that we give, in all quotations, the forms found in them. When referring to him we use the form adopted by Knight, "Shaksper," or the term "actor." When speaking of the Works, we use the form "Shakespeare," as it appeared on the title page of the First Folio

<sup>605</sup> (a) Review of Delia Bacon's article in *Putnam's Monthly*. In the *Athenaeum*, London, July 26, 1856, p. 108

(b) W.H. Wyman. *Bibliography of the Bacon-Shakespeare Controversy*, 1884

Doubtless many had long entertained the opinions then made public, but withheld them, unwilling to face the storm of ridicule and abuse which threatened their announcement. Smith says that he formed his opinions twenty years before publishing them, and no doubt Delia Bacon had matured her views long before giving them to the world. She was a woman of remarkable intellect, a profound scholar, and merits a high place among the literary women of America; yet she and Smith, as well as Holmes, Pott, Reed, and other faithful and conscientious students who have followed them, have been viciously assailed by those interested in Shakespearian books as authors, owners of copyright, their friends, and would-be friends; in fact, they have suffered the usual martyrdom of advocates of new truth by our modern Ephesians. Lee: "Why should Baconian theorists have any following outside lunatic asylums?" Dana: "The Mattoid flourishes in America because we have so large a proportion of half-educated minds." Churton Collins: "And so this epidemic spreads till it has now assumed the proportions, and many of the characteristics of the Middle Ages." A writer in the *Literary World* calls Reed's scholarly books, "A positive disgrace to literature." Brandes: "A troop of less than half-educated people have put forth the doctrine that Shakespeare did not write the plays and poems attributed to him. Here it has fallen into the hands of raw Americans and fanatical women." Elze: "The so-called Bacon Theory is a disease of the same species as table-turning." Townsend: "Dirty work requires its peculiar instruments." The *Athenaeum*: "Mr. Smith denies the appropriation of Miss Delia Bacon's theory. The question may be of slight importance which of two individuals first conceived a crazy notion." Furnivall wrote to Reed: "Providence is merciful, and the US folk are tolerant; you'd have been strung up on the nearest lamp-post else"; and Stapfer sneeringly alluded to it as "The famous paradox brought forward from time to time by some lunatic." Engel stigmatized Baconians as "Orthodox minded lunatics, distinguished from such as tenant asylums in that they are still at large. People of this brain-sick habit, maniacs, are as hard to convince of their error as they who imagine themselves God Almighty, or the Emperor of China, or the Pope"; and said White, "When symptoms of the Bacon-Shakespeare craze manifest themselves, the patient should be immediately carried off to an asylum."; and Robertson, is nearly as vitriolic, yet his book, *The Baconian Heresy*, is but an apology for a defense of his thesis.

A number of quotes could be given as vulgar as the following from a writer in the *New York Herald*, who signs his name, B.J.A.: "The idea of robbing the world of Shakespeare for such a stiff, legal-headed old jackass as Bacon, is a modern invention of fools."

There is no hope for men who treat fellow students in any field of literary labour in this manner. The charge they make against them is lunacy, and, especially, lack of scholarship; both words are favourites with them; yet D'Israeli, Gervinus, Hawthorne, Judge Nathaniel Holmes,<sup>606</sup> Lowell,

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606 W.H. Wyman. *Bibliography of the Bacon-Shakespeare Controversy*, 1884; Hon. Nathaniel Holmes, graduate of Harvard University, in the class of 1837. Since 1839 he practiced law in St. Louis for the greater part of the time, but was, from 1865 to 1868, Judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri, and from 1868 to 1872, a Professor of Law in the Law School of Harvard. He retired from professional life, and resided at Cambridge, Mass

Dickens, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Massey, Gladstone, Winchell, Whittier, Professor Cantor, Judge Wilde, and many others who have expressed opinions adverse to these monopolists of scholarship, occupy quite as high rank in the world of letters as they; indeed, when we examine the work of the Stratfordian revilers, we are astounded at its character and lack of accuracy or forgery, as Collier, founder of the Shakespeare Society. Probably in all literature there is no more faulty work to be found than in their treatment of the Shakespeare works, from Rowe to Lee.

In sketching the life and character of a man, especially if he has been fortunate enough to be both praised and blamed, one cannot be too vigilant in avoiding bias, an infection from which biographers rarely escape. Several biographies and sketches, more or less complete of the life of Francis Bacon, have been written: the first by Rawley, his private Chaplain; then, by Boener, his physician; Campbell, Montagu, Fowler, Abbott, Garnett, and notably by Spedding, who has also given us many of his letters. The best test of a man's character and worth should be found in the testimony of contemporaries, and of these we have a cloud of unimpeachable witnesses to Francis Bacon's transcendent genius, righteousness, and altruism: Rawley, Boener, Matthew, Fuller, Aubrey, and many others, Aubrey making the sweeping declaration that "All who were good and great loved him." Some modern writers, however, have seen in Bacon nothing, and others everything, to commend. To understand this we must recognize the fact that the human mind, with rare exceptions, is subconsciously or by transmission from some other mind that has adventured into the same field which it is exploring, sensitively alive to suggestion, which is readily transformed into theory unless restrained. Such a mind when it undertakes to delineate a dead man's character, with little beside his correspondence with various people, with some of whom he can be familiar, while with others he must be reserved or evasive, complaisant or aggressive, is sure to produce a portrait which would be unrecognizable to a contemporary. Mix up a quantity of matters relevant and irrelevant, and those minds will eliminate from the instrument of reasoning every point on which the reasoning ought to turn, and then proceed to exercise their constitutional perversity on the residue.

Dr. Jamieson, the anonymous writer in *Chambers' Journal* was the first to create a reasoned doubt of Shaksper the actor having written these plays, and suggested, "he kept a poet." In the time of Shaksper were seven theatres; three private houses; *viz.*, Blackfriars, Whitefriars, the Cockpit or Phoenix in Drury Lane; and four public theatres. The Globe on the Bank Side; the Curtain in Shoreditch; the Red Bull at the upper end of St. John Street; and the Fortune in Whitecross Street. In 1635, a collection of papers relating to shares and sharers in the Globe and Blackfriars Theatres, preserved among the official manuscripts of the Lord Chamberlain at St. James' Palace, demonstrate how Eenefield, Swanstown, and Pollard appealed to be allowed to buy a share in these: Cuthbert Burbage, and Winifred, his brother's wife, and William, his son, petitioned "not to be disabled of our livelihoods by men so soon shot up, since it hath been the custom that they should come to it by far more antiquity and desert than these can justly attribute to themselves. The father of us, Cuthbert and Richard Burbage, was the first builder of playhouses, and was

himself in his younger years a player. The Theatre he built with many hundred pounds taken up at interest, and at like expense built the Globe, with more sums taken up at interest; and to ourselves we joined those gentlemen, Shaksper, Hemings Condell, Philipps, and others, partners in the profit of that they call The House. Now for the Blackfriars, that is our inheritance; our father purchased it at extreme rates, and made it into a playhouse with great charge and trouble, and placed men players, which were, Hemmings, Condell, Shaksper, etc.”<sup>607</sup>

**Shakespeare and Bacon and the emblem writers** The Rev. Henry Green endeavoured to show the similarities of thought and expression between the great poet [Shakespeare] and the authors of Emblemata, but the line of enquiry which he there opened does not appear to have been followed by subsequent writers. Today the Emblemata literature is a *terra incognita* except to a very few students, and yet it is full of interest, romance, and mystery. Emblem literature may be said to have had its origin with Andrea Alciati, the celebrated Italian jurisconsult, who was famous for his great knowledge and power of mind. In 1522 he published at Milan an *Emblematum Libellus*, or *Little Book of Emblems*. Green says: “It established, if it did not introduce, a new style of emblem literature, the classical in the place of the simply grotesque and humorous, or of the heraldic and mythic.” The first edition now known to exist was published at Augsburg in 1531, a small octavo containing eighty-eight pages with ninety-seven emblems, and as many woodcuts. It was from time to time augmented, and passed through many editions. For some years the Emblemata appears to have been produced chiefly by Italians, with a few Frenchmen. Until the last half of the sixteenth century the output of books of this character was not large. Thenceforth for the next hundred years the creation of emblems became a popular form of literary exercise. The Italians continued to be prolific, but Dutch, French, and German scholars were but little behind them. There were a few Englishmen and Spaniards who also practised the art.

In 1905 was published a book called *Letters from the Dead to the Dead*, by Oliver Lector. In it attention is drawn to the remarkable features of some of the books on emblems printed during Bacon’s life, and to the evidence that he was in some manner connected with the publication of many of these volumes. Of the ten Emblems presented in the volume are:

- Emblem 1: In this Emblem, the wind sets from that quarter where certain revellers are making merry under the trees: this is indicated by the waving of the sedge seen growing along the bank of the stream; therefore, the spear enveloped with ciphers threaded on a strand will shake and vibrate in the breeze. The motto or poesy of the ring, *Ultima Frigent* means “At the last they shake” and signifies no less. The eel prone upon his back denotes two things: first the vowel U (that is, you) may be supposed to utter this phrase, “You, Shakespeare, enveloped as thou art in ciphers.” The U may also be taken as expressing the Roman numeral 5, hence that the fivefold cipher, like the eel his back on,

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607 C. Stopes. *The Bacon Shakspeare Question*, 1888

is dead. The last line of the Latin poem, “Now the undertaker layeth hold of the fame of the dead man,” utters a prophecy.

- Emblem 2: There needs not a long interpretation of this Emblem than a brief quotation from the play of *Cymbeline*: “And when from a stately cedar shall be lopped branches which, being dead many years, shall after revive, be jointed to the old stock, and freshly grow, then shall posthumus end his miseries. Britain be fortunate, and flourish in peace and plenty.” Posthumus prefiguring there the after ages, and the branches dead many years.
- Emblem 3: *Nil ultra* may be seen prefigured as to Bacon’s cipher, and the snail marching round and round his ring the slow process of its solution.
- Emblem 4: The fabled phoenix rising from his ashes, a representation of those secret writings already touched upon. The cipher held aloft, Bacon’s cipher. The buried numbers 39 and 27 signifies a twofold numerical cipher. The obelisk, peradventure it is a joke; peradventure it is a deep fetch of wit. There need in conclusion only this, as the verse declares: It is not mortal fame that I desire.
- Emblem 5: The youth stands upon a hillock and blows at a candle. What more, merry? I tow little more; but the drift of your book being now apparent, there may be one who, regarding the Knights that Shakespeare’s will pierce the veil and say, “Out, out, brief candle! Life’s but a walking shadow, a poor player that struts and frets his hour upon the stage and then is heard no more.” Bacon’s poor player moves apace to his final exit.
- Emblem 6: In the Sonnets there are divers notable mysteries, as manic writers have in good part marked. This Emblem addresses itself to observation, not to the intellect. The light and the dark A in the impress of those Sonnets are represented in the branches of the tree. These two letters signify a twofold literal cipher and make the distinction between one which is numerical, shown in the fourth Emblem above stated. This cannot be understood except it is examined with care the light A and the dark A with their suspended key in Shakespeare and his Sonnets. The executioner in the back ground dose behead his victim, an obscure glance at that notable mystery, “The onlie Begetter of these ensuing Sonnets.”
- Emblem 7: This Emblem takes hold, under the name of logs, of the logarithms; and by the motto of the ring, *Nil solidum* which means “Nothing solid” there is a warning against credulous beliefs.
- Emblem 8: The ant beneath the hat, that must be sought here as to dig the meaning out; and I mean of the shovel resting upon the arm of the sea, that the sea can’t uphold it. The rebus of a secant is plainly expressed in seek ant and sea can’t. The trigonometrical functions of the arc have a relation to a problem, where chosen is the French word for ant, *fourmys*, in the French verses, a manifest reference to form is, and he who has read Bacon’s *Novum Organum* where the emphasis is laid upon the discovery of forms.

- Emblem 9: Peradventure the last Sonnet of Shakespeare, which begins, “Oh truant muse,” looks as well to the preceding Emblem as towards the one now numbered 9, because the ring and the cord binding pillar to pillar make the letters “Oh”. In certain copies of the edition of Shakespeare’s Sonnets (1609) this word “Oh” will be found to bear a cipher dot: “.Oh.”
- Emblem 10: The beacon on the hill found here indicates Bacon well enough and the trefoil held aloft may be interpreted, if you will read Spedding.<sup>608</sup>

Many Emblems constitute a subordinate part of Bacon’s system of induction. What his system really was is not well understood by those who never read the *Novum Organum*, nor is it comprehended by those who cannot plead that excuse. There is plenary evidence that Bacon’s contemporaries had as little comprehension of it as the men of our time. “It deserveth not to be read in schools but to be freighted in the ship of fools,” said Coke. “It is like the peace of God,” said King James I., “It passeth all understanding.” Lector claims this to be especially the case with the *Emblemata Moralia et Bellica* (1615) of Jacob de Bruck, of Angermundt, and the *Emblemata Ethic Politica* of J. Bornitius. He also offers the following list: “Emblems in the following books can be identified as a substantive part of Bacon’s inductive philosophy; plates of his invention”:

Author	Title	Date
J. Camerarius	Symbolorum et Emblematum	1590
J. Cats	Silenus Alcibiadis sive Proteus	1618
Boisardi	Emblemata	1593
J. Bornitius	Emblemata Ethico Politica	1664
J. de Bruck	Emblemata Moralia et Bellica	1616
J. de Bruck	Emblemata Politica	1618
J. de Brunus	Emblemata	1624
Heinsius	Emblemata Amatoria	1619
Heyns	Emblemata Moralia	1625
Oræus Viridarium		1619
G. Rollenhagen	Emblematum	1611
		1613
Schoonhovius	Emblemata	1618
J. Typotius	Symbola Divina et Humana	1600
O. Vænius	Amorum Emblemata	1612
M. Claud Paradin	Devises Royales	1622
Van de Velde	Emblemata	N. D.
Andrea Alciati	Emblematum Libre	1531
Henry Peacham	Minerva Britanna	1612
Geffrey Whitney	A Choice of Emblemes	1586

608 *Letters and Life of Francis Bacon*, Vol. IV., p. 43, 1868

With the exception of Bornitius, the foregoing volumes bear date within the period of Bacon's lifetime that is to say between 1560 and 1626. There seems no earlier edition of Bornitius than 1659 recorded. The manuscript must have come into the hands of Grüter with other manuscripts of Bacon's, published by him in the year 1653. (Lector).<sup>609</sup>

The Emblem pictures for the most part appear to be picture puzzles. In the *Critique upon the Mythology of the Ancients* Bacon says: "It may pass for a farther indication of a concealed and secret meaning, that some of these fables are so absurd and idle in their narration as to proclaim and shew an allegory afar off. A fable that carries probability with it may be supposed invented for pleasure, or in imitation of history; but, those that would never be conceived or related in this way, must surely have a different use." If this line of reasoning be applied to the illustration in the Emblem books, it is clear that they conceal some hidden meaning, for they are apparently unintelligible, and the accompanying letterpress does not afford any illumination. Jean Baudoin was the translator of Bacon's *Essaies* into the French language (1626). Baudoin published in 1638–39 the following comment: "Recueil D'Emblèmes divers avec des Discours Moraux, Philos. et Polit. In the preface he says: Le grand chancelier Bacon m'ayant fait naître l'envie de travailler à ces emblems...m'en a fourni les principaux que j'ai tirés de l'explication ingénieuse qu'il a donnée de quelques fables et de ses autres ouvrages." Here is definite evidence of Bacon's association with a book of Emblems.

The first volume of Emblemata in which traces of Bacon's hand are to be found is the 1577 edition of Alciati's *Emblems*, published by the Platin Press, with notes by Claude Mignault. It is in this edition, in Emblem No. 45 entitled "In dies meliora" that for the first time the light A and the dark A is to be found. In previous editions this device is absent. For this volume a new design has been engraved in which it appears. In the Emblem books written in Italian, Bacon does not appear to have been concerned, unless an exception be made of Ripa's *Iconologia*, a copy of which contains his handwriting and initials. In some way he had control of a large number of those written in Latin, and bearing names of Dutch, French, and some Italian authors, and also of several written in Dutch and of the English writers. The field is a very wide one, and only a few of the principal examples can be mentioned. Yet, the most important work is the *Emblemata Moralia et Bellica* of Jacob à Bruck, of Angermundt (1615) and *Argentorati per Jacobum ab Heyden*. With many of the designs in this volume, Oliver Lector has dealt fully in his *Letters from the Dead to the Dead*, before referred to. There is another volume bearing the name of Jacob à Bruck, published in 1598. Only one copy of this book is known to be in existence, and that is in the Royal Library of St. Petersburg. Bernard Quaritch in 1905 said: "The *Emblemata Ethico Politica* of Jacobus Bornitius, 1659, *Moguntiae*, is remarkable because many of the engravings contain portraits of Bacon, namely, in Sylloge Prima, Plates Nos. 7., 23., 64., 65., 74.; and in Sylloge II., Plates IX., and XXXVI." There are two productions of Janus Jacobus Boissardus in which Bacon's hand may be recognised: "Emblèmes Latines avec l'Interprétation Française du I.

609 Oliver Lector. *Letters From the Dead to the Dead*, 1905



Pierre Ioly Messin. Metis, 1588, and *Emblematum liber. Ipsa Emblemata ab Auctore delineata: a Theodoro de Bry sculpta et nunc recens in lucem edita*,” 1593, Frankfurt. Two editions of the latter were printed in the same year. The title pages are identical, and the same plates have been used throughout, but the letterpress is in Latin in the one, and in French in the other. In both, the dedications are addressed in French to Madame de Clervent, Baronne de Coppet. The dedication of the former bears the name Jan Jacques Boissard at the head, and addresses the lady as “que come estes addonnée à la speculation des choses qui appartiennent à l’instruction de l’âme.” The dedication of the latter is signed Ioly, who explains that he has translated the verses into French, so that they may be of more service to the dedicatee.

Perhaps the most important proof of the esteem in which Bacon was held is exhibited in the *Great Assizes holden in Parnassus*. This same year, George Withers, author and poet is born and died in 1667; his remarkable document would not be unworthy of adding at this point, which was published in 1643–45, and was believed by Sir Egerton Bridges to have been the work of George Withers. This document shows that Francis Bacon, in the opinion of Withers, at least, was entitled to high rank among his contemporaries in the Kingdom of Apollo. It is entitled *The Great Assizes holden in Parnassus by Apollo and his Assessours, at which are arraigned Mercurius Brittanicus, Mercurius Aulicus, &c.*, (periodical publications of that time). Otho Van Veen enjoys the distinction of having had Rubens for a disciple. A considerable number of Emblem books emanated from him. In 1608 were published at Antwerp two editions of his *Amorum Emblemata*. In one copy the verses are in Latin, English, and Italian. There are commendatory verses in the latter, two of which are by Daniel Heinsius and R. V., who was Robert Verstegen, the author of *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities*. The dedication is “To the most honourable and worthie brothers William Earle of Pembroke, and Phillip Earle of Montgomerie, patrons of learning and chevalrie, who are the most noble and incomparable paire of brethren” to whom the 1623 Shakespeare Folio was dedicated. In this volume Bacon has left his marks. *Emblemata door Zacharias Heyns*, published in Rotterdam in 1625, comprises four books bound together. The inscriptions over the plates are in Latin. The letterpress, which is in Dutch and French, apparently bears very little reference to the illustrations.

In Bacon’s *Advancement of Learning* of 1605, he uses clusters of grapes. Such clusters are found in the Shakespeare Folios of 1623, and in 1632, though printed by different printers. Of their signification Bacon thus speaks: “Other men, as well in ancient as in modern times, have in the matter of sciences drunk a crude liquor like water, either flowing spontaneously from the understanding, or drawn up by logic, as by wheels from a well. Whereas I pledge mankind in a liquor strained from countless grapes, from grapes ripe and fully seasoned, collected in clusters, and then squeezed in the press, and finally purified and clarified in the vat. And therefore it is no wonder if they and I do not think alike.”<sup>610</sup> Besides the above, the Bacons used the crescent, fleur-de-lis, double candlesticks, a hand, horns, a shield, and a mirror. It is proper to say that

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610 Spedding. *Novum Organum*, Vol. VII. p. 155

these were sometimes of ancient date, were varied in form, and combined with other symbolic figures according to the fancy of those who used them, and it seems probable were not always used with design. It is interesting to note some of the works, not published under Bacon's name, in which cryptic emblems used by him appear. In the First Folio appear crowns, clusters of grapes, the fleur-de-lis, and, in the Second Folio, one like that in Bacon's *History of Life and Death*. It is a highly significant fact that Shakespeare borrowed extensively from Bacon's *De Augmentis Scientiarum* which was not published before October 1623, when Shaksper, the Stratford actor, had been dead more than seven years.<sup>611</sup> At the date when this work of Francis Bacon was published, the manuscripts contained in the First Folio of the plays were still in the hands of the printers. It was, at least, twenty-six days after the publication of the *De Augmentis* before the First Folio was issued. It follows, therefore, that Shakespeare could not have borrowed from a printed copy of the *De Augmentis*. Bacon was the only one who had no need to await the printing of his own work before making use of it;<sup>612</sup> and in Bacon's *History of Henry VII.*, he tells us "I have though in a despised weed procured the good of all men."<sup>613</sup> Bacon himself also tells us that a weed is a cloak to hide a man's identity: "This fellow, when Perkin took sanctuary, chose rather to take a holy habit than a holy place, and clad himself like a hermit and in that weed wandered about the country, till he was discovered and taken." In Marlowe's works, published in 1613, twenty-one years after his death, the watermarks comprise bar and grapes the same as in the Folio of 1623, except a change in letters; the pot, hand, crown, and crescent. Marlowe was killed June 1st, 1593; and Halliwell-Phillipps says the date of the first appearance of a Shakespeare play was March 3, 1592, the play of *Henry VI.*, that is "ere the tragic ending of More-low." But there are critics who claim that that play was written by Marlowe.

The truth is the two sets of writings overlap and intermingle because the two men were both masks of the same mighty intellect, Francis Bacon.<sup>614</sup> William-Henry Ireland, the great Shakespearean forger of the seventeenth century, tells us that in preparing his forgeries he at length gleaned the intelligence that a jug was the prevalent watermark of the reign of Elizabeth.

The most striking watermarks, however, appear in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* of 1596. Here are the pot and grapes of Bacon, the F.B. reversed: B, and A.B. All this is curiously suggestive, but, unfortunately, in our present state of knowledge regarding symbolical Emblems, it is unsafe to base theories upon them. (Baxter).<sup>615</sup> In a letter, Mr. Smedley says: "The earliest use of the design with a light A and dark A which I have found is in a work entitled *Hebraicum Alphabetum Jo Boulaese* published in Paris in 1576. The book ends with the sentence "Ex Collegio Montis-Acuti 20 Decembris 1576." So the date of the publication was probably between January and

611 Musgrave's Obituary, Harleian Collection, British Museum, Add. MSS. 5727-5749; Vol. V. Shakespeare, (Or Shakspeare), Wil., Poet. 23 April 1616

612 W.S. Melsome. *The Bacon-Shakespeare Anatomy*, 1945

613 *Resuscitatio*, p. 17, 1670

614 Ignatius Donnelly. *The Cipher In The Plays, And On The Tombstone*, 1900

615 Baxter. *The Greatest Literary Problems*, 1915

March, 1576, which according to our present method would be 1577. I have a copy of this work bound up with a book bearing the title: "Sive compendium, quintacunque Ratione fieri potuit amplessimum, Totius linguae," published in Paris, 1566. Both are interleaved and altered and amplified in Francis Bacon's hand writing for a second edition. The latter contains the equivalent of the Hebrew in Greek, Chaldaic, Syriac, and Arabic. So far I have been unable to find that a second edition of these works was published. But these manuscripts bear evidence of young Bacon's command of languages in 1576. I believe that just as Philip Melancthon was working for Thomas Anshelmus, the Printer, when at Tubingen University at seventeen or eighteen years of age, so Francis Bacon was employed in Paris as early as 1576. This head-piece not only appears in the Shakespeare and Bacon works, but those of Marlowe and Spenser, as well as the so-called King James version of the Bible. The King was inordinately proud of his knowledge of Latin, and the translators, when they had completed their work, submitted it to him for criticism, and it remained in his possession for some time."<sup>616</sup>

**Shakespeare's death** Latham Davis in his *Shake-Speare, England's Ulyssus* (1905) states that Shakespeare the dramatist died February 25, 1601; Shaksper the actor, April 23, 1616.

**Shakespeare's grave** Malone gives the original Shaksper tombstone as follows:<sup>617</sup>

Good Frend for Iesus SAKE forbear  
To digg T-E Dust EncloAsed HE.Re.  
T  
Blese be T-E Man Y spares T-Es Stones  
T  
And curst be He Y moves my bones.

Mr. Steevens, in his edition of nine volumes, published in 1811, by J. Nichols and Son, (the first edition of the same work was in 1773,) Vol. I, p. 19, gives the identical inscription as Malone; the only difference is in the word "Frend" which Steevens spells "Friend". Charles Knight in his *Biography of Shakspeare*, page 542, gives the entire inscription differently:

Good Frend for Iesus SAKE forbear  
To diGG T-E Dust Enclo-Ased HE.Re.  
T  
Blese be T-E Man Y spares T-Es Stones  
T  
And curst be He Y moves my bones.

<sup>616</sup> William T. Smedley. *The Mystery of Francis Bacon*, p. 139

<sup>617</sup> 1821 edition, Vol. II., p. 506

Irregularities: On the old tombstone, the two words, in the first line:

Jesus SAKE.

Why should the letter maker of the time carve the name of the Saviour in small letters and the unimportant word “sake” in large letters? Surely the emphasis is on “Jesus,” not on “sake.” The word “diGG” where two capital letters G conclude it. Observe the word “Enclo-Ased.” A large capital letter is thrust into the middle and the word is separated by a hyphen. The next word “HE.Re.” If the sculptor had made it all large capitals, like the word “SAKE,” we might have supposed he had a fancy for such irregularities, but he drops from three large letters to a small one then inserts a full stop in the middle of the word and at the end. The word “T-E” supposed to read an article “the” and a hyphen is thrust between the first and last letter substituting the letter H. Following the irregularity trail, the word “T-Es” has the missing H again, has the hyphen after the first letter T again and is missing an E letter then small caps to end it.

**Shakespeare's life** In Stopes's *The Seventeenth Century Accounts Of The Masters Of The Revels* (1922) the comment that “It is very remarkable how often records fail us, just when they are most needed, for the Life of Shakespeare” haunts us even to this day.

**Shakespeare's seal ring** Is said to have been found in 1810 in a field near Stratford Churchyard by a labourer's wife, who, before selling it, immersed it in a bath of aquafortis [acid] “to remove the stains of age.” It is of gold, and bears the initials, “W.S.” It was shown to Malone, who suggested that it might have belonged to Mr. William Smith, an ancient resident of Stratford, and he was told that a device of Smith had been seen which was a skull and crossbones.”<sup>618</sup>

**Shakespeare's signatures** Shaksper's six authentic signatures are subscribed to the following documents:

1. His deposition in a lawsuit brought by Stephen Bellott against his father-in-law Christopher Montjoy, a Huguenot tire-maker, of Silver-street, near Wood-street in the city of London, with whom Shaksper lodged about the year 1604; dated May 11, 1612. (Discovered by Dr. C. W. Wallace in the *Public Record Office*).
2. Conveyance of a house in Blackfriars, London, purchased by Shaksper March 10, 1613. (Now in the Guildhall Library).
3. Mortgage-deed of the same property; March 11, 1613. (Now in the British Museum).
4. 5. 6. Shaksper's Will & Testament, written on three sheets of paper, with his signature at the foot of each one; executed March 25, 1616. (Now in Somerset House).

The six signatures, one of them prefaced by the words “By me”, present a meagre total of fourteen words. The actual signatures are to be read thus:

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<sup>618</sup> Baxter. *The Greatest Literary Problems*, 1915

1. Willm Shakp
2. William Shaksper
3. W<sup>m</sup> Shakspe
4. William Shaksper
5. Willm Shaksper
6. By me William Shakspeare

Not one of the above signatures gives the spelling “Shakespeare” as on the First Folio or on the Sonnets. So, the actor of Stratford spelt his name as one of the above six; the author of Shakespearean literature spelt his name as “Shakespeare” which concludes there were two different characters that are wrongly taken as one person.

**Ship of Fools** By Sebastian Brandt, 1494. The *Ship of Fools* was translated into Latin by one Professor Locher (1497), and imitated in the same language and under the same title, by another, Badius Ascensius (1507); it appeared in Dutch and Low German, and was twice translated into English, and three times into French; imitations competed with the original in French and German, as well as Latin, and greatest and most unprecedented distinction of all, it was preached, but, we should opine, only certain parts of it, from the pulpit by the best preachers of the time as a new gospel. The Germans proudly award it the epithet, “epoch-making,” and its long continued popularity affords good, if not quite sufficient, ground for the extravagant eulogies they lavish upon it. Trithemius calls it “Divina Satira,” and doubts whether anything could have been written more suited to the spirit of the age; Locher compares Brandt with Dante, and Hutten styles him the new law-giver of German poetry. It is noted that Sir Edward Coke spoke of Francis Bacon’s *Great Instauration* as “it deserves not to be read in schools, but to be freighted in the *Ship of Fools*.”

*The Ship of Fools* was received with almost unexampled applause by high and low, learned and unlearned, in Germany, Switzerland, and France, and was made the common property of the greatest part of literary Europe, through Latin, French, English, and Dutch translations. For upwards of a century it was in Germany a book of the people in the noblest and widest sense of the word, alike appreciated by an Erasmus and a Reuchlin, and by the mechanics of Strassburg, Basel, and Augsburg; and it was assumed to be so familiar to all classes, that even during Brandt’s lifetime, the German preacher Gailer von Kaiserberg went so far as to deliver public lectures from the pulpit on his friend’s poem as if it had been a scriptural text. As to the poetical and humorous character of Brandt’s poem, its whole conception does not display any extraordinary power of imagination, nor does it present in its details any very striking sallies of wit and humour, even when compared with older German works of a similar kind, such as that of Renner. The fundamental idea of the poem consists in the shipping off of several shiploads of fools of all kinds for their native country, which, however, is visible at a distance only; and one would have expected the poet to have given poetical consistency to his work by fully carrying out this idea of a ship’s crew, and

sailing to the Land of Fools. It is, however, at intervals only that Brandt reminds us of the allegory; the fools who are carefully divided into classes and introduced to us in succession, instead of being ridiculed or derided, are reproved in a liberal spirit, with noble earnestness, true moral feeling, and practical common sense. It was the straightforward, the bold and liberal spirit of the poet which so powerfully addressed his contemporaries from *The Ship of the Fools*; and to us it is valuable as a product of the piety and morality of the century which paved the way for the Reformation. Brandt's fools are represented as contemptible and loathsome rather than foolish, and what he calls follies might be more correctly described as sins and vices.

*The Ship of Fools* is written in the dialect of Swabia, and consists of vigorous, resonant, and rhyming iambic quadrameters. It is divided into 113 sections, each of which, with the exception of a short introduction and two concluding pieces, treats independently of a certain class of fools or vicious persons; and we are only occasionally reminded of the fundamental idea by an allusion to the ship. No folly of the century is left uncensored. The poet attacks with noble zeal the failings and extravagances of his age, and applies his lash unsparingly even to the dreaded Hydra of popery and monasticism, to combat which the Hercules of Wittenberg had not yet kindled his firebrands. But the poet's object was not merely to reprove and to animadvert; he instructs also, and shows the fools the way to the land of wisdom; and so far is he from assuming the arrogant air of the commonplace moralist, that he reckons himself among the number of fools. The style of the poem is lively, bold, and simple, and often remarkably terse, especially in his moral sayings, and renders it apparent that the author was a classical scholar, without however losing anything of his German character.<sup>619</sup>

The precise amount of Brandt's workmanship in them has not been ascertained, but it is agreed that "most of them, if not actually drawn, were at least suggested by him." Zarncke remarks regarding their artistic worth, "not all of the cuts are of equal value. One can easily distinguish five different workers, and more practised eyes would probably be able to increase the number. In some one can see how the outlines, heads, hands, and other principal parts are cut with the fine stroke of the master, and the details and shading left to the scholars. The woodcuts of the most superior master, which can be recognized at once, and are about a third of the whole, belong to the finest, if they are not, indeed, the finest, which were executed in the fifteenth century, a worthy school of Holbein. According to the opinion of Herr Rudolph Weigel, they might possibly be the work of Martin Schon of Colmar. The composition in the better ones is genuinely Hogarth-like, and the longer one looks at these little pictures, the more is one astonished at the fullness of the humour, the fineness of the characterisation and the almost dramatic talent of the grouping." Green, in his recent work on Emblems, characterizes them as marking an epoch in that kind of literature.

Whether it were the racy cleverness of the pictures or the unprecedented boldness of the text, the book stirred Europe of the fifteenth century in a way and with a rapidity it had never been

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<sup>619</sup> Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopadie*

stirred before. In the German actual acquaintance with it could then be but limited, though it ran through seventeen editions within a century; the Latin version brought it to the knowledge of the educated class throughout Europe but expressing as it did mainly, the feelings of the common people, to have it in the learned language was not enough. Translations into various vernaculars were immediately called for, and the Latin edition having lightened the translator's labours, they were speedily supplied. England, however, was all but last in the field but when she did appear, it was in force, with a version in each hand, the one in prose and the other in verse.

Brandt's *Ship of Fools*, is not only important as a picture of the English life and popular feeling of his time, it is, both in style and vocabulary, a most valuable and remarkable monument of the English language. Written midway between Chaucer and Spenser, it is infinitely more easy to read than either. Page after page, even in the antique spelling of Pynson's edition, may be read by the ordinary reader of today without reference to a dictionary, and when reference is required it will be found in nine cases out of ten that the archaism is Saxon, not Latin. A clear precedent for the physical format of the Emblematum libellous is found in Sebastian Brandt's *Das Narrenschiff*, [*The Ship of Fools*.] And from Furnivall <sup>620</sup> we are told that "of the *Ship of Fools* there are two old versions, one in prose and another in verse. The prose version was translated by H. Watson, and printed by Wynkyn de Warde in 1517; and of this a copy is among Douce's books in the Bodleian." From Herbert, in *Ames* I. 158, we find that Watson says: "this book hath been made in Almayne language and out of Almayne it was translated into Latin by master Jacques Locher and out of Latin in to retboryke Frensshe. I have considered that the one deliteth him in Latin the other in Frensshe some in rhyme and the other in prose for the which cause I have done this in prose." The poetical version of the work is the chief work of Alexander Barclay, who was probably a Scotchman, was "educated at Oriel College, Oxford, accomplished his academical studies by travelling, and was appointed one of the priests or prebendaries of the college of saint Mary Ottery in Devonshire. Afterwards he became a Benedictine monk of Ely monastery; and at length took the habit of the Franciscans at Canterbury. He finished his *Ship of Fools*, translated in the College of Saint Mary Ottery, in the Count of Devonshire, out of Latin, French, and Dutch, into English tongue, by Alexander Barclay, Priest and Chaplin in the said College." <sup>621</sup>

Skelton himself in his *Book of three fools* has pointed out that this composition is a simple paraphrase of three chapters of the *Ship of Fools* of Alexander Barclay. The three fools in question are those who wed old women for wealth, the envious and the voluptuous. Skelton only puts in verse the first stanza of each of the three corresponding chapters in Barclay. The rest is turned into prose. The contents in both authors are essentially, if not literally, the same. That Skelton used Barclay's *Ship of Fools* and not the German *Das Narrenschiff* may be inferred from the circumstance that Skelton has copied a mistake or a misprint in Barclay by quoting the name of Theseus or Thesius (of Enuyous folys). Brant has the correct reading Thyestes, and does not mention his brother Atreus,

620 F.J. Furnivall. *Robert Laneham's Letter*, 1907

621 Warton. II. 419, ed. 1840

whose name, on the contrary, occurs in Barclay as well as in Skelton. The artistical value of the *Book of three fools* does not stand high, nor does it remind us of the pith and vigour of the author of *Colyn Cloute* or *Why come ye nat to Courte*. John Cawood printed a second edition of the book in 1570. "About the year 1494," says Warton,<sup>622</sup> "Sebastian Brandt, a learned civilian of Basil, and an eminent philologist, published a satire in German with this title *Navis Stultifera Mortalium*. The design was, to ridicule the reigning vices and follies of every rank and profession, under the allegory of a Ship freighted with Fools of all kinds, but without any variety of incident or artificiality of fable; yet although the poem is destitute of plot, and the voyage, of adventures, a composition of such a nature became extremely popular. It was translated into French; and, in the year 1488, into tolerable Latin verse by James Locher, a German, and a scholar of the inventor Brandt." From the original, and the two translations, Barclay formed a large English poem, in the ballad or octave stanza, with considerable additions gleaned from the follies of his countrymen. It was printed in 1509 by Pynson, whose name occurs in the poem.<sup>623</sup>

**Sir, the noble title** Of the noble title of *Sir* is the distinctive title given to the possessors of the degrees of Masonic Knighthood, and is borrowed from the heraldic usage. The word *knight* is sometimes interposed between the title and the personal name, as, for example, *Sir Knight John Smith*. English Knights are in the habit of using the word *frater*, or brother, a usage which to some extent is being adopted in the United States. English Knight Templars have been led to the abandonment of the title *Sir* because legal enactments made the use of titles not granted by the crown unlawful. But there is no such law in the States. The addition of *Sir* to the names of all Knights is accounted, says Ashmole, "parcel of their style." The use of it is as old, certainly, as the time of Edward I., and it is supposed to be a contraction of the old French *Sire*, meaning *Seigneur*, or *Lord*.

**Sizes of books** The origin of the various book sizes must always remain more or less shrouded in obscurity. But it may be added that the first quarto is supposed to date from 1465; the octavo format appeared in 1470; the 12mo in 1472, and Jensen published the first 32mo in Venice in 1473. It is claimed that Aldus was the first to use the octavo format for his *Virgil* in 1500.

**Solicitor General** Bacon was appointed Solicitor General, July 25, 1607.

**Spedding's Opinion** From a letter to Professor Nathaniel Holmes, February 15, 1867:<sup>624</sup>

I have read your book on the authorship of Shakespeare faithfully to the end, and if my report of the result is to be equally faithful, I must declare myself not only unconvinced, but undisturbed. To ask me to believe that the man who was accepted by all the people of his own time, to many of

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<sup>622</sup> Vol. I. p. 420

<sup>623</sup> The Granville copy in the British Museum is in beautiful condition, though cut down grievously by one of that cursed race of binders

<sup>624</sup> Spedding. *Reviews and Discussions, Literary, Political and Historical, not relating to Bacon*, 1879, Ch. 14: On The Authorship Of The Plays Attributed To Shakespeare



whom he was personally known, as the undoubted author of the best plays then going, was not the author of them is like asking me to believe that Charles Dickens was not the author of *Pickwick*.

To ask me to believe that a man who was famous for a variety of other accomplishments, whose life was divided between public business, the practice of a laborious profession, and private study of the art of investigating the material laws of nature, a man of large acquaintance, of note from early manhood, and one of the busiest men of his time but who was never suspected of wasting time in writing poetry, and is not known to have written a single blank verse in all his life, that this man was the author of fourteen comedies, ten historical plays, and eleven tragedies, exhibiting the greatest and the greatest variety of excellence that has been attained in that kind of composition, is like asking me to believe that Lord Brougham was the author not only of Dickens' novels, but of Thackeray's also, and of Tennyson's poems besides.

That the author of *Pickwick* was a man called Charles Dickens I know upon no better authority than that upon which I know that the author of *Hamlet* was a man called William Shakespeare. And in what respect is the one more difficult to believe than the other? A boy born and bred like Charles Dickens was as unlikely a priori to become famous over Europe and America for a never-ending series of original stories, as a boy born and bred like William Shakespeare to become the author of the most wonderful series of dramas in the world.

It is true that Shakespeare's gifts were higher and rarer; but the wonder is that any man should have possessed them, not that the man to whose lot they fell was the son of a poor man called John Shakespeare, and that he was christened William. That he was not a man otherwise known to the world is not strange at all. Nature's great lottery being open to everybody, the chances that the supreme prize will be drawn by an unknown man are as the numbers of the unknown to the known millions to hundreds.

It is not the famous man that becomes a great inventor; the great inventor becomes a famous man. Faraday was a bookbinder's apprentice, who in binding a copy of Mrs. Marcet's *Conversations on Chemistry*, was attracted to the study, got employed as an assistant to Sir Humphrey Davy an assistant in so humble a capacity that wishing to make the acquaintance of some of the scientific men on the continent, he actually went with him to Geneva as his servant and by his own genius, virtue, and industry, made himself the most famous man (probably) now living in England.

Burns was a ploughman. Keats was a surgeon's apprentice. George Stephenson a lad employed in a colliery. Newton did not become Newton because he was sent to Cambridge; he was sent to Cambridge because he was Newton because he had been endowed by nature with the singular gifts which made him Newton. But for the genius which nature gave them without any consideration of position or advantages, what would have been known of any one of these?

If Shakespeare was not trained as a scholar or a man of science, neither do the works attributed to him show traces of trained scholarship or scientific education. Given the faculties (which nature bestows as freely on the poor as on the rich), you will find that all the acquired knowledge, art, and dexterity which the Shakespearian plays imply, were easily attainable by a man who was labouring in his vocation and had nothing else to do. Or if you find this difficult to believe of such a man as you assume Shakespeare to have been, try Bacon. Suppose Francis Bacon, instead of being trained as a scholar, a statesman, and a lawyer, and seeking his fortune from the patronage of the great, had been turned loose into the world without means or friends, and joined a company of players as the readiest resource for a livelihood. Do you doubt that he would soon have tried his hand at writing a play? That he would have found out how to write better plays than were then the fashion? that he would have cultivated an art which he found profitable and prosperous, and sought about for such knowledge as would help him in it, reading his Plutarch, and his Seneca, and his Hollinshed, and all the novels and play-books that came in his way; studying life and conversation by all the opportunities which his position permitted; and generally seeking to enrich his thought with observation? Do not you think that Francis Bacon would have been capable of learning in that way everything which there is any reason to think the writer of the Shakespearian plays knew? And if Francis Bacon could, why could not William Shakespeare?

If therefore your theory involved no difficulties of its own if you merely proposed the substitution of one man for another I should still have asked why I should doubt the tradition; where was the difficulty which made the old story hard to believe. I see none. That which is extraordinary in the case, and against which therefore there lies *prima facie* some presumption, is that any man should possess such a combination of faculties as must have met in the author of these plays. But that is a difficulty which cannot be avoided.

There must have been somebody in whom the requisite combination of faculties did meet: for there the plays are: and by supposing that this somebody was a man who at the same time possessed a combination of other faculties, themselves sufficient to make him an extraordinary man too, you do not diminish the wonder but increase it.

Aristotle was an extraordinary man. Plato was an extraordinary man. That two men each severally so extraordinary should have been living at the same time in the same country, was a very extraordinary thing. But would it diminish the wonder to suppose the two to be one? So I say of Bacon and Shakespeare. That a human being possessed of the faculties necessary to make a Shakespeare should exist, is extraordinary. That a human being possessed of the faculties necessary to make a Bacon should exist, is extraordinary. That two such human beings should have been living in London at the same time was more extraordinary still. But that one man should have existed possessing the faculties and opportunities necessary to make both, would have been the most extraordinary thing of all.

You will not deny that tradition goes for something; that in the absence of any reason for doubting it, the concurrent and undisputed testimony to a fact of all who had the best means of knowing it, is a reason for believing it: or at least for thinking it more probable than any other given fact, not compatible with it, which is not so supported.

On this ground alone, without inquiring further, I believe that the author of the plays published in 1623 was a man called William Shakespeare. It was believed by those who had the best means of knowing; and I know no reason for doubting it. The reasons for doubting which you suggest seem all to rest upon a latent assumption that William Shakespeare could not have possessed any remarkable faculties: a fact which would no doubt settle the question if it were established. But what should make me think so? It was not the opinion of anybody who was acquainted with him, so far as we know; and why was a man of that name less likely than another to possess remarkable faculties? With one to whom the simple story as it comes presents no difficulty, you will not expect that the other considerations which you urge should have much weight.

Resemblances both in thought and language are inevitable between writers nourished upon a common literature, addressing popular audiences in a common language, and surrounded by a common atmosphere of knowledge and opinion. But to me, I confess, the resemblances between Shakespeare and Bacon are not so striking as the differences. Strange as it seems that two such minds, both so vocal, should have existed within each other's hearing without mutually affecting each other, I find so few traces of any influence exercised by Shakespeare upon Bacon, that I have doubt whether Bacon knew any more about him than Glad (probably) knows about Tom Taylor (in his dramatic capacity).

Shakespeare may have derived a good deal from Bacon. He had no doubt read the *Advancement of Learning* and the Latin edition of the Essays, and most likely had frequently heard him speak in the Courts and the Star Chamber. But among all the parallelisms which you have collected with such industry to illustrate the identity of the writer, I have not observed one in which I should not have inferred from the difference of style a difference of hand.

Great writers, especially being contemporary, have many features in common; but if they are really great writers they write naturally, and nature is always individual. I doubt whether there are five lines together to be found in Bacon which could be mistaken for Shakespeare, or five lines in Shakespeare which could be mistaken for Bacon, by one who was familiar with their several styles and practised in such observations.

I was myself well read in Shakespeare before I began with Bacon; and I have been forced to cultivate what skill I have in distinguishing Bacon's style to a high degree; because in sifting the genuine from the spurious I had commonly nothing but the style to guide me. And to me, if it were proved that any one of the plays attributed to Shakespeare was really written by Bacon, not

the least extraordinary thing about it would be the power which it would show in him of laying aside his individual peculiarities and assuming those of a different man.

If you ask me what I say to Bacon's own confession in the case of Richard II., I say that your inference is founded entirely upon a misconstruction of a relative pronoun. "About the same time I remember an answer of mine in a matter which had some affinity with my Lord's cause, which though it grew from me went after about in others' names." I say that "which" means not the matter but the answer.<sup>625</sup>

You make it appear to refer to the "matter" only by inserting "and" which is not in the original: and if so there is an end of your whole superstructure. When the Queen asked him whether there was not treason in Dr. Hayward's history of the first year of Henry IV., he parried the question by an evasive answer; which was quoted afterwards and ascribed in conversation to other people, but was really his own. Even if it were possible to believe that the "matter" in question was the play of Richard II., the only inference that could be drawn as to the authorship is that the ostensible author was a doctor. But for my part I can see nothing in it but a reference to Dr. Hayward's historical tract.

These are my reasons for rejecting your theory. If you had fixed upon anybody else rather than Bacon as the true author anybody of whom I knew nothing I should have been scarcely less incredulous; because I deny that a *prima facie* case is made out for questioning Shakespeare's title. But if there were any reason for supposing that somebody else was the real author, I think I am in a condition to say that, whoever it was, it was not Bacon.

The difficulties which such a supposition would involve would be almost innumerable and altogether insurmountable. But if what I have said does not excuse me from saying more, what I might say more would be equally ineffectual. I ought perhaps to apologize for speaking with such confidence on the question of style in a matter where my judgment is opposed to yours.

But you must remember that style is like hand-writing not easy to recognize at first, but unmistakable when you are familiar enough with it. When some twenty-five years ago I began the work of collating the manuscripts with the printed copies, and plunged into a volume of miscellaneous letters written in the beginning of the seventeenth century, I could scarcely distinguish one hand from another, and it was some time before I discovered which was Bacon's own. But after a little of the close and continuous attention which collating and copying involves, I began to feel as if I could know it through all its varieties, from the stateliest Italian to the most sprawling black-

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<sup>625</sup> Professor Holmes had assumed the story of the first year of King Henry IV., which was the matter in question to be the Shakespearian play and argued that, in saying that namely the play grew from him, Bacon confessed himself the real author. Mr. Holmes allows that he had misconstrued "which," and that this point of the confession must be given up, but remains otherwise satisfied that Bacon was the author and that the Queen knew it

letter, and almost swear to a semi-colon. And I am convinced that I could produce many cases in which the most expert palaeographers and facsimilists would at the view pronounce two hands different, yet find on examination that they were the same.

Now it is the same with a man's manner of expressing himself. The unconscious gestures of the style, scarcely discernible at first, are scarcely mistakable after. The time may have been I do not know when I could have believed the style of *Hamlet* and of the *Advancement of Learning* to be the style of the same man: and the time may yet come when you will yourself wonder that you did not perceive the difference.

**Star Chamber** Bacon was not the only eminent jurist who approved of it; Sir Edward Coke, in the fourth book of his *Institutes*, speaks of it in a favourable term as ever Bacon did: "It is the most honourable Court; our Parliament except, that is in the Christian world, both in respect of the Judges of the Court, and of their honourable proceeding according to their just jurisdiction, and the ancient and just orders of the Court." (Bacon).<sup>626</sup>

Named for a Chamber in Westminster Palace, this Court dealt with, among other things, violations of the Royal Prerogative and issues for which there was no applicable law. It dates from before the Tudor period, but Henry VII., strengthened its powers. It had public hearings but no jury. It was typically speedier than the Common Courts, so people would petition to hear their cases heard there. Forces, frauds, crimes various of stellionate, and the inchoations or middle acts towards crimes capital or heinous, not actually committed or perpetrated. (Bacon).<sup>627</sup>

**St. Albans** The famous City of Verulam, of which St. Alban's is the modern representative, and the memorials of whose ancient greatness exist to this day, was situate on the side of what are now called the Verulam Hills, at the foot of which runs the little river Ver. The history of Verulam, or Verulamium, the village on the Ver, is for the most part obscured by the mist of antiquity. That it was once a place of very considerable importance is not only recorded in history, but is verified by the vestiges of its departed glory. Even if history were altogether silent on the subject, we should have in the ruins extant sufficient evidence of its having been "no mean city." But when we call history to our aid we find that Verulam was a great city at the time of the Roman invasion of Britain by Julius Caesar, and in all probability the place where one of the chief of the British Princes, Cassivellaunus, resided and held his Court. It is believed, on weighty grounds, to be the city which Caesar described in his *Commentaries* as being defended by woods and marshes. Part of the woods still remains, and the pool of water called "Fishpool," which covered the meadows bounding its walls on the north-east side, gave its name to one of the streets of St. Alban's, which to this day is known by that designation. Caesar attacked the city, and neither the strength of its natural fortifications nor the valour of its defenders could save it from falling into his hands. The

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626 *De Augmentis*, Bk. VIII

627 *History of Henry VII*

inhabitants of Verulam afterwards became reconciled to their conquerors, and as a reward for their friendly conduct, and for the military services they rendered to the Roman arms, Verulam was endowed with the honours and privileges of a Municipium, or Free City. It held this high rank (which very few cities possessed) as York and Verulam were the only municipia in Great Britain; that is, the only cities whose inhabitants possessed the rights of Roman citizens. The names of the other chief Roman colonies existing at this early period were Richborough, London, Colchester, Bath, Caerleon, Gloucester, Lincoln, and Chester, as early as the time of the Emperor Nero. But the devotion of its inhabitants to the Roman power afterwards drew down on them the vengeance of the indignant British Queen, Boadicea, who (A.D. 61), after the destruction of Camelodunum and Londinum, attacked the Roman colony of Verulam, and massacred its inhabitants. Tacitus records that seventy thousand persons fell at Verulam, London, and other less important places, by the hands of the Britons, under the command of the Soldier-Queen of the Iceni. The wealth of the city, as well as its large population, formed an inducement to the Britons to attack it; and Tacitus insinuates that they passed other places without assault for the sake of the plunder to be acquired here. The Britons were in their turn defeated by the Roman general, Suetonius Paulinus, who slaughtered the inhabitants of Verulam. The city was afterwards rebuilt, and the Britons remained in quiet submission to the authority of the Roman Government. Verulam regained its former greatness. But little more, however, is really known of its history.

The vestiges of the departed greatness of the city are sufficient to give us some idea of its proportions and extent. Camden says, "The situation of this place is well known to have been close by the town of St. Albans; nor hath it yet lost its ancient name, for it is still commonly called Verulam; although nothing of that remains beside ruins of walls, chequered pavements, and Roman coins, which they now and then dig up." The late Dr. Black, F.S.A., a very learned but somewhat eccentric antiquary, was of opinion that the whole of Verulam, or Verulam proper, was not confined to the south side of the river. He expended a considerable amount of ingenuity in support of the theory that what is regarded as the site of the ancient city is really the site of a large fortified camp or military town, and that it was not the Verulam of Tacitus, of Antoninus, and of Ptolemy. The municipal city, he contended, was mainly on the other side of the water; in fact, that the present town of St. Alban's is identical with the ancient Mnnicipnim mentioned by Tacitus, as having been destroyed by Boadicea. It is certain, however, that the town on the south side of the river was entirely surrounded by a fortified wall. Dr. Black's theory has been received with little if any favour by other antiquaries. Fragments of the Roman wall which once surrounded the city still serve to mark the great extent of its area; and it has been said that the sites of various streets may even now be traced out by the growth and colour of the vegetation upon the surface. The course of the principal street ran from south-east to north-west. The masses of Roman wall which remain show clearly the strength and excellence of Roman Masonry. The wall surrounding the city was about twelve feet in thickness; it was composed of layers of flints embedded in a strong cement of lime, small gravel, and coarse sand, and interspersed with rows of large Roman tiles, measuring

about sixteen inches by thirteen; they are bound together so adhesively that it is very difficult to take one away from the wall without breaking it. One of the entrances to the city appears to have been near the massive fragment of the wall called "Gorham's block." The banks and ditches on the south and west sides are in the best state of preservation. Extensive discoveries of Roman remains have been made from time to time, and many of these remains have been deposited in principal museums. The great antiquary, Camden, whom we have before quoted, writes: "Were I to relate what common report affirms of the many Roman coins, statues of gold and silver, vessels, marble pillars, cornices, and wonderful monuments of ancient art dug up here, I should scarcely be believed." In an ancient history of St. Albans, quoted by Camden, it is recorded that the citizens of Verulam, as a "disgrace to St. Alban's memory, and as a terror to other Christians, had the story of his murder inscribed upon marble, and inserted in the city walls." But the Christian faith survived the flames of Pagan persecution, and in these early days of Christianity, as in later times, it was true that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church."

Both Bede and Gildas state that a few years after the persecution had subsided a church was founded in honour of St. Alban on the spot on which he suffered martyrdom, where the present Abbey of St. Albans now stands a grand old memorial of the triumph of Christianity over its foes. The Romano-British Church, which was erected in the time of Constantine, was standing in Bede's time and in that of Oifa, the founder of the Abbey. Tradition records that soon after the martyrdom of St. Alban a large number of the citizens of Verulam went into Wales, in search of Amphibalus, in order to be instructed in Christianity. An army was sent after them, which slew them all, and brought back Amphibalus, whom they put to death at the village of Redbourn, within sight of the city of Verulam. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the town of St. Albans underwent a number of improvements. One of the chief of these was the formation of a new road through the south-east part of the town, called the New London Road, in place of the old road, which begins in Sopwell Lane, Holywell Hill. By the Reform Act of 1832 the boundaries of the borough were rectified and extended, and by the Municipal Corporations Reform Act the Parliamentary and municipal boundaries were made co-extensive. The trade and importance of St. Albans suffered severely by the revolution in travelling which followed the growth of the railway system. Until the year 1858 St. Albans had no railway communication nearer than Hatfield, on the Great Northern Railway, and Watford and Boxmoor, on the London and North Western Railway. In the year 1858 a branch line of railway from St. Albans to Watford, and in the year 1865 a branch line from St. Albans to Hatfield, were opened. The Midland main line passed through St. Albans, the extension from Bedford to London having been completed in 1868, so that the town now possesses exceptional advantages as a centre of railway communication.

Apart from the antiquity of St. Michael's Church, the illustrious name with which it must ever be associated makes it an object of the greatest interest. "For my burial, I desire it may be in St. Michael's Church, St. Albans; there was my mother buried, and it is the parish church of my mansion house of Gorhambury, and it is the only Christian Church within the walls of ancient

Verulam.” Such were the reasons why “Large-browed Verulam, The first of those who know,” desired that St. Michael’s Church should be his last resting place; and there, in obedience to his wishes, were laid the remains of “The great deliverer, he who from the gloom of cloistered monks and jargon-teaching schools, led forth the true Philosophy, there long held in the magic chain of words and forms.” However, today Verulams disagree, stating that neither Bacon nor his mother was buried at St. Michael’s.

**St. Ethelburga Church** St. Ethelburga was the wife of Sebert the first Christian King, traditional founder of Westminster Abbey, and the church now standing is one that escaped the Great Fire (1666). Some of its early English Masonry is still retained. According to tradition the church was much frequented by sailors setting out or returning from their voyages. Hudson and many of his crew came here to receive the Holy Sacrament before they left their native shores in 1610. The western arch of the church is said to have formed part of the gateway of St. Helen’s Priory. In St. Helen’s Church adjoining may be seen the tomb of Julius Caesar, Master of the Rolls to James I. (Owen). <sup>628</sup>

**St John’s College bell** “There is in St. John’s College a little bell, bestowed formerly upon it, as I have been informed, by Robert D’Evereux, Earl of Essex, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth; which bell hangs in the inner turret, standing on the left-hand of that College gate as you enter in; which bell is usually rung, besides other times, at six of the clock each morning, winter and summer.” <sup>629</sup>

**St Paul’s Churchyard** The shape of St. Paul’s Churchyard has been compared to that of a bow and a string. The south side is the bow, the north the string. The booksellers overflowing from Fleet Street mustered strong here, till the Fire scared them off to Little Britain, from whence they regurgitated to the Row. At the sign of the White Greyhound the first editions of Shakespeare’s *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*, the first-fruits of a great harvest, were published by John Harrison, at the Flower de Luce and the Crown appeared the *Merry Wives of Windsor*; at the Green Dragon, in the same locality, the *Merchant of Venice*; at the Fox, *Richard II.*; at the Angel, *Richard III.*; at the Gun, *Titus Andronicus*; and at the Red Bull, that masterpiece *King Lear*. The ground-plot of the Cathedral is 2 acres 16 perches 70 feet. The western area of the churchyard marks the site of St. Gregory’s Church. On the mean statue of Queen Anne a scurrilous epigram was once written by some ribald Jacobite, who spoke of the Queen “With her face to the brandy-shop and her back to the church.” The precinct wall of St. Paul’s first ran from Ave Maria Lane eastward along Paternoster Row to the old Exchange, Cheapside, and then southwards to Carter Lane, at the end of which it turned to Ludgate Archway. In the reign of Edward II., the Dean and Chapter, finding the precinct a resort of thieves and courtesans, rebuilt and purified it.

<sup>628</sup> Will Owen. *Old London*, 1921

<sup>629</sup> James Orchard Halliwell’s *The autobiography of Sir Simonds D’Ewes*, Vol. I., 1845



Within, at the north-west corner, stood the Bishop's palace, beyond which, eastward, was Pardon Churchyard and Becket Chapel, rebuilt with a stately cloister in the reign of Henry V.

On the walls of this cloister, pulled down by the greedy Protector Somerset (Edward VI.), was painted one of those grim Dances of Death which Holbein at last carried to perfection. The cloister was full of monuments, and above was a library. In an enclosure east of this stood the College of Minor Canons; and at Canon Alley, east, was a burial chapel called the Charnel, from whence Somerset sent cart-loads of bones to Finsbury Fields. East of Canon Alley stood Paul's Cross, where open-air sermons were preached to the citizens, and often to the reigning monarch. East of it rose St. Paul's School and a belfrey tower, in which hung the famous Jesus bells, won at dice by Sir Giles Partridge from that Ahab of England, Henry VIII. On the south side stood the Dean and Chapters garden, dormitory, refectory, kitchen, slaughterhouse, and brewery. These eventually yielded to a cloister, near which, abutting on the cathedral wall, stood the chapterhouse and the Church of St. Gregory. Westward were the houses of the residentiaries; and the deanery, according to Milman, an excellent authority, stood on its present site. The precinct had six gates, the first and chief in Ludgate Street; the second in Paul's Alley, leading to Paternoster Row; the third in Canon Alley, leading to the north door; the fourth, a little gate leading to Cheapside; the fifth, the Augustine gate, leading to Watling Street; the sixth, on the south side, by Paul's Chain. On the south tower of the west front was the Lollard's Tower, a Bishop's prison for ecclesiastical offenders. The 2,500 railings of the churchyard and the seven ornamental gates, weighing altogether two hundred tons, were cast in Kent, and cost 6d. a pound. The whole cost £11,202 os. 6d. In 1606 St. Paul's Churchyard was the scene of the execution of Father Garnet, one of the Gunpowder Plot conspirators, the only execution, as far as we know, that ever desecrated that spot. It is very doubtful, after all, whether Garnet was cognizant that the plot was really to be carried out, though he may have strongly suspected some dangerous and deadly conspiracy, and the Roman Catholics were prepared to see miracles wrought at his death. On May 3, 1606 (to condense Dr. Abbott's account) Garnet was drawn upon a hurdle, according to the usual practice, to his place of execution. The Recorder of London, the Dean of St. Paul's, and the Dean of Winchester were present, by command of the King, the former in the King's name, and the two latter in the name of God and Christ, to assist Garnet with such advice as suited the condition of a dying man.

**Student's Prayer** To God the Father, God the Word, God the Spirit, we pour forth most humble and hearty supplications; that He, remembering the calamities of mankind, and the pilgrimage of this our life, in which we wear out days few and evil; would please to open to us new refreshments out of the fountains of his goodness, for the alleviating of our miseries. This also, we humbly and earnestly beg, that human things, may not prejudice such as are divine; neither that from the unlocking of the Gates of Sense, and the kindling of a greater natural light, anything of incredulity, or intellectual night, may arise in our minds towards divine mysteries. But rather that by our mind, thoroughly cleansed and purged from fancy and vanities; and yet

subject and perfectly given up to the Divine Oracles, there may be given unto Faith, the things that are Faith's. Amen. (Bacon, *Theological Remains*, 1679).

**Suspensions of poison** Prince Henry's Death, James I's eldest son, cited by D'Ewes "The first public grief that ever I was sensible of, was this year [1612] at Wambroke, after the death of England's joy, that inestimable Prince Henry, on the 6th day of November, the same year. The lamentation made for him was so general as even women and children partook of it. Frederick, the fifth Prince Elector and Count Palatine of the Rhine, was then newly come over into England to marry the Princess Elizabeth, his sister, to which match he was a great well-wilier, and therefore omitted no occasion by which he might express his affection to the said Elector, or by which he might add the greater honour and solemnity to his entertainment. It is not improbable but that he might overheat and distemper himself in some of those sports and recreations he used in his company; but the strength of his constitution and the vigour of his youth might have overcome that, had he not tasted of some grapes as he played at tennis, supposed to have been poisoned." <sup>630</sup>

## T

### Table of Roman Numerals

I..... 1	II..... 2	III..... 3
IV..... 4	V..... 5	VI..... 6
VII..... 7	VIII..... 8	IX..... 9
X..... 10	XI..... 11	XII..... 12
XIII..... 13	XIV..... 14	XV..... 15
XVI..... 16	XVII..... 17	XVIII..... 18
XIX..... 19	XX..... 20	XXX..... 30
XL..... 40	L..... 50	LV..... 55
LX..... 60	LXX..... 70	LXXX..... 80
LXXXVIII..... 88	XC..... 90	IC..... 99
C..... 100	CX..... 110	CXI..... 111
CXC..... 190	CC..... 200	CCXX..... 220
CCC..... 300	CCCXX..... 320	CD..... 400
D..... 500	DC..... 600	DCC..... 700
DCCC..... 800	CM..... 900	XM..... 990
M..... 1000	MD..... 1500	MDCCC..... 1800
MCMLXI..... 1961	MM..... 2000	

<sup>630</sup> James Orchard Halliwell's *The autobiography of Sir Simonds D'Ewes*, Vol. I., 1845

**Tactics and dexterity** While Bacon's sense of the presence of physical law in the universe was for his time extraordinarily developed, he seems practically to have acted upon the theory that the moral laws of the world are not inexorable, but rather by tactics and dexterity may be cleverly evaded, as shown by his letter to Robert Cecil on January 1, 1608: "I do esteem whatsoever I have or may have in this world but as trash, in comparison of having the honour and happiness to be a near and well accepted kinsman to so rare and worthy a counsellor, governor, and patriot." His comment to King James I., on May 31, 1612 takes it further: "My Lord of Salisbury [Robert Cecil] had a good method, if his ends had been upright." And Dowden in his *Shakspeare, His Mind and Art*, (p. 16) takes it a step higher when saying, "this supremacy was acknowledged by Shakespeare; he reaches to the ultimate truths of human life and character through a supreme and indivisible energy of love, imagination and thought." And of *The Phoenix and Turtle Dove*: "The genuineness of the contribution with Shakespeare's name subscribed is now generally admitted, though no successful attempt has yet been made to explain the allegory. In all probability the occasion and subject of the whole collection, which has so long baffled patient research, will some day be discovered, and Shakespeare's meaning will be clear. There is not much to be said in favour of the view that the Phoenix shadows forth Queen Elizabeth I., and the Turtle-Dove typifies Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex." (Gollancz).<sup>631</sup>

**The dead bleed** King James I., in his *Daemonology*, says, "In a secret murder, if the dead carcass be at any time thereafter handled by the murderer, it will gush out of blood, as if the blood were crying to Heaven for revenge of the murderer;" and the author of a rare work called the *Living Librarie*, published in 1621, seriously asks, "Who can allege any certain and firm reason why the blood runs out of the wounds of a man murdered, long after the murder committed, if the murderer be brought before the dead body?" Shakespeare alludes to this opinion in *Richard III.*, Act I. sc. 2; and in an old play called *Arden of Feversham*, published in 1592, one of the characters thus confesses his guilt, "The more I sound his name, the more he bleeds; this blood condemns me, and, in gushing forth, speaks as it falls, and asks me why I did it."

### **Tools of Torture**

- Knotted Rope, adapted by Thomas Cromwell, and tightened around the head allowing for pressure across the forehead.
- Barnacles that had brakes, with which the lips of ill-disposed horses are stretched, when those horses are being shod, the wooden parts being placed and drawn tight upon the lips of those to be tortured.
- Burning fat would be used where the prisoner's boots were filled with fat and then placed on a fire.

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<sup>631</sup> Israel Gollancz. *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, p. 30

- Scavenger's Daughter violently drew and squeezed the victim. It was invented by Leonard Skeffington during Henry VIII., reign.
- Crucet-hus had the prisoner put in a short, narrow and shallow chest with stones that were pressed; whoever was in the chest had their joints broken.
- Manacles caused intense pain and usually resulted in the loss of the use of the hands for some time afterwards. Its use was first recorded in 1591 at the Tower and was also used at Bridewell and other city prisons.
- Bilboes consisted of iron loops sliding on a bar and secured by a padlock at the end. The lock itself is set on a flat plate, which can be fixed to the floor or walls, preventing the prisoner from moving.

**Topcliffe town** A parish-town on the river Swale, twenty-four miles from York, was formerly called the "Jordan of England" because Augustin and Paul are said, in the year 620, to have baptized in this river between Topcliffe and Helperby, 10.000 men in one day, besides women and children. Leland calls "Topcliffe an uplandish town, whose praty manor-place stands on a hill about half a mile from the Town on the ripe of Swale." This was in olden time the chief residence of the Percies, Earls of Northumberland; its ruins are yet visible, and are called "Maiden-bower." (Nichol). Thomas Percy, the succeeding Earl, in 1569 took up arms against Queen Elizabeth, and was nearly taken in this house; he was afterwards executed in 1572. In 1646 the Scotch army was quartered here and in the neighbourhood. Charles I., was a prisoner in this house, and a treaty was carried on for the sale of the King between the Scots Commissioners and a Committee appointed by Parliament, while he was kept prisoner. It was agreed that the Parliament should give £100.000 which should be paid at Topcliffe, and the King delivered up, which was performed. (Langdale).<sup>632</sup>

### **Topcliffizare**

To him I'll build an altar and a church,  
And offer lukewarm blood of newborn babes.<sup>633</sup>

Richard Topcliffe (1532–1604) a landowner and Member of Parliament during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I., was a representative of the ancient family of Topcliffe, of Somerby in Lincolnshire. A visitation of that County, made in 1592, informs us that he was the eldest son of Robert Topcliffe of Somerby, by Margaret, one of the daughters of Thomas Lord Borough,<sup>634</sup> that he married Jane, daughter of Sir Edward Willoughby, of Wollaton in Nottinghamshire; and had issue Charles, his son and heir; three sons, successively named John, who probably died infants, and a daughter, Susannah. He was probably the Richard Topcliffe who was admitted

<sup>632</sup> *Topographical Dictionary of Yorkshire*, p. 120

<sup>633</sup> Marlowe Kit. *Doctor Faustus*, 1588–89, ii.i

<sup>634</sup> Harl MS. 6998, art. 19

student of Gray's Inn in 1548.<sup>635</sup> It has been assumed that he was the Richard Topcliffe who, after being matriculated as a pensioner of Magdalene College, Cambridge, in November 1565, proceeded B.A. in 1568–69, and commenced M.A. in 1575.<sup>636</sup> He was a cousin to Sir Edmund Brudenell's wife. In 1572, he was described as "the Queen's servant." He represented Beverley in the Parliament, which met on May 8, 1572 and was returned for Old Sarum to the Parliament of October 20, 1586. After the collapse of the northern rebellion he was a suitor for the lands of Richard Norton (1488?–1588) [*q.v.*] of Norton Conyers, Yorkshire.

In 1584 a dispute began between Topcliffe and the Lord Chief Justice, Sir Christopher Wray [*q.v.*], about his claim to the lay impropriation of the prebend of Corringham and Stow in Lincoln Cathedral. Subsequently Topcliffe was regularly employed by Burghley, but in what capacity does not appear and worked mostly for Sir Francis Walsingham and the Privy Council in general; he regarded his authority as deriving directly from Queen Elizabeth I. Sir Francis Walsingham was, perhaps, one of the very worst of the bad men connected with the Council of Elizabeth and Topcliffe. For art in corrupting others, and skill in elevating treachery to the dignity of a science; for ability in planning and carrying out forgery, as well as in arranging for the assassination of inconvenient allies or open enemies, Francis Walsingham was vastly superior to his friend William Cecil.

In 1586 Topcliffe was described as one of her Majesty's servants, and in the same year was commissioned to try an admiralty case. He held some office about the Court, and for twenty-five years or more he was most actively engaged in hunting out popish recusants, Jesuits, and seminary priests. This employment procured for him so much notoriety that "a Topcliffian custom" became an euphuism for putting to the rack, and, in the quaint language of the Court, "topcliffizare" signified to hunt a recusant. The writer of an account of the apprehension of the Jesuit Robert Southwell [*q.v.*], preserved among the Bishop of Southwark's manuscripts, asserts that "because the often exercise of the rack in the Tower was so odious, and so much spoken of by the people, Topcliffe had authority to torment priests in his own house in such sort as he shall think good." In fact, he himself boasted that he had a machine at home, of his own invention, compared with which the common racks in use were mere child's play.<sup>637</sup> One may imagine what tortures were committed that were never written down on record. The account of his cruel treatment of Southwell would be incredible if it were not confirmed by admissions in his own handwriting.<sup>638</sup> Great indignation was excited, even among the protestants, and so loud and severe were the complaints to the Privy Council that Cecil, in order to mitigate the popular feeling, caused Topcliffe to be arrested and imprisoned upon pretence of having exceeded the powers given to him by the warrant; but the imprisonment was of short duration. At a later period Nicholas Owen [*q.v.*] and Henry Garnett [*q.v.*] were put to the test of the Topcliffe rack.

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635 Reg. col. 20

636 Cooper. *Athenæ Cantabr.* Vol. II. p. 386

637 (a) Rambler. February 1857, pp. 108–118 (b) Dodd. *Church Hist.* ed. Tierney, Vol. III. Append, p. 197

638 (a) Lansdowne MS. 73, art. 47 (b) Tanner. *Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis et vitæ profusionem militans*, p. 35

**Poem****By****Robert Southwell** <sup>639</sup>

Even as Elias, mounting to the sky,  
 Did cast his mantle to the earth behind,  
 So, when the heart presents the prayer on high,  
 Exclude the world from traffic with the mind:  
 Lips near to God, and ranging heart within,  
 Is but vain babbling, and converts to sin.

Topcliffe's name appears in the special commission against Jesuits which was issued on March 26, 1593. In November 1594, he sued one of his accomplices, Thomas Fitzherbert, who had promised, under bond, to give £5,000 to Topcliffe if he would persecute Fitzherbert's father and uncle to death, together with Mr. Bassett. Fitzherbert pleaded that the conditions had not been fulfilled, as his relatives died naturally, and Bassett was in prosperity. This being rather too disgraceful a business to be discussed in open Court, "the matter was put over for secret hearing," when Topcliffe used some expressions which reflected upon the Lord Keeper and some members of the Privy Council. Thereupon he was committed to the Marshalsea for contempt of Court, and detained there for some months. During his incarceration he addressed two letters to the Queen, and, in Dr. Jessopp's opinion, "two more detestable compositions it would be difficult to find." Topcliffe was out of prison again in October 1595. In 1596 he was engaged in racking certain gipsies or Egyptians who had been captured in Northamptonshire, and in 1597 he applied the torture of the manacles to Thomas Travers, who was in Bridewell for stealing the Queen's Standish. (Jardine). <sup>640</sup> In 1598 he was present at the execution of John Jones, the Franciscan, whom he had hunted to death. He got possession of the old family house of the Fitzherberts at Padley, Derbyshire, and was living there in February 1603–04. He died before December 3, 1604, when a grant of administration was made in the prerogative Court of Canterbury to his daughter Margaret.

Dr. Jessopp describes Topcliffe as "a monster of iniquity," and Father Gerard in his narrative of the Gunpowder Plot speaks of the "cruellest Tyrant of all England, Topcliffe, a man most infamous and hateful to all the realm for his bloody and butcherly mind." <sup>641</sup> A facsimile of a curious pedigree of the Fitzherbert family compiled by him for the information of the Privy Council is given in Foley's *Records*. <sup>642</sup> He was reputed to have a vehement temper and became notorious as a priest-hunter and torturer of the time.

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<sup>639</sup> H.G. Adams. *A Cyclopædia Of Sacred Poetical Quotations*, 1854

<sup>640</sup> Jardine. *Reading on the Use of Torture in England*, pp. 41, 99, 101

<sup>641</sup> Morris. *Condition of Catholics*, p. 18

<sup>642</sup> Vol. II., p. 198

**Torture**  
**Emblem 13** <sup>643</sup>

One ought not yield, even under torture  
Laeana, whom you see depicted on the Cecropian fortress,  
Was the lover of Harmodius (or do you not know this, stranger?).  
So it is pleasing to show the keen spirit of this female warrior  
In the form of a wild beast, for she actually bore its name.  
Because she did not betray anyone by her testimony,  
When she was twisted on the rack,  
Iphicrates represented her as tongueless.

It will be appropriate to add that the priests who took the Oath of Supremacy in the reign of Elizabeth verified, to a lamentable extent, the saying of the Anglican satirist, that “a bad Papist makes a worse Protestant.” According to the testimony of such acknowledged Protestant authorities as Burnet, Wharton, Mackintosh, Macaulay and Fronde, the Elizabethan clergy were notoriously ignorant, apathetic, drunken, and immoral. The Queen’s Council (now we see) ordered “a public discussion on the religious questions agitating the Christian mind.” Five Bishops and three doctors of divinity on one side, and eight reformers on the other. Sir Nicholas Bacon and Dr. Heath presided. The whole affair was one of those devices arranged by Cecil to create a stronger sectarian feeling than any already in existence. The conduct of Nicholas Bacon in this affair was that of an undisguised partisan. Such discussions seldom ended in convincing any party. (Burke). <sup>644</sup>

Topcliffe harboured a fanatic hatred for Catholics and the Roman Catholic Church, and was involved in the interrogation and torture of many priests and laity, at a time when Catholics were suspected of actively and violently seeking to overthrow the Protestant government of England. He gained a reputation as an effective torturer and a deranged psychopath. He claimed that his own instruments and methods were better than the official ones, and was authorized [by whom?] to create a torture chamber in his private house in London, Westminster. He also involved himself directly in the execution of sentences of death upon Catholic recusants, which involved hanging, drawing and quartering.

Topcliffe’s victims included the Jesuits Robert Southwell (1561–1595), a Jesuit priest and poet who lived and moved in England’s Catholic underground, John Gerard, and Henry Garnet. Topcliffe features numerous times in Fr. Gerard’s autobiography of his days as a hunted priest in Elizabethan England. He’s described as, “old and hoary and a veteran in evil”. It has been surmised that, during interrogations, Topcliffe “may have indulged in bizarre sexual fantasies” about the Queen. He raped one of his prisoners, Anne Bellamy, until she helped him arrest

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<sup>643</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>644</sup> S.H. Burke. *Historical Portraits*, Vol III. 1883

the Jesuit priest Robert Southwell. When Bellamy became pregnant by him in 1592, she was forced to marry his servant to cover up the scandal. He was also the interrogator of the poet Ben Jonson in August 1597 in investigations into the suppressed play, *The Isle of Dogs*. There are no records showing that any kind of torture had been inflicted upon Ben Jonson, by Topcliffe, at the interrogation.

Sir Anthony Standen, too, praising the Earl of Essex's agreeable manners in a letter to Mr. Anthony Bacon, of March 3, 1593–94, in Dr. Birch's papers, says, "Contrary to our Topcliffian customs, he hath won more with words than others could do with racks." It appears likewise, in another letter in that collection, that Topcliffizare, in the quaint language of the Court, signified to hunt a recusant. Richard Topcliffe, was so much distinguished in the employment, that Topcliffizare became the cant term of the day for inviting a recusant was at this time a follower of the Court; and a letter addressed by him to the Earl of Shrewsbury contains some particulars of this progress worth preserving: "I did never reach her Majesty better received by two counties in one journey than Suffolk and Norfolk now; Suffolk of gentlemen and Norfolk of the meaner sort, with exceeding joy to themselves and well liking to her Majesty."<sup>645</sup> Topcliffe died in November or December 1604 in his bed at the age of about seventy-two.

**Torture** Was carried out in the Tower in accordance with a warrant usually from the Privy Council that would possibly state some slight kind of torture, such as may not touch the loss of any limb, as by whipping, or to manacles and such torture as is there used and was supervised by the Lieutenant or the Governor of the Tower. Torture chambers were an underground chamber, very dark, with a tall roof supported by wooden posts that was in the basement of the White Tower. All torture, except for the rack performed at Bridewell, was executed at the Tower in the sub-crypt called Little Hell; executions were performed at Tyburn where condemned traitors were hanged, cut down still alive, drawn having their heart and entrails removed and burnt, and quartered. Their bodies were divided into four and displayed as a warning to those contemplating treason. Execution with the axe was for the more important prisoners and inside the Tower to avoid public attention and outcry.

The examination of Father Gerard, April 14, 1597, is preserved in the Public Record Office, Domestic, Eliz., Vol. 262, No. 123. The Commissioners were:

1. Sir Richard Barkley, Lieutenant of the Tower
2. Sir Edward Coke, then Attorney General
3. Thomas Fleming, a Privy Councillor
4. Sir Francis Bacon, afterwards Lord Chancellor
5. William Wade, or Waad, afterwards Lieutenant of the Tower

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<sup>645</sup> Lucy Aikin. *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth*, Vol. II. 1818



Father Gerard's account:

On the third day, immediately after dinner, came my gaoler to me, and with sorrowful mien told me the Lords Commissioners had come, and with them the Queen's Attorney General, [Coke] and that I must go down to them. I found five men, none of whom had before examined me except Wade, who was there for the purpose of accusing me on all points. The Queen's Attorney General then took a sheet of paper, and began to write a solemn form of juridical examination.

The Commissioners [extract]:

Being demanded whether he received any letters from the parts beyond the seas or no, confesseth that within these four or five days he received from Antwerp (as he supposeth) letters inclosed and sealed up. He confesseth that he received within this year past other letters from the parts beyond the seas, and two or three of them he confesseth he did read, and saith that those letters contained matter concerning maintenance of scholars beyond sea, but refuseth to declare who sent those letters or by whom the same were brought, and saith that some of those letters were sent from St. Omer. And being demanded what was the cause that moved him to have escaped out of prison of late, saith that the cause was that he might have more opportunity to have won souls. And being demanded who procured the counterfeit keys for him, by means whereof he should have escaped, refuseth to tell who it was, for that, as he saith, he will not discover anything against any other that may bring them to trouble.

Examined by us,

Ry. Barkeley.

Edw. Coke.

Tho. Felemynge.

Fr. Bacon.

W. Waad. [On the back of a playing card (the seven of spades), which is attached to the original document, is written in Sir Edward Coke's handwriting: Polewhele I; Walpole I; PatCullen I; Annias 31; Willms I; Squier; Jarrard I.]

Polewhele, Patrick Cullen or O'Collun, Williams, and Squire were all executed for high treason, the latter on the accusation of having, at Father Walpole's instigation, poisoned the pommel of Elizabeth's saddle. Annias apostatized after two years' imprisonment.

Father Gerard's account:

They then produced the warrant, which they had for putting me to the torture, and gave it me to read; for it is not allowed in this prison to put any one to the torture without express warrant, I saw the document was duly signed. Then they began to entreat me not to force them to do what they were loath to do; and told me they were bound not to desist from putting me to the torture day after day, as long as my life lasted, until I gave the information they sought from me. Then we proceeded to the place appointed for the torture. We went in a sort of solemn procession; the

attendants preceding us with lighted candles, because the place was underground and very dark, especially about the entrance. It was a place of immense extent, and in it were ranged divers sorts of racks, and other instruments of torture. Some of these they displayed before me, and told me I should have to taste them every one. Then again they asked me if I was willing to satisfy them on the points on which they had questioned me. "It is out of my power to satisfy you," I answered; and throwing myself on my knees, I said a prayer or two. Then they led me to a great upright beam, or pillar of wood, which was one of the supports of this vast crypt. At the summit of this column were fixed certain iron staples for supporting weights. Here they placed on my wrists manacles of iron, and ordered me to mount upon two or three wicker steps; I then raising my arms, they inserted an iron bar through the rings of the manacles, and then through the staples in the pillar, putting a pin through the bar so that it could not slip. My arms being thus fixed above my head, they withdrew those wicker steps I spoke of, one by one, from beneath my feet, so that I hung by my hands and arms. The tips of my toes, however, still touched the ground; so they dug away the ground beneath, as they could not raise me higher, for they had suspended me from the topmost staples in the pillar. Thus hanging by my wrists, I began to pray, while those gentlemen standing round asked me again if I was willing to confess. I replied, "I neither can nor will." But so terrible a pain began to oppress me, that I was scarce able to speak the words. The worst pain was in my breast and belly, my arms and hands. It seemed to me that all the blood in my body rushed up my arms into my hands; and I was under the impression at the time that the blood actually burst forth from my fingers and at the back of my hands. This was, however, a mistake; the sensation was caused by the swelling of the flesh over the iron that bound it. I felt now such intense pain (and the effect was probably heightened by an interior temptation), that it seemed to me impossible to continue enduring it. It did not, however, go so far as to make me feel any inclination or real disposition to give the information they wanted. For as the eyes of our merciful Lord had seen my imperfection, He did not suffer me to be tempted above what I was able, but with the temptation made also a way of escape.

Hereupon those gentlemen, seeing that I gave them no further answer, departed to the Lieutenant's house; and there they waited, sending now and then to know how things were going on in the crypt. There were left with me three or four strong men, to superintend my torture. My gaoler also remained, I fully believe out of kindness to me, and kept wiping away with a handkerchief the sweat that ran down from my face the whole time, as, indeed, it did from my whole body. So far, indeed, he did me a service; but by his words, he rather added to my distress, for he never stopped beseeching and entreating me to have pity on myself, and tell these gentlemen what they wanted to know; and so many human reasons did he allege, that I verily believe he was either instigated directly by the devil under pretence of affection for me, or had been left there purposely by the persecutors to influence me by his show of sympathy. Yet I could not prevail with him to be silent. The others also who stood by said: "He will be a cripple all his life, if he

lives through it; but he will have to be tortured daily till he confesses." But I kept praying in a low voice, and continually uttered the holy names of Jesus and Mary.

I had hung in this way till after one of the clock, as I think, when I fainted. How long I was in the faint I know not; perhaps not long; for the men who stood by lifted me up, or replaced those wicker steps under my feet, until I came to myself; and immediately they heard me praying, they let me down again. This they did over and over again when the faint came on, eight or nine times before five of the clock. Somewhat before five came Wade again, and drawing near said, "Will you yet obey the commands of the Queen and the Council?" "No," said I, "what you ask is unlawful, therefore I will never do it." "At least then," said Wade, "say that you would like to speak to Secretary Cecil." "I have nothing to say to him," I replied, "more than I have said already; and if I were to ask to speak to him, scandal would be caused, for people would imagine that I was yielding at length, and wished to give information." Upon this Wade suddenly turned his back in a rage, and departed, saying in a loud and angry tone, "Hang there, then, till you rot!" So he went away, and I think all the Commissioners then left the Tower; for at five of the clock the great bell of the Tower sounds, as a signal for all to leave who do not wish to be locked in all night. Soon after this they took me down from my cross, and though neither foot nor leg was injured, yet I could hardly stand. I scarcely tasted anything, but laid myself on my bed, and remained quiet there till the next morning.

Early next morning, however, soon after the Tower gates were opened, my gaoler came up to the cell and told me that Master Wade had arrived, and that I must go down to him. I went down, therefore, that time in a sort of cloak with wide sleeves, for my hands were so swollen that they would not have passed through ordinary sleeves. After further questioning, Wade insisted "It would be better for you if you did confess," and thereupon he summoned from the next room a gentleman who had been there waiting, a tall and commanding figure, whom he called the Superintendent of Torture. Wade said, "In the name of the Queen, and of the Lords of her Council, I deliver this man into your hands. You are to rack him twice today and twice daily until such time as he chooses to confess." The officer then took charge of me, and Wade departed. Thereupon we descended with the same solemnity as before into the place appointed for torture, and again they put the manacles on the same part of my arms as before; indeed, they could not be put on in any other part, for the flesh had so risen on both sides that there were two hills of flesh with a valley between, and the manacles would not meet anywhere but in the valley. Here then were they put on, not without causing me much pain. Our good Lord, however, helped me, and I cheerfully offered Him my hands and my heart. So I was hung up again as I before described; and in my hands I felt a great deal more pain than on the previous day, but not so much in my breast and belly, perhaps because this day I had eaten nothing. While thus hanging I prayed, sometimes silently, sometimes aloud, recommending myself to our Lord Jesus and His Blessed Mother. I hung much longer this time without fainting, but at length I fainted so thoroughly

that they could not bring me to, and they thought that I either was dead or soon would be. So they called the Lieutenant, but how long he was there I know not, nor how long I remained in the faint. When I came round, however, I found myself no longer hanging by my hands, but supported sitting on a bench, with many people round me, who had opened my teeth with some iron instrument, and were pouring warm water down my throat. Now when the Lieutenant saw I could speak, he said: "Do you not see how much better it is for you to yield to the wishes of the Queen than to lose your life this way?" Upon refusing, I was suspended, therefore, a third time, and hung there in very great pain of body, but not without great consolation of soul, which seemed to me to arise from the prospect of dying.

After awhile the Lieutenant, seeing that he made no way with me by continuing the torture, or because the dinner-hour was near at hand, or perhaps through a natural feeling of compassion, ordered me to be taken down. I think I hung not quite an hour this third time. I am rather inclined to think that the Lieutenant released me from compassion; for, some time after my escape, a gentleman of quality told me he had it from Sir Richard Barkley himself (who was this very Lieutenant of whom I speak), that he had of his own accord resigned the office he held, because he would no longer be an instrument in torturing innocent men so cruelly. And, in fact, he gave up the post after holding it but three or four months, and another Knight was appointed in his stead, in whose time it was that I made my escape.

Apart from Francis Bacon's participation in Father Gerard's examination, he is also found to have been present at the examination of two servants of Mrs. Vaux. Among the papers of Sir Edward Phelips, preserved at Montacute House, Somersetshire, of which a copy has been deposited in the Public Record Office by the Historical MSS. Commission, we have the examinations of two of Mrs. Vaux' servants, one of whom is the "Ric. the butler" of whom "the examination of Francis Swetnam, servant to Mrs. Elizabeth Vaux, and served her in the bake house, taken the third of December, 1605." The mark of the examiners are: Francis Q. Swetnam, Jul. Caesar, Rogr. Wilbraham, E. Phelipps, Jo. Croke, George More, Walter Cope, Fr. Bacon, John Doddridge. (folio 25).<sup>646</sup>

Camden, who has been described as the Strabo of England, is charged by Birch with suppressing and colouring the events of Elizabeth's reign; but Camden's high reputation as a historian requires no vindication, and if Camden is not always correct, he certainly has not made any intentional misrepresentation of facts. The use of torture, for the discovery of religious and political opinions, had its origin in a despotic design to enslave the minds of the people. The use of the rack was extensively practised by the chief Powers of Europe in the sixteenth century. Henry VIII., and the Protector Somerset, had faith in the rack. Queen Mary set aside this instrument of torture and many other modes of punishment only known to the Tower authorities. It would, however, have been well for her fame as a woman, and as a Sovereign, if Mary Tudor had also

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646 John Morris. *The Condition of Catholics Under James I.*, 1871

protested against the fanatical and cruel “stake,” whose use has consigned everyone in connection with it to the ban of execration. It is doubtful, however, if the men who sat in the Parliaments of Henry VIII., and Edward VI., would assent to a repeal of the statute by which people were sent to the stake. The reformers high and low of the days of the Boy-King were in favour of the “stake” as a punishment for those who dissented from the opinions they chose to express. The records of the times attest this fact clearly.

In the history of torture in the Tower during the reign of Elizabeth, Edward Walgrave, a member of an ancient family, who sustained Queen Mary’s cause, and subsequently became a member of her household, was marked out for persecution by Elizabeth’s Council. He refused to take the Oath of Supremacy to the new Sovereign, and was immediately committed to the Tower, where, according to Fitzigram, an official of the time, he remained for “six months on a wretched filthy bed, half starved, and no medical attendant to inquire into his health.” Nevertheless, he providentially recovered, when preparations were again renewed forms torture. He was examined before the law officers and Government spies. The result of an inquiry was an order to be racked, which was carried out with barbarous cruelty. Four months subsequently he was once more racked. Like other prisoners Walgrave suddenly disappeared, but whether he escaped, or died from his sufferings, or fell by the dagger of a hired assassin, and was buried privately by night, it is impossible to ascertain. Several notable prisoners were found murdered in the Tower during Elizabeth’s reign; and others were never heard of after they entered the ill-omened gate. The officials were always “open to a bribe.” At a later period it was believed that Walgrave escaped from the Tower, and having reached Lisbon, he studied medicine, and became a physician. About the same period there resided in Venice “a priest physician” named Talbot, who escaped from the Tower. Many of the exiled priests studied the medical profession. One remarkable man can be referred to: Father Borde, of the Carthusian community. Sir Francis Inglefield, another of Queen Mary’s household, fled to Spain a few weeks after the death of his Royal Mistress. He was about to be committed to the Tower, and narrowly escaped in the costume of a Flemish musician, and actually performed at the house of Sir Nicholas Bacon, unsuspected by his enemies. Elizabeth marked out for vengeance the unoffending domestics of her late sister. Some of those poor women were reduced to utter poverty.

Five years later King Philip provided liberally for the wants of Queen Mary’s servants. Mary left ample funds with Elizabeth to discharge her “domestic debts;” and the new Queen pledged “her honour” for the fulfilment of every request named in the will of the deceased monarch. How Elizabeth acted in this matter is not disputed by some partisan writers; whilst others, with a lofty disregard for such a small matter as the character of a Queen in affairs of common honesty, are silent upon the subject. Queen Elizabeth, who was always moralising, revived the rack and other barbarous modes of infliction, which brand her name as a woman and a monarch with odious notoriety. In fact, if we judge Elizabeth by the records of her actions, she was, with the exception of her father, the most despotic and the most cruel monarch that ever reigned over the English

realm. "There is something peculiarly revolting in the fact," observes the historian of the Queens of England, "that Elizabeth should have been so callous to all the tender sympathies of the female character as to enjoin the application of torture to extort confession against the unfortunate servants of the Duke of Norfolk." Here is the Queen's order respecting Bannister and Baker: "If they shall not seem to you to confess their knowledge, then, we warrant you to cause them both, or either of them, to be brought to the rack, and first to move them with, fear thereof, to deal plainly in their answers; and if that shall not move them, then you shall cause them to be put to the rack, and to find the taste thereof, until they shall deal more plainly, or till you shall think meet." Two days subsequent to the date of the above warrant, Sir Thomas Smythe writes to Burghley in these words: "I suppose we have gotten so much as this time is likely to be had; yet, tomorrow do we intend to bring a couple of them to the rack, not in any hope to getting anything out of them by the fear or pain, but because it is so earnestly commended to us."

Some writers state that this was "the only case of racking in Elizabeth's reign;" it is also alleged that "the Queen knew nothing of it." Such assertions are contradicted by the State Papers of the period, and many other reliable documents. In fact, the rolls of the Tower term with records of the cruelties that were inflicted in Elizabeth's time.

Persons were confined in cellars twenty feet below the surface of the earth; others in "little case," where they had neither room to stand upright, nor to lie down at full length. Men were placed in Skivington's irons till they fainted away. And again, an iron instrument was used, by which head, feet, and hands were bound together. Many were fettered and bolted in this manner; while others, still more unfortunate, had their hands forced into iron gloves that were much too small, or were subjected to the excruciating torture of the boot. These cruelties were suggested by Sir Thomas Smythe and Walsingham, "with the full approval of her Highness the Queen." Sir John Harrington follows in the track of Hatton, when he describes Elizabeth as humane, gentle, and kind a model woman. At other times Harrington spoke in no nattering tones of his royal godmother. The despatches of the foreign Ambassadors draw a terrible picture of the "poor victims when carried from the rack, oftentimes sounded by Courtiers, who came hither to see with their own eyes, and to report to the Queen's Highness how the traitors liked the taste they received for a beginning." On one occasion, Elizabeth asked Burghley "if some more terrible mode of torture or death could be devised for those who refused to deny her supremacy or plotted against her life." The astute Minister assured his Royal Mistress that the law was strong enough to have the required vengeance; he would, however, see that the gaolers did their duty promptly. No one could suspect that Burghley had the smallest sympathy with the people who were racked, beheaded, and quartered. At a later period of her life, in 1601, Elizabeth seemed to rejoice at beholding the mangled remains of her victims. Holding the French envoy, De Bironif, by the hand, she pointed to a number of heads that were planted on the walls of the Tower, and next conducted him to London Bridge to witness a similar exhibition, and told him "that it was thus they punished traitors in England." Not satisfied with calling his attention to this ghastly

scene, she coolly recounted to him the names of all her subjects whom she had brought to the block, and among those she mentioned the Earl of Essex, whom in her old age, she ruined by her ungenial favour. Elizabeth could not cross London Bridge without recognising the features of many good and loyal men whom she had consigned to the headsman. The “quartering of the bodies” presented another revolting sight in many parts of London.

Henzer, and other foreigners, have commented on such scenes with indignation. Henzer, who is a reliable authority, affirms “that he counted on London Bridge no less than three hundred heads of persons who had been executed for high treason.” “This was a melancholy evidence,” remarks Strickland, “that Elizabeth, in her later years, had flung the dove from her sceptre, and exchanged the harbinger of peace for the sword of vengeance.” Bartoli describes the machines of torture: “The rack,” he says, “was a large open frame of oak, raised three feet from the ground. The prisoner was laid under it on his back, on the floor; his wrists and ankles were attached by cords to two rollers at the ends of the frame; these were moved by levers in opposite directions till the body rose to a level with the frame. Questions were then put, and, if the answers did not prove satisfactory, the sufferer was stretched more and more, till the bones started from their sockets.” This description is corroborated by the records of the Tower. And the Scavenger’s Daughter was a broad hoop of iron, consisting of two parts fastened to each other by a hinge. The accused person was made to kneel on the pavement, and to contract himself into as small a compass as he could. Then the executioner, kneeling on his shoulders, and having introduced the hoop under his legs, compressed the victim close together, till he was able to fasten the extremities over the small of the back. The time allotted to this kind of torture was an hour and a half, during which time it commonly happened that from excess of compression, the blood spouted from the nostrils; sometimes, it was believed, from the extremities of the hands and feet. Iron gauntlets, which could be compressed by the aid of a screw, served to hold the wrists and to suspend the prisoner in the air from two distant points of a beam. The victim was then placed on three pieces of wood piled one on another, which, when his hands had been made fast, were successively withdrawn from under his feet. From Kishton’s *Diary*, it will show the condition of the Tower under what many historians style the “mild government of Elizabeth.”

- December 5, 1580: Several Catholics or better known as Papists, were brought from different prisons.
- December 10: Thomas Cottann and Luke Kirbye, priests, suffered compression in the Scavenger’s Daughter for more than an hour. Cottann bled profusely from the nose.
- December 15: Ralph Sherwin and Robert Johnson, priests, were sorely tortured on the rack.
- December 16: Ralph Sherwin was tortured a second time on the rack.
- December 31: John Hart, after being chained five days to the floor, was led to the rack. Also Henry Orton, a “fine gentleman.”

In January 3, 1581 Christopher Thompson, an aged priest, was brought to the Tower and racked the same day and on January 14, Nicholas Roscaroe, a boy of sixteen years of age, was barbarously racked. A number of persons were racked whose names are now unknown. Chaloner states that several women were racked, or in some way tortured. Pomeroy and Farlow affirm that two Papist women and a young maiden of the Anabaptist sect suffered death for their religious opinions.

Elizabeth entertained a deep hatred of the Anabaptists, who gave her much trouble. This sect had the merit of immense courage and dogged perseverance; but they were selfish, intolerant, and dishonest. The office of jurors under the rule of Elizabeth became a dangerous public duty at least to men who had any semblance of honesty, or regard for the rights of their fellow men. Intimidation, fine, and imprisonment, were of frequent occurrence if they refused to find a verdict for the Crown. Corrupt and time-serving as the judges and juries were under the Tudor dynasty, they felt the degradation of their position most in the reign of Elizabeth, when "Royal instructions" were handed to them, in many cases, the day preceding trials which partook of a political or sectarian character.

In England the rack became a "favourite device," and was employed with frequent as well as wanton barbarity. Many readers will scarcely credit the fact that the Queen "ordered the Bishops to use torture to the Papists in order to discover sphere or when they attended Mass." In 1578, Dr. Whitgift, Francis Bacon's tutor at Trinity College in 1573–75, then Bishop of Worcester, was commanded to use torture to force answers from Catholics suspected of having heard Mass. Whitgift was quite capable of persecuting, without the "Royal command." On one occasion he requested Burghley to pack a "certain priest till he gave the names of those who went to Confession to him;" but Burghley, to his honour be it related, spurned the request with indignation. He later became the famous Archbishop of that name. And it was Whitgift who, on November 28, 1582 as Bishop of Worcester, insisted upon a bond against impediments to safeguard himself by reason of pre-contract or consanguinity which might imperil the marriage of "William Shagspere and Anna Hathaway of Stratford." He clearly had some reason to make him feel uneasy, having on the previous day authorised the marriage between "William Shaxpere and Anna Whatley of Temple Grafton." Two farmers of Shottery Sandells and Richardson, were the sole sureties in the bond and were friends of Anna Hathaway's father. Lee says that they "doubtless secured the deed on their own initiative so that Shakespeare (*sic*) might have small opportunity of evading a step which his intimacy with their friend's daughter had rendered essential to her reputation. Within six months of the marriage bond in May, 1583 a daughter was born." And it was Whitgift who, in 1593, as Archbishop of Canterbury, authorised the printing of *Venus and Adonis* most surprising act of condescension on the part of a strict Churchman, and only understandable if he wanted to help an ex-pupil. Books less licentious than *Venus and Adonis* were either "stayed" or, after publication, ordered to be collected and burnt. Such was



the case with Hall's *Satires* which, the Archbishop decreed, should be "presently brought to the Bishop of London to be burnt." Hall later became Bishop of Norwich. (Wigston).<sup>647</sup>

Robert Johnson, a Shropshire priest, was racked three times at the Tower. He was subsequently hanged, drawn, and quartered. William Filbie, an Oxford cleric, was six months pinioned with heavy iron manacles in the Tower. He was twice racked, and fainted under the operation three times; when informed that he was to be led to execution in three hours, he lifted up his withered hands to heaven, exclaiming aloud, "Thanks to my good Redeemer, that my sufferings are so near the end." Filbie, like Campion, was an eminent Greek and Latin scholar. He was also beloved and esteemed at Oxford for his amiable and virtuous character. He was only twenty-nine years of age. His appearance on the scaffold, and his modest and forgiving address to the populace, excited the sympathy of many amongst a crowd who had become callous and inhuman from the scenes of blood they witnessed almost daily. Indeed, the barbarous "quarterings and hanging up" of the remains of many good and virtuous men, whose greatest offence was that of claiming liberty of conscience, had a marked effect upon the lower classes, who were beginning to look upon murder almost as a venial offence. Such was the result of Walsingham's moral teaching.

Margaret Clitheroe, Margaret Wood was put to a horrible death for "liberty of conscience;" and in 1601 Anne Syme suffered death from Elizabeth's Council, for her religious opinions. Four other Catholic ladies were condemned to death at different times for not renouncing their religion; and a nun, named Teresea Northcoat, was imprisoned for thirty years, till released by death. I think the lady just alluded to belonged to the Benedictine order, whose sufferings were intense; added to starvation they received brutal treatment.

In De Burgh's *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 559, an account is given of the treachery which Queen Elizabeth exercised in 1602 one year before her death towards a shipful of Benedictines, Cistercians and Dominicans, forty-two in number, who had been induced to accept a safe conduct out of Ireland, were shipwrecked off Scatterry Island, near the mouth of the Shannon. It appears that no one lived to tell the tragic story. In 1591, Mrs. Wells received sentence of death, and died in prison. James the First released and pardoned six ladies who were confined for their religious opinions at the death of Elizabeth.

So much for Hatton's "facts," when confronted with the records of the times. The majority of our English historians are silent as to those dark deeds of Elizabeth and her Council. The reasons are obvious. The State Papers and records of those despotic times are now at hand, and it is impossible to present false portraits of Elizabeth and her Ministers any longer. The reader is aware of what Frazer Tytler stated many years back as to the history of Britain. "The greatest historical heresy" writes Mr. Tytler "that a writer can commit in the eyes of many English readers is to tell them the truth." This feeling is now, however, vanishing from historical relations, and the English reader will accept as correct portraits, what would have been received forty years ago with a storm of indignation as a false impeachment of "Bluff King Hal," or "Good Queen Bess."

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647 W.F.C. Wigston. *The Columbus of Literature*, 1892

In 1582, London was described as a slaughter-house, and many of the wealthy citizens had the courage to denounce the executions and the horrible quartering of human remains. Heads were counted in dozens upon the towers of the bridges, and human limbs were hung upon poles in various parts of the city. The prisons, or filthy dungeons, were filled with men and women whose only crime was that of "seeking liberty of conscience." About this time (1582–83) there were no less than thirty-two Catholic priests in the Marshalsea, nearly the same number in the Tower, eighteen in the Gate House at Westminster, eleven in the Compter, nine in the Fountain prison at St. Bridget's, five in the prison known as the "White Lion," twenty-two in the Compter at the Poultry, fourteen in the Clink, or Hall of Winchester; in the Bankside, Southwark, seven; and three in the King's Bench Prison. According to the records of the prisons above-named, many of those clerics were twenty years in close confinement. Sixteen of the prisoners were racked twice in one year; many of them must have died under the operation. A doctor, named Harold, relates that he was "perfectly unmanned by the cries and supplications for mercy uttered by one old priest." The diet was bad, and not half sufficient. In the Marshalsea, the subordinates carried on a system of perfect starvation, especially in the case of Bishop Bonner, the prisoners were barbarously used on many occasions by their gaolers and warders, who were, with rare exceptions, the most inhuman creatures. Richard Fulwood, a Catholic gentleman, has left on record a sad description of the treatment he received at the Bridewell prison. "I had," he says, "hardly enough of black bread to keep me from death by starvation. The place I was confined in was a narrow cell, in which there was no bed, so that I had to sleep sitting on the window-sill, and was months without taking off my clothes. There was a little straw in the cell, but it was so trodden down and swarming with vermin that I could not lie on it. Besides all this I was daily awaiting an examination by torture."

Near Hobbmoor-lane, a short distance from London, stood a famous gallows, where forty-nine "perverse Papists" were hanged, drawn and quartered in Elizabeth's reign. On one occasion the Venetian Ambassador saw ten heads "all in a row," ready to be spiked at different places. The victims suffered for "liberty of conscience." There are many evidences to satisfy posterity that Elizabeth was cognisant of the inhuman torture inflicted upon men, and women too, in her name. Sir John Harrington states that the Queen sent for the noted rack executioner, Topcliffe, and required him to give her an explanation of his "improvements" in the mode of torture. Harrington, who was present, states that his Royal godmother approved of the executioner's "new device, and rewarded him substantially." Harrington further remarks, "Topcliffe is the most savage man amongst all the English executioners. He absolutely feels a delight in prolonging the torture of the wretched Papists. His conduct to the women whom he racked is something horrible. They were stripped naked and huddled about like sheep in a slaughterhouse. What will posterity think of us?" Topcliffe was presented with a ring and a purse of gold by the Queen. Under the Danish (English) Kings the chief executioner was a person of some dignity, and ranked with an Archbishop and the Lord Steward. The headsman was then styled the Carnifex. Norton, the

rack-master in the Tower (1583), was a cruel persecutor of Lord Arundel. In due time Norton received his own share "of the good things distributed at the Tower." He was suddenly arrested, placed in chains, and cast into a dungeon; and, to use his own words, "murderously racked." He died from the effects of torture. Norton had been one of Walsingham's secret agents in many an infamous transaction. "Retributive justice," although apparently slumbering for a while, was not unmindful of the demerits of such beings as Norton, or the more notorious Topcliffe. Although the Queen appears in the worst light as to those terrible persecutions, nevertheless there are several diaries and State Papers still extant, which show that her Highness was cruelly deceived by her Ministers. She was not wholly devoid of the tender feelings of her sex. At the time of the Bartholomew Massacre it was suggested by Leicester and Walsingham that there should be "a scaffold and stake execution of the English Papists, then the curse of this fair land." The Queen protested against the plan proposed, stating that "her English Popish subjects had nothing to do with what had recently occurred." At a later period Elizabeth remarked to Archbishop Hutton that "she feared many of her subjects who belonged to the olden way of thinking were often cruelly and unjustly punished in her name." This was a hint to Hutton, who was a notorious "Papist-hunter," like his brother, of Canterbury, Dr. Whitgift.

Father Southwell, the grandson of Sir Richard T. Southwell, was tortured no less than ten times Lord Burghley states "thirteen times;" and this, with such pitiless severity, that he openly declared to the judges "that death would have been again and again preferable." The account of this gentleman's sufferings is still on record. "And," writes one of his biographers, "to turn over the pages of it makes the eye dim and the heart sick. Anything more utterly revolting and merciless could scarcely be conceived." Southwell, whose statements have been confirmed by other victims, describes the London prisons as "the most abominable dungeons of filth; and the warders and executioners, headed by Topcliffe and Young, as indescribable ruffians who took a delight in every manner of torture and insult. Hard blows were frequent almost daily. The food was such that an animal in a state of horrible hunger would turn from it with loathing. Their beds were dirty straw, covered with vermin. Some of the unfortunate prisoners were hung up for whole days by the hands in such a manner that they could but just touch the ground with the tips of their toes. "The cell in the Tower where Southwell was confined was situated far below the ordinary watermark of the Thames, and was consequently damp and musty. Sometimes it was a full foot deep in water. The only light admitted was through a narrow window high above. The cell had only a stone seat in the wall, and there was no ventilation; no books; no communication with the outer world. After being three years in this condition, Father Southwell was brought to trial on his special request." Lord Burghley, to whom he had written, replied in a manner more worthy of the "minister of the law" than its mild and merciful expounder. "If," writes Burghley "you desire such haste to be hanged, you shall speedily taste thereof." The trial was one of those mockeries of justice so common of occurrence in the days of Elizabeth. In a few hours the judge pronounced sentence of death, with the "usual quartering and disembowelling." On the

following day the revolting execution took place one of the executioners being drunk, and the other “a new hand.” Posterity has heard but little of the wicked deeds perpetrated against justice and humanity by the Tudor monarchs and their unscrupulous agents.

A man named Parker was employed by Lord Burghley to counterfeit a confessor, and to visit “in the dark of night certain prisoners in the Tower, who made confession in the usual form to this holy priest, whose presence was such a consolation to the prisoners.” The result of this infamous sacrilege was the arrest and execution of several innocent men, and the perpetual imprisonment of others, of whose fate their friends could learn nothing. The reader has already seen what Thomas Crumwell, and after him Francis Walsingham, accomplished by counterfeiting the confessional. Burghley’s agents, according to their own correspondence with their noble patron, were ready and willing to perpetrate the most murderous and treacherous deeds against confiding men whose friendship they had won. Who can defend such deeds?

Dr. Astlowe, an eminent physician, who resided in London about 1575–76, was racked for being “friendly towards the Queen of Scots when he paid her a professional visit.” Morgan writes that “the unfortunate doctor was racked twice almost to death, at the Tower.” Another writer named Ambrose, states that the cause of Astlowe’s racking, was with respect to his knowledge of or supposed connection with the affairs of the Earl of Arundel. Thomas, Earl of Arundel, the renowned scholar and antiquary, and the friend of Francis Bacon, who died in his house at Highgate, was the collector of the celebrated Arundel marbles, now in the possession of the University of Oxford. He died at Padua in 1646, having quitted England at the beginning of the Parliamentary war. “Discerning,” says Dugdale, “the flames of war (occasioned by the prevalent party in the Long Parliament) more and more to increase, his age being also such as rendered him not fit for further military employments, he obtained leave from the King to travel.”

Amongst the ladies “racked and maltreated” by Topcliffe and Young was Mrs. Wyseman, who lay in prison till the accession of James the First. The penalty for celebrating Mass at this period was a fine of 200 marks, and imprisonment. At another time priests were hanged upon the evidence of one witness, who swore that he saw them celebrating Mass, although the said informer could not distinguish between the Mass and any other Catholic ceremony. Walsingham never looked to the character of a witness where a Papist was the prisoner at the bar. In fact the public trials in the reign of Elizabeth were the most monstrous mockeries of justice that were ever perpetrated in any civilised land. The Tower rack stood in the long vaulted dungeon below the armoury. The cells were underground, with no light but the nicker of a far-off lamp. “The rats were racing about in dozens;” and have been described as “daring in the extreme, and not like any other rats they had ever seen. To add to the horrors of the place, no cat was permitted to enter the infernal regions.” A well-known writer on those times denies the existence of this state of things. He states that the political prisoners lived well in prison, and were permitted to receive the visits of their friends almost daily.

The statements of the prisoners themselves are quite the contrary; and are borne out by the prison records, and even the admissions of the warders. The treatment of the political prisoners differed very much under the various gaolers, whose salary or promotion depended upon the amount of cruelty with which they treated some particular prisoner. The gaolers, with rare exceptions, took bribes, and then betrayed the unfortunate men who placed faith in their words. Many of the prisoners were wholly destitute of money, for on entering a prison all money was taken from them, and if they had a second suit of clothes they quickly disappeared. There was no redress for any outrage committed against political prisoners. Topcliffe used the most abominable language to those strong-minded women who were confined for an honest expression of their religious opinions. Young and Norton were in the habit of using obscene language to female prisoners; but, as usual, there was no redress. From the Wars of the Roses down to "Derwentwater's Farewell," the name of Radcliffe occasionally appears in the records of the Tower. Amongst the unhappy prisoners in that fortress about 1576, was Eaglemond Radcliffe, said to be the younger brother of the Earl of Sussex. A strange mystery surrounds the history of this young gentleman. In 1569, he joined the Northern Insurrection with several other men of rank, and having eluded the vengeance of the Queen's Council, he escaped to Spain, and after leading a wandering life for some years, returned to England in 1575; he was soon arrested, and committed to the Tower, where he remained for several months in a state of prostration from ill-health and bad food. The Queen, having been informed of his condition, "took pity upon the brother of her faithful friend, Lord Sussex." Elizabeth therefore extended mercy to her prisoner, and Radcliffe was banished from the realm. His love of adventure was seldom checked by the experience of life which misfortune afforded him. He next appeared in the service of Don John of Austria. In Vienna he had a love adventure, and wounded his rival, a Hungarian officer, in a desperate sword combat. In this case he escaped the meshes of the law; was then suddenly arrested, and accused of having been "concerned in a conspiracy against Don John." He was tried according to the Austrian code, and condemned to death in 1578. Radcliffe protested his innocence in a solemn statement before the Council Chamber, and in his cell, but to no purpose. He was attended to the scaffold by an English Benedictine Father, named Tottenham; so writes his Spanish friend, Don Miguel Cabrera. During his exile, Radcliffe frequently experienced poverty and hardship, especially in Flanders and France walking along a forest track for days half naked and starved. In these sad wanderings he was accompanied by several brave and honourable men, who were outlawed from England and Ireland for their religion. Those poor gentlemen had to depend for support upon the small sums remitted by their friends at home. As usual, the French felt little sympathy for the exiles, and, I may add, that at a later period, the French nation acted in a very ungenerous spirit to the Irish Brigade. Louis XIV., and his successor, with all their grave errors, held in grateful remembrance the services rendered by Irishmen to their country. The public men of France detested the Irish exiles. It is recorded that a French Secretary at War made frequent complaints to Louis the Fifteenth against the Irish Brigade. "Those Irish," says the

minister, "are immensely troublesome; they will not wait for orders; but rush at the enemy like tigers. They are very troublesome." "C'est exactement," replied his Majesty. Donald Macpherson, a Borderman of those times, states that it was bruited in a very positive manner that the hero of this narrative was not a Radcliffe, but the natural son of one of the house of Percy, by a Spanish lady of youth, beauty, and fortune. Lady Sydney throws further light upon this romantic story. She affirms that she saw the picture of the Spanish lady in question, who died in London, where she resided many years under the Irish name of MacMahon. Lady Sydney adds: "There was a mystery connected with the history of this good old lady, which was known to very few. Strange to say, some time before her death, our blessed Queen became acquainted with her through some Irish lady, perhaps Elizabeth Fitzgerald, once so noted in Surrey's Sonnets. Be this as it may, our good-natured Queen knew Madame MacMahon's sad story, and actually visited her in private, and kindly added to her social comforts in various ways unknown to the world without."<sup>648</sup>

There are well-authenticated acts of true kindness related of Elizabeth in her private life, and it is even stated that she often incognita, accompanied by the "Fayre Grealldyne," and attended by "Papist servants," in whom she had full trust, dispensed with her own hands much considerate charity. Generosity almost always characterises hot tempers; and, although the temperament of the Queen was of the most fervid, and often violent description an heirloom of her sire, yet Elizabeth might have been a far different woman if she had not hearkened to the evil counsels of Cecil, or the worse than evil promptings of Walsingham.

**Tower of London** Has in its time served as palace, prison, fortress, mint and even as a home for lions that were removed in 1834 to the Zoological Gardens. The place was built by the Conqueror in 1078 in order that he might have control over the city, and was used as a palace by all British Kings and Queens until the reign of Charles II. (Owen).<sup>649</sup> Bacon was released from the Tower on June 4, 1621, when his downfall began.

**Trundle-bed** It was a kind of low moveable couch, generally appropriated to the use of attendants, who, in those days, slept in the same room with their masters for the sake of protection.

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<sup>648</sup> The Lady Sydney here alluded to was the widow of Sir Philip Sydney, who perished so gloriously at the battle of Zutphen. She subsequently married the ill-fated Robert, Earl of Essex, and the young Earl of Clanricarde became her third husband. She was the daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham. Her own private history is, in itself, a curious little romance. I believe the remains of this lady repose amongst those of the fighting De Burghs, in the ancient abbey of Athenry, in the county of Galway, where she was as much beloved by the Irish as her father was execrated by every lover of freedom and liberty of conscience

<sup>649</sup> Will Owen. *Old London*, 1921

## U

**Under-Woods** (1640) at Lord Bacon's Birthday, by Ben Jonson:

Hail happy Genius of this ancient pile!  
 How comes it all things so about thee smile?  
 The fire, the wine, the men! And in the midst,  
 Thou stand'st as if some Mystery thou did'st!  
 Pardon, I read it in thy face the day,  
 For whose returns, and many, all these pray:  
 And so do I. This is the sixtieth year  
 Since Bacon, and thy Lord was born, and here;  
 Son to the grave wise Keeper of the Seal,  
 Fame, and foundation of the English Wheel.  
 What then his Father was, that since is he,  
 Now with a Title more to the Degree;  
 England's High Chancellor: the destin'd heir  
 In his soft Cradle to his Father's Chair,  
 Whose even Thread the Fates spin round, and full,  
 Out of their Choisest, and their whitest wool.  
 'Tis a brave cause of joy, let it be known,  
 For 't were a narrow gladness, kept thine own.  
 Give me a deep-crown'd-Bowl, that I may sing  
 In raising him the wisdom of my King.

**Use of Torture** The Law is the surest sanctuary that a man can take, and the strongest fortress to protect the weakest of all. (Coke). <sup>650</sup>

**Utter-barrister** The term utter-barrister, in Bacon's time, refers to those who practised without the bar, in contradistinction to the inner-barristers, or those who were admitted to plead within the bar.

## V

**Valentine Case** One of Bacon's probing into a mysterious crime in 1598 was that of Thomas Valentine, a Scot of many names and characters, Thomas Anderson, Thomas Alderson, Valentine Thomas, a servant, a soldier, a gentleman, who confesses under the Council's attendance in the Tower. Here is the confession, solemnly arrested, from the Scottish Papers of Elizabeth: <sup>651</sup>

<sup>650</sup> S.H. Burke. *Historical Portraits*, Vol IV. 1883

<sup>651</sup> IXII., 28, 46, 50, 52, 54; IXIII., 13, 15, 22, 29, 31, 45

**Collection**  
**Of The Principal Points In Valentine Thomas's Confession**  
**Concerning**  
**The Practice Against Her Majesty's Person**  
**Subscribed By Himself**  
**December 20, 1598**

Valentine Thomas, otherwise called Thomas Alderson or Anderson, confesseth that his access to the King of Scots was principally procured by on John Stewart of the Buttery, who keepeth the King's door, and that he repaired to the King at sundry times and in sundry places; and amongst divers speeches of many things concerning the state of England and her Majesty's person, the King fell one day into some speech of the Lord Treasurer, whom he wishes Valentine Thomas to kill, as having ever been his enemy about the Queen, which fact when Valentine undertook to execute, after some speeches how it might best be done, the King further replied, "Nay, I must have you do another thing for me, and all is one; for it is all but blood, you shall take an occasion to deliver a petition to the Queen in manner as you shall think good, and so may you come near to stab her." And Valentine told the King that it was a dangerous piece of work, but he would do it, so the King would reward him thereafter, and the King said, "You shall have enough." And after this, Valentine took his leave of the King, and said he was to go to Glasgow for a time to his kinsman's wedding: and the King said "Go, as you say, to Glasgow, and then come again, when you hear that Sorleboy is come." And so he left the King, and the Laird Arkinglasse came to the King.

(Signed)  
Valentine Thomas.

(Attested by)  
John Peyton  
Edw. Coke  
Tho. Flemyng  
Fr. Bacon  
Wm. Waad

**Verulamian Workshop** Bacon's brother Anthony, was employed by his uncle, Lord Burghley, to travel on the Continent, as a "political intelligencer," from 1579 to 1592, in which year he returned to England in bad health, and he applied to his uncle for a post at Court, but was for some reason disappointed. He kept, however, in full touch with his foreign correspondents, and seems also to have established a Scriptorium where he copied books for sale.<sup>652</sup> Thus, Standen writes that by one Lawson, he sends his travels in Turkey, Italy, and Spain, "nothing too high in prices for you" out of which and the Zibaldone MS., Anthony is to copy what he likes. If Standen discovers a lost MS., (his discourse on the Spanish State), Anthony shall have it. At this time he was introduced by his brother Francis to the young Earl of Essex, to whom Anthony found his brother "bound and in deep arreages," otherwise heavily in debt. He recommended

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<sup>652</sup> Birch, Vol. I., p. 85



Anthony as being of skilled ability in matters of state, especially foreign, and hence likely to obtain earlier foreign intelligence for Essex than the Queen's advisers were likely to receive; thus enabling Essex to conciliate the Queen's favour by intelligence in advance of that procured by the Cecils. A Scrivenery is, of course, a prime factor in such a service, and the engagement of correspondents upon the Continent proceeded at once. It was originally started, no doubt, in Gray's Inn, but the Scrivener's Company had a monopoly which they strictly enforced; hence it was removed to Twickenham Park, a house belonging to Lord Essex, as being out of the reach of the City Company's franchises, while the brothers Bacon occasionally resided there, and it ultimately became, by the Earl's free gift, the property of Bacon. Isaac Grüter shall later refer on the Verulamian Workmanship to Rawley, "if my fate would permit me to live according to my wishes, I would fly over into England, that I might behold whatsoever remaineth, in your cabinet, of the Verulamian Workmanship, and at least make my eyes witnessed of it, if the possession of the merchandise be yet denied to the public. At present I will support the wishes of my impatient desire, with hope of seeing, one day, those which being committed to faithful privacy, wait the time till they may safely see the light, and not be stifled in their birth."

On April 4, 1591 Palmer, Burghley's correspondent at St. Luz, is applied to for copies of his letters to Burghley. In the same month a survey of Essex's parks with their value is "faired out." It is at Lambeth, and is beautifully done. On September 15, 1593 Phelips (Walsingham's decipherer of intercepted letters) is retained on the staff, and the cipher is only known to him, Standen, and the brothers Bacon, not communicated to their employer: Essex. The number of paid agents in connection with this "news agency" was enormous, the chief being an exceedingly clever spy, named Standen, who boasted that he could come and go as a Frenchman. He began his trade in 1562 and became a Spanish pensioner. Walsingham bought him for £100 in 1572, the King of Spain paying him concurrently 480 crowns. In 1590 he was detected and lay eight months in prison, from which Anthony procured his release by bribery. Coming to England, he appealed to Burghley for employment as a spy, which he obtained, afterwards being retained by Essex as well. Knighted by Elizabeth for some unheard-of reason, he betrayed James I's secrets in 1604, was thrown into the Tower, and nearly lost his life. The list of correspondents, apparently all paid in meal or in malt, is over thirty in number: comprising English Ambassadors to France, Holland, and the States General, French Protestant Ministers, agents sent specially on Essex's behalf, Guicciardini, the historian, Bodley, hereafter as Sir Thomas to found the Bodleian Library, shipmasters, and a most extraordinary ganglion in Scotch affairs. Essex had his own agent at Edinburgh: he corresponded with Bower, the English Ambassador there, some of the rebel Lords, and the Scotch Chancellor; while, on the other hand, one Foulis<sup>653</sup> actually bribed

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<sup>653</sup> Foulis writes from Edinburgh to Antony Bacon (Birch's *Elizabeth*), in July 1594. Urging the need for Elizabeth to help James with money. "It is necessary that he (i.e. James) be satisfied . . . and in time, for the Papists begin to show themselves. The three Earls have six or seven hundred men in the field, and expect to receive forces from Spain very soon. It is thought that 10 or 12 sail (i.e. Spaniards) are already at sea. The King (James) had troops enough to keep the Earls quiet, but wanted money."

Anthony himself in the interest of the Scotch King. The imbroglio is such, that it is by no means wonderful to learn that Lord Northampton goes to Essex's bedside on June 28, 1599 and informs him that unless he there and then makes over Essex's House, where they then were, as a free gift to his secretary, Anthony Bacon, that individual will place in the hands of Secretary Cecil the whole of his intrigues with the Scotch King. Essex has no resource but to comply, and the estate, valued at £2,000, became Anthony's, though subsequently redeemed by a "whip" of from £2,000 to £4,000 among the family: an effort called up by Elizabeth's outspoken anger at the proceeding. This was matter of common talk, and Wotton's relation of this infamous treachery is corroborated by Chamberlain, which last upsets Spedding's faint attempt to discredit Wotton, himself one of Essex's secretaries. Of course the expense of all this was enormous.

From Devereux <sup>654</sup> we learn that one of his agents writes Essex that Mr. Edmondes has been paid £300 for his journey to Lyons, and 600 crowns more since his return, and asks for instructions, as this is much more than the Queen allows her agents. How, then, were funds found for all this? Wotton, at one time one of his five secretaries, tells us that Essex received from Elizabeth more than £300,000 besides the fees of his offices, three in number; as Earl Marshal, General of the Horse and of the Ordnance, and the sums spent for war purposes. This last office was over £1,000 a year, and it was but the third in money value. It was nothing for the old Queen of sixty to give her favourite £7,000 in cochineal. But dividing the sums quoted by Wotton over thirteen years, 1588-1600, we get, at a small estimate, of which he is said to have allowed Anthony less. We have now to give some particulars as to the mentions of the Scrivenery on this matter. We have seen that it was used for copying out MSS., from Standen and Colman, and that a MS., relating to Italy was stolen out of Lord Essex's chamber; so that other work was taken on besides Lord Essex's. Anthony writes Francis from Gorhambury on November 15, 1593 that Lawson was just arrived from the Earl (who had sent for him expressly from Twickenham), with letters from Dr. Morison (Essex's agent at Edinburgh), and a most earnest request to return them, deciphered, with all possible expedition. The next is from Francis to Anthony:

Twickenham Park, this 25th of January, 1594.

I have here an idle pen or two, specially one that was cozened, thinking to have got some money this term: I pray send me somewhat else for them to write out beside your Irish collection, which is almost done. There is a collection of Dr. James, largeliest of Flanders, which though it be no great manner, yet I would be glad to have it.

This Dr. James had been chaplain to Lord Leicester, was then Dean of Christchurch, and was a voluminous writer. He succeeded the father of Bacon's young friend, Toby Matthew, as Bishop of Durham in 1606. Going back to the letter, it states plainly that he is short of "copy" at the scrivenery, that one of his clerks was worrying for work hence Anthony was to look out to see if he could get any of Dr. James's copying. The next reference we find is in August 1596. Essex

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<sup>654</sup> Lives of the Devereux, Vol. I., p. 295

had prepared “a true relation of the action at Cadiz,” sent it home by his secretary Cuffe, who writes to Anthony: “The original you are to keep, because my Lord charged me to cause either you or Mr. Fontaine (minister of the French Church) to turn either the whole or the sum of it into French, and to cause it to be sent to some good personage in these parts, under a false name or anonymously.” Anthony was rather partial to these anonymous letters, and one is extant from him to the Countess of Northumberland, Essex’s sister, informing her of her husband’s adultery. The Queen was very angry, and forbade Cuffe on pain of death to have it printed, whereupon Anthony, finding he could not get it put into type, resolved to write out and send abroad copies of it, so that they would very shortly pass into all parts and speak all languages in spite of those who sought to suppress them.

Anthony did his part for Scotland, Bodley, afterwards of the library, for the Low Countries, and M. Fontaine for France. The Liege spy informs us it occupied three long written sheets. During the years 1591-1602, one Topcliffe was a diligent discoverer and violent persecutor of Roman Catholics under the penal laws. Elizabeth seems to have given credit to his reports, and encouraged him. In March 1599, there seem to have been heavy complaints against him for arresting Harrison, one of Cecil’s spies, and he would seem to have got into such disgrace, as to make him draw up a supplication (probably to the Queen), which was evidently of interest and written by Francis Bacon. It must have been written before Anthony’s death, about May 27, 1601. It runs thus:

Good brother,

I send you the supplication which Mr. Topcliffe lent me. It is curiously written and worth the writing out for the art, though the argument be bad. But it is lent me but for two or three days. So God keep you.

Fr. Bacon

It is equally possible that the supplicant may have been one Charles Topcliffe, who, at the loot of Cadiz, carried off £600 in silver and pleaded that it was the private property of the Corregidor, by whose wife it was given him. But the fact remains the same. Oddly enough, the last instance we shall find of this is in 1608, at which time the Scrivenery was still used for theatre purposes, the last of Shakespeare’s plays appearing some two years later. In 1608 Bacon composed a notebook of private memoranda of his property, and his plans for the future, which Gardner describes as a thorough insight into his character. Its full title is *Comentarius Solutus sive Pandecta sive Ancilla Memoriae*. It was discovered by Spedding in 1848, in Archbishop Tenison’s Library at St. Martin’s-in-the-Fields and is now in the British Museum. It seems to have taken Bacon a week to write it, and it occupies some fifty-five pages of print in Spedding’s volume IV., p. 40. He reckons his property as worth £24,000 (clear of debts), his income as £4,975, so that he was not a needy man; but he thinks only of ingratiating himself with the King by flattering his domestics and physicians, and of noting all the weaknesses of the Attorney General, with a

view of superseding him. Though his mother was living, her name never occurs, but two entries are so peculiar that even Spedding in a note gives to them the right explanation. The old Lord Treasurer Dorset had died suddenly two months before, leaving a widow over seventy, and some eight children. The first memorandum is "to send messages of compliment to my Lady Dorsett, the widow." The second, "Applying myself to be inward with my Lady Dorsett per Champnes ad utilitat testam." Spedding agrees that these last words stand for use of the will, and, after much speculation as to how Bacon was to get his profit, adds in a note a friend's suggestion that they relate to some professional employment in connection with that document. It really was in order to obtain the scrivener work in connection with what we should call the executorship. This work was highly paid, and the London scriveners thrived exceedingly, so the Solicitor General chose to tout for the work by an agent, no doubt his servant.

We have now linked together all the facts at present traceable with regard to this writing shop. That copying was costly and very profitable work; that these Scrivenery conductors would take up any work, however obtained, whether in confidence or not, is also perfectly clear, as is, unhappily, the fact that they were crippled with debts, and borrowed from everyone they could. Here, then, we have the place where the priceless manuscripts of the Shakespearean plays would be kept under the control of Francis Bacon, at all events up to 1608.

**Village of St. Gervais** Near Blois with a reputation for cream resembling the Edinburgh Corstophine cream. (Bacon, *Syl. Sylv*).

**Violent animosity** In 1612 violent animosity broke out between the English and the Scots. On May 20, Chamberlain writes to Sir Dudley Carleton: "There have happened two or three accidents of late very unlucky that made some boiling 'twixt the Scots and our Nation. Maxwell, a Sewer or Gentleman Usher, upon very small occasion, plucked or pinched by the ear one Hawley, a Gentleman of the Temple, at the feasting of the Duke of Bouillon, that the blood flowed freshly; who calling him to account for it the next day, by a challenge, the matter came to the King's notice, who understanding that all Inns of Court took alarm at the abuse, caused Hawley to be sent for. But he keeping out of the way, the King sent for the Benchers of the Temple, and told them, that if the Gentleman would come forth, and refer his cause to him, he would hear the matter himself, and do him all right and justice, and that he would not maintain any servant to do wrong; and this he willed them to tell the rest of their company. Which was done at Lincoln's Inn by Mr. Attorney, and at Gray's Inn by Sir Francis Bacon. But the Gentleman absents himself still; and the Scottishmen pluck in their horns, and are fain to absent themselves from plays, and from the nether parts of the town, and keep close about Charing Cross; for that they find unruly youths apt to quarrel and ready to offer ill measure. And to mend the matter, on Monday was seen night, Turner the fencer was suddenly slain with a pistol, as he was drinking with certain Scots belonging to the Lord Sanquaire, upon the old grudge of putting but his eye in playing with him at Ricot. The fellow that did the deed got away, and is not yet heard of; and

the Lord Sanquire played least in sight for three or four days; but understanding that there was a Proclamation coming forth for his apprehension, on Thursday about noon he rendered himself to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and stood much upon his innocence.”

**Viscount St. Albans** Bacon was created Viscount St. Albans on January 27, 1620–21. Lord Carew carried the robe of state before him; the Marquis of Buckingham held it up. He gave the King most humble thanks for making him: 1. his Solicitor; 2. Attorney; 3. Privy Counselor; 4. Keeper of the Great Seal; 5. Chancellor; 6. Baron Verulam; 7. Viscount St. Alban’s.

In D’Ewes’s *Diary*, is marked the account of the time and the beliefs against Bacon: “Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, created Viscount St. Alban’s, all men wondering at the exceeding vanity of his pride and ambition; for his estate in land was not above four or five hundred pounds per annum at the uttermost, and his debts were generally thought to be near £30.000. Besides, he was faine to support his very household expenses, being very lavish, by taking great bribes in all causes of moment that came before him. So as men raised very bitter sarcasms or jests of him; as that he lately was very lame, alluding to his Barony of Verulam, but now, having fallen into a consumption of purse, without all question he was become all bones, alluding to his new honour of St. Alban; nay, they said Nabal being folly or foolishness, and the true anagram of Alban, might well set forth his fond and impotent ambition.”<sup>655</sup>

**Voynich Manuscript** As of 2005 is item MS408 in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University. Of various plant life transmutations can be found in Francis Bacon’s *Sylva Sylvarum*, especially in Century VI. [Also see Part IV: *Bacon’s Works*].

## W

**Watch-candle** Queen Elizabeth’s nickname for Bacon. A watch-candle is the emblem of “care and observation.” In a letter to King James I., on May 31, 1612 Bacon says: “My good old mistress [Queen Elizabeth] was pleased to call me her watch-candle, because it pleased her to say I did continually burn (and yet she suffered me to waste almost to nothing).”

**Westminster** Originally called Thorney Island, from its having been “overgrown with thorns, and environed with water.” This fact is substantiated by a charter granted in the year 785, by Offa, the Mercian King, wherein the Isle of Thorney is expressly mentioned in conjunction with Westminster, the latter appellation having arisen from the new Minster, then supposed to have been built, being situated to the West, either of London or of St. Paul’s Minster, or Cathedral. (Stow).<sup>656</sup>

The years 604, 605, and 610, have been assigned as the dates of the foundation of the church at Westminster. King James I., made his public entry into London on May 7, 1603; and it is remarkable that on the twelfth day afterwards, he granted a license under the Privy Seal, tested by

<sup>655</sup> James Orchard Halliwell. *The autobiography of Sir Simonds D’Ewes*, Vol. I., 1845; Harl. MSS. 646

<sup>656</sup> *Survey of London*, p. 377; 1598

himself at Westminster, to Laurence Fletcher, Will. Shaksper, and others, “Freely to use and exercise the art and faculty of playing Comedies, Tragedies, Histories, Enterludes, Morals, Pastoralls, Stage-plaies, and such others, like as theie have already studied or hereafter shall use or studie,” either at the Globe Theatre, in Surrey, or elsewhere, “within anie Toun Halls or Moote Halls, or other convenient places,” throughout his dominions.<sup>657</sup> On June 4, 1610 James created his eldest son, Henry, Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, in full Parliament, in “the Great White Chamber” of the Old Palace at Westminster. On this occasion the King made twenty-five Knights of the Bath, and the whole attendant proceedings were conducted with great magnificence. A “most rich and glorious Masque of ladies” was exhibited at Whitehall; a splendid tournament was held in the Tilt-yard attached to that Palace; and “novell triumphs and pastimes, with a sea-fight and radiant fire-works,” were displayed upon the river Thames, “over against the Court.”<sup>658</sup>

**What d’ye lack** Sir John Bingley was Knighted at Theobald, where the Play or Interlude did not reassure to the expectation, but rather fell out the wrong way, specially by reason of a certain song sung by Sir John Finett, wherein the rest bore the bourdon, of such scurrilous and base stuff, that it put the King out of his good humour, and all the rest that heard it. When the Earl of Suffolk was accused of taking bribes in July 1617–18, his underling Sir John Bingley was committed to prison. Francis Bacon, in his Speech against the Earl in the Star Chamber, compared his Countess to an exchange-woman who kept her shop, while Sir John Bingley cried, “What d’ye lack.”

**Where are they?** In the spring of 1598 the French King concluded a separate peace with Spain, and opinions were greatly divided in England as to the advisability of Elizabeth doing the same. Supported by Burghley, it was bitterly opposed by Essex, who accordingly prepared a document, addressed: “An Apologie for the Earl of Essex against those who Falsely and Maliciously say him to be the only Hindrance of the Peace of his Country.” The work seems always to have been under Bacon’s control, as he admits in his *Apologie* for Essex. The Queen disliked this appeal to the public, and treated him coolly in consequence. When next at Court, in the heat of dispute, the Earl, with a gesture of contempt, turned his back upon Elizabeth, saying “her conditions were as crooked as her carcase,” whereupon the Queen boxed his ears, and told him to go “in malam rem.” And a “bad thing” he went in for there and then, putting his hand to his sword, swearing that he would not bear such an indignity from Henry VIII., and leaving the Court. A great coolness ensued; a letter of Lord Essex to Lord Keeper Egerton added fuel to the fire, and Bacon brought this last up against Essex on the proceedings in June 1600, as bold, presumptuous, and derogatory to Her Majesty going on to say that it had been published by the Earl’s friends, of whom the brothers Bacon, by the way, were at that time the chief, and ran the Scrivenery where the copies had been translated and written out. Camden and other historians distinctly say that, although the quarrel was apparently patched up in the following October, from this time dated Essex’s fall.

<sup>657</sup> *Fœdera*. Tom. VII., Pars II. p. 71

<sup>658</sup> Edward Wedlake Brayley & John Britton. *The History of the Ancient Palace and late Houses of Parliament at Westminster*, 1836

For the Bacons translated this *Apologie* into French, had it copied at the Scrivenery, and distributed in Italy, France, and Spain, causing there great irritation by its outspoken language about the King. Spaniards marvelled that such libels, “sent by the Earl to Mr. Bacon, should be allowed by Elizabeth to be written in her country, making comedies and jests of the King of Spain upon stages.” These are the words written from Liege by Petit, a spy, under date June 10, 1599 extant in the Domestic State Papers, Vol. 270. It must have been a matter of common notoriety to be circulating at the same time in both London and Liege. The spy says that a copy had been sent to the King of Spain, as if Standen had turned it into Spanish. Things looked gloomy at this time for Essex. He had forfeited the Queen’s favour, and made things worse by his goings on with the Maids of Honour, with four of whom he was credited with intimacy at the same time. Two of them, named Bridges and Russell, were driven from Court by the Queen with oaths and blows.

Essex was committed to custody in September 1599, and for eight months confined to his house. He was in debt, and though the fees of his great offices regularly came in, yet none of such princely gifts as the £7,000 in cochineal were now to be looked for from the Queen. On the contrary, his monopoly of sweet wines, which had expired at Michaelmas, was not renewed, but fell into the Exchequer. The Bacons, too, were at their wits end. In March 1600, Francis Bacon had begged Elizabeth for a gift in fee simple of three parcels of Crown Land, value £80 odd, on the grounds that his brother was being forced to sell Gorhambury and on another plea, in order to free himself from “the contempt of the contemptible that measure a man by his estate” his creditors were evidently getting rude to him. The request was certainly not granted by Elizabeth. In January 1600, suits were pending against Bacon, and on January 25 he applies to his old creditor Hickes for a further loan of £200, on sureties whose consent he says he had not asked. Anthony, by a threat to divulge Essex’s intrigues with the King of Scots (who was next heir to the throne) to Cecil, obtained a gift of Essex House (all, apparently, Essex had left at his disposal), which had to be ransomed afterwards for £4,000. This is attested by both Wotton and Chamberlain, the last in Domestic State Papers (1599), p. 222. Anthony, probably from shame and remorse, appears to have destroyed all his correspondence with Essex, for the valuable series in Lambeth Palace Library, from which so much of this monograph has been derived, and from which much more is evidently derivable, ceases here.

**Willobie his Avis** This extract is taken from Dr. Grosart’s text: <sup>659</sup> In the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 62, 1900 is an account of the Willoughby or Willobie Henry (1574–1596?), the eponymous hero of the poem called *Willobies Avis* who was second son of Henry Willoughby, a country gentleman of Wiltshire, by Jane, daughter of one Dauntsey of Lavington, Wiltshire. A younger brother was named Thomas, the father’s father, Christopher Willoughby, was illegitimate

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<sup>659</sup> British Museum copy of the 1594 edition of the poem entitled *Willobie his Avis, or The True Picture of a Modest Maide, and of a Chaste and Constant Wife*, that was entered on the Stationers’ Registers in September, 1594

son of Sir William Willoughby, the brother of Sir Robert Willoughby, first baron Willoughby de Broke, [q.v.]. Henry matriculated as a commoner from St. John's College, Oxford, on December 10, 1591 at the age of sixteen. According to the report of a "friend and chamber fellow," he was a scholar of good hope. He may be the Henry Willoughbie who graduated B.A. from Exeter College on February 28, 1594–95.<sup>660</sup> Soon after that date, being desirous to see the fashions of other countries for a time, he departed voluntarily to her Majesty's service. Before 30 June 1596 he is reported to have died. On September 3, 1594 there was licensed for the press a book entitled *Willoby his Avis* or *The True Picture of a Modest Maid and of a Chaste and Constant Wife*,<sup>661</sup> and shortly afterwards the work issued from the press of John Windet. In this volume, which mainly consists of seventy-two cantos in varying numbers of six-line stanzas (fantastically called by the author *hexameters*), the chaste heroine, Avis, holds converse in the opening sections as a maid, and in the later sections as a wife with a series of passionate adorers. In every case she firmly repulses their advances midway through the book. Henry Willobie is introduced as an ardent admirer, in his own person, chiefly under the initials "H.W." It is explained in a prose interpolation that Willobie has sought the advice of a friend, "W.S." who had lately gone through the experience of a severe rebuff at the hands of a disdainful mistress. After "W.S." light heartedly offers some tantalising advice in verse, "H.W." in the twenty-nine cantos which form the last portion of the volume, is made to rehearse his woes and Avis's obduracy. Two prefaces, one addressed to "all the constant ladies and gentlewomen of England that fear God," and the other to "the gentle and courteous reader," are both signed Hadrian Dorrell. The second is dated from Dorrell's chamber in Oxford. This first of October, Dorrell takes responsibility for the publication, stating that he found the manuscript in his friend Willobie's rooms while he was absent from the country.

The Oxford student Henry Willoby undoubtedly had a brother named Thomas. The name of Hadrian Dorrell was apparently assumed. No Oxford student bearing that appellation is known to the University registers. It is probable that Hadrian Dorrell was sole author of *Avisa* and that he named his work after his friend Henry Willoby, in the same manner as Nicolas Breton named a poem, *The Countess of Pembrokes Passion* after the patroness in whose honour and for whose delectation it was written. The chief interest of the poem lies in its apparent bearings on Shakespeare's biography. In prefatory verses in six-line stanzas, which are signed "Contraria Contrariis: Vigilantius: Dormitanus," direct mention is made of Shakespeare's poem of *Lucrece*, which was licensed for the press on May 9, 1594, only four months before *Avisa*. This is the earliest open reference made in print by a contemporary author to Shakespeare's name. The notice of Shakespeare lends substance to the theory that the alleged friend of Willoby, who is known in the poem under the initials "W.S." may be the dramatist himself. "W.S." is spoken of as the old player. If this identity be admitted, there is a likelihood that the troubled amour from which "W.S." is said in the poem to have recently recovered is identical with the intrigue

<sup>660</sup> Oxford Univ. Rea. Oxf. Hist. Soc. II. ii. 187, iii. 189

<sup>661</sup> Arber. Stationers' Registers, II. p. 659



that forms one of the topics of Shakespeare's Sonnets. The frivolous tone in which "W.S." is made in *Avisa* to refer to his recent amorous adventure suggests, moreover, that the professed tone of pain which characterises the poet's addresses to a disdainful mistress in his Sonnets is not to be interpreted quite seriously. Willobies *Avisa* droved popular, and rapidly went through six editions, but very few copies survive.

1. Of the first edition, published in 1594, two perfect copies are known one in the British Museum. Another copy is in Mr. Christie Miller's library at Britwell.
2. A slightly imperfect copy is in the Huth Library. No copy is now known either of the edition of 1596, containing for the first time Dorrell's *Apologie* and Thomas Willoby's contribution.
3. Nor is there any trace of a third edition published after 1596 and before 1605.
4. A fourth edition (the fourth time corrected and augmented) was issued by Windet, the original printer and publisher, in 1605; and unique copy is at Britwell. Bagford, Benjamin Furley, and other collectors noted an edition of 1609, which was probably a remainder issue of the fourth edition. The work was reprinted in 1635 by William Stansby, and was described on the title-page as "the fifth time corrected and augmented." A copy, said to be unique, is in the British Museum. Dr. Grosart reprinted privately 1880 the first edition, with extracts from the additions first published in 1596, although now only accessible in the editions of 1609 and 1635.

The portion supposed to refer to Shakespeare was reprinted in *Shakspere Allusion Books*. The mention of the name Shakespeare occurs in the following introductory verses:

In Lavine land though Livie boast,  
There hath beene scene a Constant Dame:  
Though Rome lament that she have lost  
The Gareland of her rarest fame,  
Yet now we see that heere is found,  
As great a Faith in English ground:  
Though Collatine have dearely bought,  
To high renowne, a lasting life,  
And found, that most in vaine have sought,  
To have a Faire and Constant wife,  
Yet Tarquine pluckt his glistering grape,  
And Shake-speare, paints poore Lucrece rape.

These verses are signed "Contraria Contrariis: Vigilantius: Dormitanus." Vigilantius was an enlightened person, living at the end of the fourth century, who questioned the sanctity of relics and the superior merit of celibacy. He was furiously attacked by St. Jerome, who termed

him “Vigilantius seu verius Dormantius.” The signature is therefore equivalent to Jerome, Hieronymus, or Jeronimo.

**Wrangling lawyers** On November 9, 1620 Mr. Chamberlain sent to Sir Dudley Carleton that “the Proclamation for the Parliament, penned by the King himself, and would not be entreated by the Lord Chancellor [Bacon] and Lord Chamberlain [Pembroke] to leave out the words *wrangling lawyers*.”

## Y

**York House.** The original York House occupied by Cardinal Wolsey and afterwards the King’s Palace of Whitehall, also the second York House afterwards appropriated to the use of the Archbishop of York, have references that are of some interest. Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper, was in occupation in the early days of Queen Elizabeth, and it is the birthplace of Francis Bacon in the Strand, London on January 22, 1560–61. Another Lord Keeper, Sir John Puckering, also was a tenant, so too was the Lord Chancellor Egerton whose tenancy is alluded to in the following letter from the Archbishop: “I understand that your Lo. is desirous to be my tenant in my house near Charing Crosse. The trueth is that I was certainly informed that your Lo. had no inclination that way because the house standes nere the water and is thought to be somewhat rheumatike.” <sup>662</sup> The Earl of Essex was there in 1592, apparently by the Queen’s authority: “Her Highness hath now committed the same unto the right honorable the Earle of Essex.” <sup>663</sup> Francis Bacon is seen again at York House at a later time in his career and appears to have possessed some rights of tenure. It is said that he was at York House in 1621 when he was compelled to give up the Great Seal. Only in the previous year, Bacon being then Viscount Verulam, Ben Jonson had eulogized him as the “happy Genius of this ancient pile.” (*i.e.* York House).

**York House, Water Gate** The fine old Water Gate in the Embankment Gardens within a few yards of Charing Cross Underground Station is a reminder of the time when noble houses fronted the river and the Thames river was almost as much a highway as any Venetian canal. The gate was designed by Inigo Jones as the river entrance for York House, the town mansion of the first Duke of Buckingham, and apart from its beauty is particularly interesting as indicating the old river level before the building of the Embankment. The portion of Westminster that extends from this point to St. James’ Park was formerly known as York Place, for here stood the palace of the Archbishops of York. Cardinal Wolsey was the last Archbishop to occupy the palace, and at his fall in 1529 this desirable property was immediately appropriated by Henry, who built for himself the royal palace of Whitehall. Inigo Jones in 1619 designed a palace to replace Whitehall. It was to cover an area of twenty-four acres, but was never built, owing to

<sup>662</sup> 1596. To Sir Francis Egerton, Egerton Papers, 221

<sup>663</sup> Norden’s Middlesex, Harl. MS., 570 (Camden Society)

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lack of funds and the civil unrest that preceded the revolution. Of Inigo's magnificent design the Banqueting House only was completed, and it was from a window of the Banqueting House that Charles I., stepped out upon a platform to be executed. An inscription is let into the wall below the window commemorating this fact, but is difficult to decipher. (Owen). <sup>664</sup>

**York Place** [See *York House*.]

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<sup>664</sup> Will Owen. *Old London*, 1921



## Alphabetically:

### Part IV. Bacon's Works

Contained here is the mention of all Bacon's works that we have witnessed from the publications of histrionic authors who brought them forward for public reading. In the author's humble opinion of this work, such a list would have been found in the eighteenth century quite abundantly among periodicals or articles, yet in our day and age, it is scarcely recognized by many, excluding Baconians, if Bacon wrote anything other than his histrionic *Essays*.

His works are given in alphabetical order, date of publication, publishers' name, and if the work was reprinted, the date is duly given and if the work was translated or not.

In many titles, the Elizabethan spelling has been kept and has been changed only if this did not interfere with the original meaning of the text.

"Most of all, Sir Francis Bacon's Writings which have the freshest, and most savoury form and aptest utterances, that (as I suppose) our Tongue can bear." (Bolton).<sup>665</sup> Bacon's works come from the actual conditions of his life that really moulded them into what they are. Spedding comments, that "Bacon's works were all published separately, and never collected into a body by himself; and though he had determined, not long before his death, to distribute them into consecutive volumes, the order in which they were to succeed each other was confessedly irregular; a volume of moral and political writings being introduced between the first and second parts of the *Instauratio Magna*, quite out of place, merely because he had it ready at the time."<sup>666</sup>

When Spedding was consulted about a new edition of Bacon, he took under consideration the expediency of arranging these works with reference, not to subject, size, language, or form, but to the different classes of readers whose requirements he had in view when he composed them. So classified, they fall naturally into three principal divisions:

1. Philosophy and general literature
2. Legal subjects
3. Letters, speeches, charges, tracts, state papers, and other writings of business

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<sup>665</sup> Edmund Bolton, 1822

<sup>666</sup> Spedding. *Works*, Vol. I. p. 5

Three collaborators involved in these works were: For the Philosophical works undertaken by Mr. Robert Leslie Ellis; for the Professional works by Mr. Douglas Denon Heath and for the Occasional and Literary works by Mr. James Spedding.

- **Religious Works**

**A Confession of Faith** First printed in the *Remains* 1648 with a title stating that it was written by Bacon about the time he was Solicitor General. Afterwards in the *Resuscitatio* by Dr. Rawley who merely says that he composed it many years before his death. Written before he was Knighted, that is before the summer of 1603. "If anyone wishes to read a *Summa Theologiae*, digested into the finest English of the days when its tones were finest, he may read it here." (Spedding).

**Christian Paradoxes** Appeared first in 1643, as a separate pamphlet, under Bacon's name and in 1648 it was inserted in the *Remains*. Dr. Rawley says nothing of it; Tenison says nothing of it. "If the publisher of the edition of 1643 had not put Bacon's name upon the title page, there would have been no reason at all for thinking that he had anything to do with it." (Spedding). It is the work of an Orthodox churchman of the early part of the seventeenth century. [Also see Part III: *Paradoxes not written by Bacon.*]

**Meditationes Sacrae** [Religious Meditations] Written in Latin and published in 1597 in the same volume with the *Essays* and the *Colours of Good and Evil*. This volume was reprinted the next year by the same publisher, only that an English translation of the *Meditationes Sacrae* under the title of *Religious Meditations*, was substituted of the original Latin.

**Prayers** Of three; the two first come from the *Baconiana*, and would be accepted as genuine compositions of Bacon's on Tenison's authority; the third is of more doubtful authenticity, being attributed to Bacon on no better authority than that of the unknown editor of the *Remains*, who prints it at the end of the volume, immediately after *A Confession of Faith*. [Also see *A Confession of Faith*.]

**Translation of Certain Psalms** Was made as the collection of *Apophthegms* also during a fit of sickness in 1624; published in December of that year. The dedication is "to his very good friend Mr. George Herbert," author of *The Temple*, printed in 1633; and hence it appears that these translations had been "the exercise" of Bacon's "sickness." He also thanks Herbert for "the pains it pleased you to take about some of my writings," referring to the translation by Herbert of part of the *Advancement of Learning* into Latin. The Psalms versified are the 1st, the 12th, the 90th, the 104th, the 126th, the 137th, and the 149th, in various measures.

Among the MSS., at Bridgewater House are several letters from Bacon to Lord Ellesmere, among them the celebrated epistle upon the want of a history of Great Britain, a work which Samuel Daniel afterwards undertook, but did not live to complete. This letter has been printed in both editions of the *Cabala*, but most imperfectly in all respects, and with the total omission of

two very important passages. It is very possible that Daniel was encouraged to write his history by Lord Ellesmere, in consequence of the letter. The same task was subsequently assigned to Sir Henry Wotton, and a Privy Seal is extant in the Chapter House, Westminster, raising his annuity from 200 to 400 for the express purpose. This fact is not mentioned by the biographers of Wotton.

- **Literary Works**

Bacon's literary works were intended to take their place among books; as distinguished from writings of business, which though they may be collected into books, afterwards were composed without reference to anything beyond the particular occasion to which they relate.

**A fragment of an Essay on Fame** First published by Dr. Rawley in the *Resuscitatio* 1657, p. 281.

**Additions and Corrections inserted by Bacon in a manuscript copy of Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth** The three first books of Camden's *Annals* of Elizabeth, extending from the beginning of her reign to the end of the year 1589, were published by order of James I., in 1615.

**Advertisement Touching a Holy War** Written in 1622, first published by Dr. Rawley in 1629, along with two or three others, in a small volume entitled "Certain Miscellany Works of the Right Honourable Francis Lo. Verulam, Viscount St. Alban" and translated into Latin and included among Bacon's *Opera Moralia et Civilia* in 1638. There is a manuscript copy of part of it in the British Museum, *Harl. MSS. 4263* and another in the Cambridge University Library.

**Advertisement Touching the Controversies of the Church of England** First printed as a separate pamphlet in 1640. Afterwards by Dr. Rawley in the *Resuscitatio* 1657, and again as a separate pamphlet in 1663. A paper in which Bacon comes forward in the character of a peace-maker, remonstrating against the conduct of both sides, and therefore "not likely to be grateful to either, yet trusting that his views would find a correspondency in their minds who were not embarked in partiality, and which loved the whole better than a part."

**Apophthegms New and Old** They serve not for pleasure only and ornament, but also for action and business; being, as one called them, *mucrones verborum*, [speeches with a point or edge,] whereby knots in business are pierced and severed. The original edition entitled "Apophthegms New and Old. Collected by the Right Honourable Francis Lo. Verulam Viscount St. Alban. London. Printed for Hanna Barret and Richard Whittaker, and are to be sold at the King's Head in Paul's Churchyard, 1625" a very small octavo volume dated 1625 but published about the middle of December 1624 and consisted of 280 apophthegms, with a short Preface. In 1658 there came forth a small volume, without any editor's name, under the title "Witty Apophthegms delivered at several times and upon several occasions, by King James, King Charles, the Marquess of Worcester, Francis Lord Bacon, and Sir Thomas Moore, collected and revised." In this volume, the *Apophthegms* attributed to Bacon are in all one hundred and eighty-four, of which one hundred

and sixty-three are copied *verbatim* from his own collection of 1625 and follow in the same order. The remaining twenty-one, which are mostly of a very inferior character, are not added but interspersed. In 1661 appeared a second edition, or rather reissue, of the *Resuscitatio*, edited as before by Dr. Rawley, and with some additions; among which was a collection of *Apophthegms, New and Old* being a reprint of the original collection of 1625. In 1671 three or four years after Dr. Rawley's death, appeared a third edition of the *Resuscitatio*, in two parts.

In 1679 a new volume or remains, under the title of *Baconiana*, was published by Dr. Tenison from original manuscripts; with an introduction containing an account of all the Lord Bacon's works. Next came Blackbourne's edition in 1730 with an edition of Bacon's works complete in 4 volumes folio. "A similar collection adapted to modern times would be well worth making". (Spedding). In the *Apophthegms* you will find more than once the record of the witty sayings of one "Mr. Bettenham." This person was a fellow Reader of Bacon's, who had preceded Bacon in the Treasurership. For many years of Bacon's residence, they co-operated in the work of the Gray's Inn. Mr. Bettenham was a learned lawyer, but he was also a man of whom the Inn's records show that he had "been a continual and diligent keeper of learning in the house and was called a year before his time and hath been no great gainer by the law and hath chargeably and learnedly performed his reading."<sup>667</sup>

**Colours of Good and Evil** The beginning of a collection of colourable arguments on questions of good and evil, with answers to them; being printed in the same volume with the *Essays* and *Meditationes Sacrae* in 1597, in the title of which it is called *Places of Persuasion and Dissuasion*; and was probably composed not long before.

**De Sapientia Veterum** [Wisdom of the Ancients,] First published in 1609, in a small duodecimo volume, carefully and beautifully printed in the elegant italic type then in use. It appears to have become speedily popular, and was once or twice reprinted during Bacon's life, and translated both into English and Italian. The interpretation of each fable is in fact an Essay or counsel, civil, moral, or philosophical; embodying the results of Bacon's own thought and observation upon the nature of men and things, and replete with good sense of the best quality. Students of Greek naturally neglect it, because it passes no longer of an orthodox exposition of the meaning of the Greek fables. Students of nature and the business of modern life naturally pass it by, not expecting to find under such a title and in a dead language the sort of entertainment they are in search of. The work was translated from Latin into English, by Sir Arthur Gorges in 1619.

- 1609 Latin, R. Barker, London, 12mo
- 1617 J. Bill
- 1618 Italian, G. Bill
- 1619 English, J. Bill
- 1620 English, J. Bill
- 1633 Latin, F. Maire, Lug. Bat

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<sup>667</sup> Gray's Inn Pension Book, 1590



- 1634 F. Kingston, London
- 1638 E. Griffin, Folio
- 1691 H. Wetstein, Amsterdam, 12mo
- 1804 French, H. Frantin, Dijon, 8vo

Index of the fables:

1. Cassandra, or Divination
2. Typhon, or A Rebel
3. The Cyclopes, or The Ministers of Terror
4. Narcissus, or Self-Love
5. Styx, or Leagues
6. Pan, or Nature
7. Perseus, or War
8. Endymion, or A Favourite
9. The Sister of the Giants, or Fame
10. Actæon and Pentheus, or A Curious Man
11. Orpheus, or Philosophy
12. Cœlum, or Beginnings
13. Proteus, or Matter
14. Memnon, or A Youth too Forward
15. Tithonus, or Satiety
16. Juno's Suitor, or Baseness
17. Cupid, or An Atom
18. Diomedes, or Zeal
19. Dædalus, or Mechanic
20. Erichthonius, or Imposture
21. Deucalion, or Restitution
22. Nemesis, or The Vicissitude of Things
23. Achelous, or Battle
24. Dionysus, or Passions
25. Atalanta, or Gain
26. Prometheus, or The Statue of Man
27. Scylla and Icarus or The Middle Way
28. Sphynx, or Science
29. Prosperpina, or Spirit
30. Metis, or Counsel
31. The Sirens, or Pleasure

The Latin Original was dedicated to Robert Cecil Earl of Salisbury, and an address followed to the University of Cambridge which was subjoined:

**The Preface**

The Antiquities of the first Age (except those we find in Sacred Writ) were buried in Oblivion and Silence: Silence was succeeded by Poetical Fables; and Fables again were followed by the Records we now enjoy. So that the Mysteries and Secrets of Antiquity were distinguished and separated from the Records and Evidences of succeeding Times by the Veil of Fiction which interposed itself and came between those Things which Perished and those which are Extant. I suppose some are of Opinion that my Purpose is to write Toys and Trifles and to usurp the same Liberty in applying, that the Poets assumed in feigning which I might do (I confess) if I lifted, and with more serious Contemplation intermix these Things to delight either myself in Meditation or others in Reading. Neither am I ignorant how Fickle and Inconstant a Thing Fiction is as being subject to be drawn and wrested any way and how great the commodity of Wit and Discourse is, that is able to apply Things well, yet so as never meant by the first Authors. But I remember that this Liberty hath been lately much abused in that many to purchase the Reverence of Antiquity to their own Inventions and Fancies have for the same intent laboured to wrest many Poetical Fables. Neither hath this old and common Vanity been used only of late or now and then: for even Chrysippus long ago did (as an Interpreter of Dreams) ascribe the Opinions of the Stoics to the Ancient Poets; and more sottishly do the Chymicks [alchemysts] appropriate the Fancies and Delights of Poets in the Transformation of Bodies to the Experiments of their Furnace. All these Things, I say I have sufficiently considered and weighed, and in them have seen and noted the general Levity and Indulgence of Mens' Wits about Allegories; and yet for all this I relinquish not my Opinion.

For first, it may not be that the Folly and Looseness of a few should altogether detract from the respect due to the Parables: for that were a Conceit which might favour of Profaneness and Presumption: for Religion itself doth sometimes delight in such Veils and Shadows: So that whoso Exempts them, seems in a manner to interdict all Commerce between Things Divine and Human. But concerning Human Wisdom, I do indeed ingenuously and freely confess that I am inclined to imagine, that under some of the Ancient Fictions lay couched certain Mysteries and Allegories, even from their first Invention. And I am persuaded (whether ravished with the Reverence of Antiquity, or because in some Fables I find such singular Proportion between the Similitude and the Thing signified; and such apt and clear coherence in the very Structure of them and propriety of Names wherewith the Persons or Actors in them are inscribed and entitled) that no Man can constantly deny but this Sense was in the Authors Intent and Meaning when they first invented them, and that they purposely shadowed it in this sort. For who can be so Stupid and Blind in the open Light, as when he hears how Fame, after the Giants were destroyed, sprang up as their youngest Sister not to refer it to the Murmurs and Seditious Reports of both sides, which are wont to fly abroad for a time after the suppressing of Insurrections? Or when he hears how the Giant Typhon having cut out and brought away Jupiter's Nerves, which Mercury stole from him and restored again to Jupiter; doth not presently perceive how fitly it may be

applied to powerful Rebellions, which take from Princes their Sinews of Money and Authority; but so that by affability of Speech and wife Edicts (the Minds of their Subjects being in time, privily and as it were by stealth reconciled) they recover their Strength again? Or when he hears how (in that memorable Expedition of the Gods against the Giants) the braying of Silenus his Ass, conduced much to the prostigation [from the Latin: *putting to fight*] of the Giants, doth not confidently imagine that it was invented to shew how the greatest Enterprises of Rebels are oftentimes dispersed with vain Rumours and Fears.

Moreover, to what Judgement can the Conformity and Signification of Names seem obscure? Seeing Metis, the Wife of Jupiter, doth plainly signify Counsel; Typhon, Insurrection; Pan, Universality; Nemesis, Revenge, and the like. Neither let it trouble any Man if sometimes he meet with Historical Narrations or Additions for Ornaments sake or confusion of Times or something transferred from one Fable to another to bring in a new Allegory: for it could be no otherwise seeing they were the Inventions of Men which lived in divers Ages and had also divers Ends: some being ancient others neoterical; [more recent]; some having an Eye to Things Natural others to Moral.

There is another Argument and that no small one neither to prove that these Fables contain certain hidden and involved Meanings seeing some of them are observed to be so absurd and foolish in the very relation that they shew and as it were proclaim a Parable afar off. For such Tales as are probable they may seem to be invented for delight and in imitation of History; and as for such as no Man would so much as imagine or relate they seem to be sought out for other Ends. For what kind of Fiction is that wherein Jupiter is said to have taken Metis to Wife; and perceiving that she was with Child, to have devoured her; whence himself conceiving brought forth Pallas armed out of his Head? Truly, I think there was never Dream so different to the course of Cogitation and so full of Monstrosity ever hatched in the Brain of Man. Above all Things this prevails most with me and is of singular Moment; that many of these Fables seem not to be invented of those by whom they are related and celebrated as by Homer, Hesiod and others: for if it were so that they took beginning in that Age and from those Authors by whom they are delivered and brought to our Hands: My Mind gives me there could be no great or high Matter expected or supposed to proceed from them in respect of these Originals. But if with attention we consider the Matter it will appear that they were delivered and related as Things formerly believed and received and not as newly invented and offered unto us. Besides seeing they are diversely related by Writers that lived near about one and these self-same time, we may easily perceive that they were common Things derived from precedent Memorials; and that they became various by reason of the divers Ornaments bestowed on them by particular Relations: And the consideration of this must needs increase in us a great Opinion of them as not to be accounted either the effects of the Times or inventions of the Poets but as sacred Reliques or abstracted Airs of better Times, which by Tradition from more Ancient Nations fell into the Trumpets and Flutes of the Grecians. But if

any do obstinately contend that Allegories are always adventitiously and as it were by Constraint never naturally and properly included in Fables, we will not be much troublesome, but suffer them to enjoy that gravity of judgement, which I am sure they affect, although indeed it be but Lumpish and almost Leaden. And (if they be worthy to be taken notice of) we will begin afresh with them in some other Fashion.

There is found among Men (and it goes for current) a twofold use of Parables and those, (which is more to be admired) referred to contrary Ends; conducing as well to the folding up and keeping of Things under a Veil, as to the enlightening and laying open of Obscurities. But omitting the former, (rather than to undergo wrangling and assuming ancient Fables as Things vagrant and composed only for Delight) the latter must questionless still remain as not to be wrested from us by any violence of Wit; neither can any that is but meanly Learned hinder but it must absolutely be received as a Thing grave and sober free from all vanity, and exceeding profitable, and necessary to all Sciences. This is it, I say, that leads the Understanding of Man by an easy and gentle Passage through all novel and abstruse Inventions which any way differ from common received Opinions. Therefore in the first Ages (when many human Inventions and Conclusions, which are now common and vulgar, were new and not generally known,) all Things were full of Fables, Enigmas, Parables, and Similes of all sorts; by which they sought to teach and lay open, not to hide and conceal Knowledge; especially seeing the Understandings of Men were in those Times rude and impatient, and almost incapable of any Subtilties; such Things only excepted, as were the Object of Sense; for as Hieroglyphics preceded Letters, so Parables were more ancient than Arguments. And in these Days also he that would illuminate Men's Minds anew in any old Matter, and that not with disprofit and harshness, must absolutely take the same Course, and use the help of Similes. Wherefore, (after) all that hath been said, we must thus conclude The Wisdom of the Ancients, was either much, or happy: Much, if these Figures and Tropes were invented by Study and Premeditation; Happy, if they (intending nothing less) gave Matter and Occasion to so many worthy Meditations.

As concerning my Labours, (if there be any Thing in them which may do good,) I will on neither part count them ill bestowcd, my purpose being to illustrate either Antiquity, or Things themselves. Neither am I ignorant that this very Subject hath been attempted by others: But to speak as I think, and that freely without Ostentation, the Dignity and Efficacy of the Thing is almost lost by these Mens' Writings, though voluminous and full of Pains, whilst not diving into the depth of Matters but skilful only in certain common Places, (they) have applied the Sense of these Parables to certain vulgar and general Things, not so much as glancing at their true Virtue, genuine Propriety, and full Depth. I (if I be not deceived,) shall be new in common Things: therefore, leaving such as are plain and open, I will aim at farther and richer Matters.

Fr. Bacon

This work was an attempt to analyze and explain on rational principles some of the most prominent Grecian and Roman myths. In the light of the scientific research made by Prof. Max Müller and others, these fanciful speculations are of no value, but they demonstrate one thing beyond question, *viz.*, that Shakespeare possessed an unusually extensive and accurate knowledge of mythological and legendary lore. The subject seems to have had a special fascination for him. To show, however, that Shakespeare was equally familiar with these classical myths and legends, we now present in parallel columns for easy comparison the names of the characters around which these myths cluster, as found in Bacon's prose works and in the Shakespearean Plays:

<u>From Shakespeare</u>	<u>From Bacon</u>
Absyrtus	
	Achelous
	Acratus
Actæon	Actæon
Adonis	Adonis
Æacida	
Æcides	
Æneas	Æneas
Æolus	Æolus
Æson	
Æsop	Æsop
Agamemnon	Agamemnon
Agenor	
Ajax	
Alcides	
Althæa	
Amainon	
	Amalthea
Amazons	Amazons
Ancus	
Andromache	
	Antæus
	Anubis
Antenor	
Antiopa	
Apollo	Apollo
Argus	Argus
Ariadne	Ariadne
Arion	Arion

Ascanius	
Astræa	
Atalanta	Atalanta
Ate	
Atlas	Atlas
Atropos	
	Angeas
Aurora	Aurora
Bacchanals	
Bacchus	Bacchus
	Bellerophon
Bellona	
Boreas	Boreas
Briareus	
Cadmus	
Calchus	
Cassandra	Cassandra
	Castor
Centaus	
Cephalus	
Cerberus	
Ceres	Ceres
Charon	Charon
	Chimera
Chiron	Chiron
Circe	Circe
Cobali	
	Cœlum
Cophetua	
Corydon	
Cupid	Cupid
Cyclops	Cyclops
Cynthia	Cynthia
Cytherea	
Dædalus	Dædalus
Daphne	
Dardanian	
	Deianira

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Deiphobus	
Deucalion	Deucalion
Diana	Diana
Dido	
Diomedes	Diomedes
Dion	
	Dionysus
Dis	Dis
Echo	Echo
Endymion	Endymion
Epimethus	Epimethus
Enceladus	Enceladus
Erebus	
	Eros
Europa	
Fama	Fama
Fates	Fates
Fortuna	Fortuna
Ganymede	
Gorgons	Gorgons
	Grææ
Harpies	
	Hebe
Hector	
Hecuba	Hecuba
Helen	Helen
Helenus	
	Heracles
Hercules	Hercules
Hermes	Hermes
Hero	
Hesperus	
	Hippomenes
Hostilius	
	Hybris
Hydra	Hydra
	Hylas
Hymen	

Hyperion

Iambe

Icarus

Icarus

Io

Iris

Ithacus

Janus

Janus

Jason

Juno

Juno

Jupiter

Jupiter

Laertes

Leander

Leda

Lucretia

Lucretia

Margarelon

Mars

Mars

Medea

Medea

Medusa

Memnon

Menelaus

Mercury

Mercury

Metis

Mezentius

Midas

Midas

Minerva

Minerva

Minos

Minos

Minotaur

Momus

Mopsus

Myrmidons

Naiads

Narcissus

Narcissus

Nemesis

Nemesis

Neoptolemus

Neptune

Neptune

Nereides

Nessus

Nestor



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Niobe	
Numa	
Nymphs	Nymphs
	Œdipus
	Orcus
Orpheus	Orpheus
Pallas	Pallas
	Pan
	Pandora
Pandarus	
Pandion	
Parca	Parca
Paris	Paris
Pegasus	Pegasus
	Pelias
Penelope	Penelope
Penthesilea	
	Pentheus
Perigenia	
Perseus	Perseus
Phaëthon	Phaëthon
Philemon	
Philomela	
Phœbe	
Phœbus	Phœbus
Phoenix	
	Pirithous
Pluto	Pluto
Plutus	Plutus
	Pollux
	Polyphemus
Polyxena	
Polyxenes	
Priam	
Priapus	
Procis	
Progne	
Prometheus	Prometheus

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Proserpine	Proserpine
Proteus	Proteus
Publicola	
Pygmalion	Pygmalion
Pyramus	
	Pyrrha
Pyrrhus	
	Romulus
Saturn	Saturn
Satyr	Satyr
Scylla	Scylla
	Semele
Sibyl	Sibyl
	Silenus
Sinon	
Siren	Siren
Sphinx	Sphinx
	Syringa
Tantalus	
Tarquin	
	Tatius
Telamon	
Tellus	
Tereus	
Thersites	
Theseus	Theseus
Thetis	
Thisbe	
	Tithonus
	Trismegistus
Troilus	
Typhon	Typhon
Ulysses	Ulysses
Venus	Venus
Virginus	
Vulcan	Vulcan

In Shakespeare the number of allusions to these myths in plays written in the decade 1580–90 average seventeen to a play; in the second decade, 1590–1600, the average is twelve; in the

third (1600-1610), excluding *Troilus and Cressida*, which deals wholly with legendary characters, it is six only. In the dramas that were produced on the stage in London in 1585-87, coincidentally with Shaksper's arrival there from Stratford, an "uneducated peasant," the average is highest of all, *viz.*, twenty. In *Titus Andronicus*, a still earlier play, the number is forty-two.

**Discourse in praise of his sovereign** Written about 1592. [Also see *Observations on a Libel*.]

**Essays, early editions** Of the Bacon's essays in their earliest shape formed part of a very small octavo volume, published in 1597, with the following title: "Essayes. Religious Meditations. Places of Perswasion and Disswasion. Seene and allowed. At London, printed for Humfrey Hooper, and are to be sold at the Blacke Beare in Chauncery Lane, 1597." The *Religious Meditations* and the *Places of Perswasion and Disswasion* refer to two other works; one in Latin, entitled "Meditationes sacræ: the other in English, entitled Of the Coulers of Good and Evill; a fragment." The Epistle Dedicatory prefixed to the volume is dated January 30, 1597. [Also see *Essays or Counsels Civil and Moral*.]

Bacon's Essays are the best-known and most popular of all his works. It is also one of those where the superiority of his genius appears to the greatest advantage; the novelty and depth of his reflections often receiving a strong relief from the triteness of the subject. It may be read from beginning to end in a few hours; and yet, after the twentieth perusal, one seldom fails to remark in it something unobserved before. This indeed is a characteristic of all Bacon's writings, and only to be accounted for by the inexhaustible aliment they furnish to our own thoughts, and the sympathetic activity they impart to our torpid faculties. (Stewart).

**Essay On Death** An eloquent and touching composition, very peculiar in style, and marked with a humorous sadness which reminds Spedding of nobody so much as Sir Thomas Browne, born in 1605, and therefore there is nothing in the date to preclude the supposition that Browne was the author or Bacon. Whoever may have written it, Spedding is fully convinced that Bacon did not, and the only reason we have for imputing it to Bacon is that within twenty-four years after his death, there was *somebody* or other who thought it was his; against which must be set the fact that Dr. Rawley thought it was not. [Also see *Essays, Attributed to Bacon without authority*.]

**Essays, Attributed to Bacon without authority** At the end of the *Resuscitatio*, 1657, Dr. Rawley gives what he entitles: "A perfect list of his Lordship's true works both in English and Latin; as for other pamphlets, whereof there are several, put forth under his Lordship's name, they are not to be owned for his." Any work not contained in this list must be regarded as distinctly denied by Rawley not to be Bacon's.

- **An Essay of a King** In December 1642, several of Bacon's smaller political pieces were published in separate pamphlets without any editor's name or any account of the source from which they were taken, there appeared among others a 4to of eight pages with the following title: "An Essay of a King, with an explanation what manner of persons those should be that are to execute the power of ordinance of the King's Prerogative. Written

by the Right Honourable Francis, Lord Verulam Viscount Saint Alban. December 2. London printed for Richard Best, 1642.”

- The Remaines of the Right Honourable In 1648 appeared a 4to Vol., of 103 pages, entitled “The Remaines of the Right Honourable Francis, Lord Verulam, Viscount of St. Albanes, sometimes Lord Chancellour of England; being essayes and severall letters to severall great Personages, and other pieces of various high concernment not heretofor published. A table whereof for the reader’s more ease is adjoined. London printed by B. Alsop for Laurence Chapman and are to be sold at his shop near the Savoy in the strand, 1648.”

**Essays or Counsels Civil and Moral** There are only four which, as authorities for the text, have any original or independent value; namely those published by Bacon himself in 1597, in 1612, and in 1625; and the Latin version published by Dr. Rawley in 1638. The rest are merely reprints of one or other of these. The edition of 1597 contained ten essays, together with the *Meditationes sacrae*, and the *Colours of Good and Evil*. The edition of 1612, a small volume in 8vo., contained essays only; but the number was increased to thirty-eight, of which twenty-nine were quite new, and all the rest more or less corrected and enlarged. The edition of 1625, a 4to., and one of the latest of Bacon’s publications, contained fifty-eight essays, of which twenty were new, and most of the rest altered and enlarged. An Italian translation of the essays and the *De Sapientia Veterum* publish in London in 1618, with a dedicatory letter from Tobie Matthew to Cosmo de’ Medici, may be presumed to have been made with Bacon’s sanction. Under the date February 5, 1596 the following entry occurs in the books of the Stationers’ Company: “Hufrey Hooper. Entred for his copie under thanks of Mr Fr. Bacon, Mr D Stanhope Mr Barlowe, and Mr Warden Dawson, a booke intituled Essaies Religions meditations, places of perswasion and dissuasion by Mr Fr. Bacon.” This was the first edition of Bacon’s Essays. They were published in a small 8vo., volume, of which the full title is as follows: *Essayes*. “Religious Meditations. Places of persuasion and dissuasion. Seen and allowed. At London, Printed for Hufrey Hooper, and are to be sold at the Blacke Beare in Chauncery Lane. 1597.” The dedication to Anthony Bacon occupies three pages. Then follow the table of Contents and the Essays, ten in number. The Essays occupy thirteen folios, and are followed by the *Meditationes Sacrae or Religious Meditations*, in Latin, consisting of 15 folios besides the title, and these by *The Colours of Good and Evil*, which are the places of *Persuasion and Dissuasion* already mentioned. The numbering of the folios in the last two is consecutive, thirty-two in all. This volume is dedicated by Bacon to his brother Anthony. There are MSS., of this edition in the British Museum (Lansd. MSS. 775), and the Cambridge University Library. (Nn. 4. 5). “He seems to have written the Essays with the pen of Shakespeare.” (Smith).

**History of Great Britain** First published in Dr. Rawley’s *Resuscitation* 1657. Composed a little before 1610. Bacon abandoned the design altogether, either because the King did not encourage him to proceed, or because, after the Earl of Salisbury’s death which happened early in 1612, he had no prospect of leisure; being fully engaged in the business of the day, and all the time he had

to spare being devoted to his philosophy. Mr. Craik says it was probably written in 1624. But if so, Dr. Rawley would surely have mentioned it in his list of the works written by Bacon during the last five years of his life. <sup>668</sup> “In my judgement one of the best things in its kind that Bacon ever wrote.” (Spedding).

**Imagines Civiles Julii Cæsaris et Augusti Cæsaris** [Character of Julius Cæsar and Augustus Cæsar,] Dr. Rawley says he found them among Bacon’s papers, and understanding that they were praised by men of great reputation, printed them together with the last among the *Opuscula Posthuma* in 1658, and inserted English translations of them in the second edition of the *Resuscitation* in 1661.

**Imago Civilis Julii Cæsaris** [Character of Julius Cæsar] Dr. Rawley found it among Bacon’s papers, and printed it along with the *Opuscula Philosophica* in 1658.

**In Felicem Memoriam Elizabethæ** [The Fortunate Memory of Elizabeth,] Composed in the summer of 1608. On November 16, 1608 Chamberlaine writes to Carleton: “I come now from reading a short discourse of Queen Elizabeth’s Life, written in Latin by Sir Francis Bacon. If you have not seen nor heard of it, it is worth inquiry; and yet, methinks, lie doth languescere toward the end, and falls from his first pitch; neither dare I warrant that his Latin will abide test or touch.” <sup>669</sup> This work is preserved in the British Museum, Harleian MSS., No. 6353, and is entitled “In felicem Memoriam Elizabeths Reginae, Angliæ Reginae.” It consists of 15 closely written small 4to pages; and seems to be the Original of *The Felicitie of Queen Elizabeth* by Francis Bacon.

**In Henricum Principem Walliæ** [Memorial of Henry Prince of Wales] First printed by Birch in his edition of Bacon’s works (1763) from a manuscript in the Harleian Collection (1893). It is written in a hand of the time of one of Bacon’s own people; bears all the marks of Bacon’s style and one of the best specimens. The rumour mentioned in the last sentence (that Prince Henry died by poison) was revived during the trial of the murderers of Sir Thomas Overbury, and obtained for a while an importance, which it did not deserve, from some dark words prematurely dropped by Sir Edward Coke. (Spedding). [Also see Part III: *Overbury case of 1616*].

**King Henry the Eighth** Undertaken by desire of Prince Charles, to whom the history of Henry the Seventh was dedicated. Published by Dr. Rawley in 1629, in a small volume entitled “Certain Miscellany works of the Right Hon. Francis Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Alban.” A manuscript copy is in the British Museum, additional MSS. 5503, f. 120 b. [Also see *King Henry the Seventh*].

**King Henry the Seventh** First work composed by Bacon after his fall; the fruit of his first few months of leisure. For the text, there are only two authorities of any value: the original

<sup>668</sup> Craik. *Bacon and his Writings*, Vol. I. p. 213

<sup>669</sup> Birch’s MSS., No. 4173

manuscript, which was submitted to the King in the autumn of 1621, and is preserved in the British Museum, Additional MSS., Vol. 7084; and the original edition, which was printed in the following March. The printed copy is a tall quarto of 248 pages, with the following title, "The Historie of the Raigne of King Henry the Seventh, written by the Right Honourable Francis Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Alban. London. Printed by W. Stansby for Matthew Lownes and William Barret, 1622." A portrait of Henry, with sceptre and ball, is prefixed; harshly engraved by John Payne; with the inscription *cor regis inscrutabile*. The book was printed and ready for publication on March 20, 1621–22; and "the printer's fingers itched to be selling." Some delay seems to have been caused by a scruple of the Bishop of London; but it was published soon after and out on April 6. Bacon had published the first edition of his Essays in 1597, but it was not until 1622 (six years after the death of Shakespeare) that he gave the world his *History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh*, a work characterized by a severely judicial impartiality, a constant consciousness of the relation between cause and effect, and a generally uniform and unbroken majesty of style. His faculty of clear discrimination forms a vivid contrast to the uncritical compilations of his predecessors; and we are fully conscious of the greatness of the finished work, when we compare it with the rude material out of which it was composed the Chronicles of Fabyan and Polydore Vergil, and of Hall, Holinshed, and Stow.

**Letter and Discourse to Sir Henry Savill, touching helps for the Intellectual Powers** First printed by Dr. Rawley in the *Resuscitatio* 1657; and appears to have been written some time between 1596 and 1604.

**Letter of advice to Sir Edward Coke** Was written on occasion, of his being removed from the Chief Justiceship, and a little tract entitled "The Characters of a believing Christian, in Paradoxes and seeming Contradictions" has been attributed to Bacon without authority. [Also see *Essays attributed to Bacon without authority; Christian Paradoxes*; Part III: *Paradoxes not written by Bacon*].

**New Atlantis** Written in 1624 and published by Dr. Rawley in 1627 at the end of the volume containing the *Sylva Sylvarum*. In 1607, Bacon avowed before the House of Commons a belief that in some forgotten period of her history, England had been far better peopled than she was then. In 1609, when Bacon published the *De Sapientiâ Veterum*, [Wisdom of the Ancients,] he inclined to believe that an age of higher intellectual development than any the world then knew of had flourished and passed out of memory long before Homer and Hesiod wrote; and this upon the clearest and most deliberate review of all the obvious objections; and more decidedly than he had done four years before when he published his *Advancement of Learning*. "Among the few works of fiction which Bacon attempted, the *New Atlantis* is much the most considerable; which gives an additional interest to it, and makes one the more regret that it was not finished according to the original design. Had it proceeded to the end in a manner worthy of the beginning, it would have stood, as a work of art, among the most perfect compositions of its kind." (Ellis).

**Observations on a libel** Published 1592; circulated in manuscript; must keep its value, not only as a historical record of the times, but as a specimen of the manner in which this kind of controversy ought to be conducted. [Also see *Discourse in praise of his sovereign*].

**Of the True Greatness of Britain** First published by Stephens (second collection, 1634, p. 193) from a manuscript then belonging to Lord Oxford, now in the British Museum, Harl. MSS., 7021. of. 25; a transcript in two different hands. "It is one of the best and most careful of his writings, as far as it goes." (Spedding).

**Philosophy to the sciences** [See Essay: *Berlin Transactions* by Ritter].

**Promus of Formularies and Elegancies** Bacon commenced writing them on December 5, 1594; it consists of single sentences, set down one after the other without any marks between or any notes of reference or explanation. The first few pages are filled chiefly with forms of expression applicable to such matters as a man might have occasion to touch in conversation, neatly turned sentences describing personal characters or qualities, forms of compliment, application excise, repartee. Interspersed among them are Apophthegms, Proverbs, Verses out of the Bible, and line out of the Latin poets; all set down without any order or apparent connexion of subject. "Everybody prepares himself beforehand for great occasions. Bacon seems to have thought it no loss of time to prepare for small ones too, and to have those topics concerning which he was likely to have to express himself in conversation ready at hand and reduced into *forms* convenient for use. Even if no occasion should occur for using them, the practice would still serve for an exercise in the art of expression." (Spedding). [Also see Part II: *Pott Henry (Constance)*]. *Promus* means "larder" or "storehouse" and these *Fourmes, Formularies and Elegancies* appear to have been intended as a storehouse of words and phrases to be employed in the production of subsequent literary works. (Durning-Lawrence). The work can be found in Manuscript at the British Museum in the Harleian Collection (No. 7.017).

**Short notes for civil conversation** First printed in the *Remains* 1648; a book of no authority when unsupported by better and believed to be written by Bacon but without authority. [Also see *Essays attributed to Bacon without authority*].

- **Philosophical Works**

**Advancement of Learning** First edition is dated 1605. The first book treats of the excellence and dignity of knowledge as a pursuit for Kings and Statesmen and written in 1603, immediately after King James I's accession. The second book treats of the deficiencies remaining and the supplies required in 1605. The intervening year of 1604 having been too much occupied with civil business to allow much leisure for the prosecution of a work of that kind. It may have raised King James I's opinion of Bacon, but it did not inspire him with any zeal for the *Great Instauration*.

**Aphorismi et consilia** Stands in Grüter's volume immediately before the *Sententiæ XII*; a memorandum in the *Commentarius Solutus*, July 26, 1608: "The finishing of the *Aphorisms*, *Clavis Interpretationis*, and then setting forth of the book," refers no doubt to some paper of the kind; some early rudiment of the *Novum Organum*. "The writing in aphorisms hath many excellent virtues, whereto the writing in method doth not approach. First, it trieth the writer, whether he be superficial or solid; for aphorisms, except they should be ridiculous, cannot be made but of the pith and heart of sciences: for discourse of illustration is cut off, recitals of examples are cut off, discourse of connexion and order is cut off, descriptions of practice are cut off; so there remaineth nothing to fill the aphorisms but some good quantity of observation: and therefore no man can suffice, nor in reason will attempt to write aphorisms, but he that is sound and grounded." (Bacon).

**Calor et frigus** First printed by Stephens from a manuscript in Bacon's own hand, then belonging to the Earl of Oxford, Harl. 6855; it appears to have been designed for the commencement of a methodical enquiry.

**Cogitata et visa** [Thoughts and Judgments] Published 1607 only two years before the struggle between Spain and the United Provinces was terminated by the Great Truce; reproduced in the first book of *Novum Organum*, for this tract was designed to be an introduction to a particular example of the new method of induction, such as that which we find near the beginning of the second book. It stands first in Grüter's volume of 1653 where it first appeared and composed about 1607 as inferred from the date of a letter addressed by Bacon to Sir Thomas Bodley: "After he had imparted to him a writing entitled *Cogitata et Visa*." For the text there are only two authorities; namely the copy printed by Grüter, and a manuscript in the library of Queen's College, Oxford, 280. fo. 205 in beautiful manuscript carefully corrected throughout in Bacon's own hand and perfect but for the loss of a leaf in the middle.

*Cogitata et Visa* contains a rapid sketch of the author's philosophical system, as then in process of development, and particularly (in the last paragraph) of the secret or enigmatical kind of writing in which an important part of that system was to be embodied. It appears, however, that in this latter and most interesting section Grüter omitted two very significant passages. No notice of the omissions is given in his book. Indeed, so cleverly was the work of mutilation performed that for a period of two hundred and four years succeeding no suspicion of it was excited in any quarter, though in the interval the paper was translated several times from the original Latin into English and French, precisely as Grüter had printed it. Some time before 1857, however, Spedding found another manuscript copy of the work in the library of the Queen's College at Oxford; and, as this was also undoubtedly genuine, having been corrected here and there by Bacon himself, he wisely concluded to follow this copy, instead of Grüter's printed form, in the edition he was then preparing for the press. It was when these two publications were compared together that the said discrepancies, now for the first time critically examined, became known.



Evidently, Ellis had no knowledge whatever of them, and Spedding no practical appreciation of their importance, the former quoting freely from the immediate context (undoubtedly from Grüter's copy, before the Oxford manuscript was discovered), and the latter declaring (apparently on the most cursory examination) that the "differences are immaterial." It is hard to understand, except on the suppositions which we have ventured to suggest in parentheses, why these editors did not find herein an additional significance in Bacon's "secret," which, even in their blindness, they yet describe as a "new sun before which the borrowed beams of moon and stars were to fade away and disappear."

He [Bacon] thought, also, that what he has in hand is not mere theory, but a practical undertaking. It lays the foundations, not of any sect or dogma, but of a great and far-reaching benefit to mankind. Therefore, attention must be given, not only to the perfection of the matter, but also (and this is of equal importance) to the communication of it to others. But he has observed that men minister to their love of fame and pomp sometimes by publishing and sometimes by concealing the knowledge of things which they think they have acquired, particularly those who offer unsound doctrines, which they do in a scanty light, that they may more easily satisfy their vanity. He thought, however, that, while his subject is one that ought not to be tainted with personal ambition or desire of glory, still (unless he were a mere tyro, not knowing the ways of the world and without foresight) he must remember that inveterate errors, like the ravings of lunatics, are overcome by ingenuity and tact, but aggravated by violence and opposition. We must therefore use prudence, and humour people (as far as we can with simplicity and candor), in order that contradictions maybe extinguished before they become inflamed. To this end he is preparing a work on Nature and on the Interpretation of Nature, to abolish errors with the least asperity, and to affect the minds of men without disturbing them. And this he can do the more easily because he will not offer himself as a leader, but will so spread abroad the light of nature that no leader will be needed. But, as time meanwhile glides away, and he has been engaged in civil affairs more than he wished, it seemed to be a long work, especially considering the uncertainty of life and his own impatient desire to make something secure. Therefore, it has appeared to him that a simpler method might be adopted, which, though not set forth to the multitude, might yet prevent so important a matter from being prematurely lost. So he thought best, after long considering the subject and weighing it carefully, first of all to prepare *Tabula Inveniendi*, [Tables of Discovery,] or regular forms of inquiry; in other words, a mass of particulars arranged for the understanding, and to serve, as it were, for an example and almost visible representation of the matter. For nothing else can be devised that would place in a clearer light what is true and what is false, or show more plainly that what is presented is more than words, and must be avoided by any one who either has no confidence in his own scheme or may wish to have his scheme taken for more than it is worth. (Spedding).

*Cogitata et Visa* was styled in *Tabula Inveniendi*: Bacon divided his great work on Philosophy, the *Instauratio Magna*, into six parts, the first four of which may be described as follows:

Part first gives a survey or inventory of the stock of knowledge then existing in the world, with a statement of the deficiencies found in it. To this part belongs the *Advancement of Learning*, particularly the second edition under the title of *De Augmentis Scientiarum*.

Part second treats of the human understanding, and the rules and principles by which it ought to be guided in its researches after truth. Under this head is placed the *Novum Organum*.

Part third brings together, or seeks to bring together, out of every department of nature but one, the widest possible collection of facts, "arranged for the work of the understanding," and so classified as to yield to mankind, in Bacon's expectation, not only a better knowledge of the laws of the universe, but also a larger practical control over them. The writings in this division are the *Sylva Sylvarum*; *History of the Winds*; *History of Dense and Rare*; *History of Life and Death*, and some others. The author's investigations into the nature of heat and motion, though produced also by way of examples in the *Novum Organum*, come properly into the system here. These compositions are called *Tabulæ Inveniendi*, because they are inquiries into facts and because they have a certain regularity of form. The *Sylva Sylvarum*, for instance, is separated into ten centuries (chapters), so called because each century is itself separated into one hundred distinct paragraphs. Dramas, being divided into acts and scenes, conform to this description. Bacon calls the dialogues of Plato tabulae. The canvas on which his own portrait was painted was called a "tabula."

Part fourth was also designed, like the third, for an inquiry into facts, but into facts of a mental and moral nature exclusively. Strange as it may seem, however, not a single line, except a brief preface entitled *Scala Intellectus*, can be found in Bacon's acknowledged works that belongs under this head. And yet we know, from several references to it made by Bacon elsewhere, that he considered it a necessary and integral part of his philosophical system. For instance, he says in the *Novum Organum*: "It may also be asked whether I speak of natural philosophy only, or whether I mean that the other sciences, logic, ethics, and politics, should be carried on by this method. Now I certainly mean what I have said to be understood of them all. For I am forming a history and *Tabula Inveniendi* for anger, fear, shame, and the like, for matters political, and again for the operation of memory and judgment, not less than for heat or cold or light or vegetation." In the *Filum Labyrinthi* he is even more specific in his description of these moral and political *Tabulæ Inveniendi* for he there gives a list of thirteen classes of them, four of which are entitled as follows: "tabulæ concerning animal passions; tabulæ concerning sense and the objects of sense; tabulæ concerning the affections of the mind; and tabulæ concerning the mind itself and its faculties." Where, now, are these writings that deal with the passions and affections of the human heart, "with anger, fear, shame, and the like," arranged in divisions, more or less regular in form? They are missing; but that they were actually composed, and that they formed, or were designed to form, the fourth part of the *Instauratio Magna*, itself also missing, we have every reason to believe from what Bacon himself says of the fourth part.

It is practically certain, therefore, that Bacon left behind him for the fourth part of his system writings which would accomplish in the interpretation of human nature, what he sought to accomplish in the third part for the interpretation of physical nature. But he tells us in the *Advancement of Learning* that historians and poets are the best instructors in this branch of knowledge, because in their works, as he says, “we may find, painted forth with great life, how affections are kindled and incited; how they disclose themselves, how they work, how they vary, how they gather and fortify, and how they are enwrapped one with another;” that is to say (as he further explains in the second or Latin edition of the *Advancement*), historians and poets are best qualified to treat of human nature “because a man’s character can be more powerfully delineated in action than in formal criticism.” It is to the lasting credit of Gervinus that he saw how admirably the Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies of Shakespeare fit in this way into Bacon’s scheme. “If Bacon,” he says, “felt the want of a science of human nature, he rightly thought that historians and poets are the ones to supply it; and he well might have searched for it, before all, in the writings of his neighbour Shakespeare, for no other poetry has taught us, as his has done, that the taming of the passions is the aim of human civilisation.” These plays are indeed the profoundest studies in human nature which the world possesses, each one in turn, the later ones at least taking up a special trait of character and showing how it is developed; how it is first “kindled and incited,” “how it works,” and how it is “enwrapped” with others. In the *De Augmentis*, he expressly states that he would not have these characters presented “in the shape of individual portraits, but rather in the several features and simple lineaments of which they are composed, and by the various combinations and arrangements of which all characters whatever are made up, showing how many, and of what nature these are, and how connected and subordinate, one to another; that so we may have a scientific and accurate dissection of minds and characters, and the secret dispositions of particular men may be revealed; and that for the knowledge thereof better rules may be framed for the treatment of the mind. And not only should the characters of dispositions which are impressed by nature be received into this treatise, but those also which are imposed on the mind by sex, by age, by religion, by health and illness, by beauty and deformity, and the like; and again, those which are caused by fortune, as sovereignty, nobility, obscure birth, riches, want, magistracy, privateness, prosperity, adversity, and the like.” He could scarcely have made his meaning plainer, had he mentioned the Shakespearean plays by name.

But when these *Tabulae Inveniendi* have been put forth and seen, he does not doubt that the more timid wits will shrink almost in despair from imitating them with similar productions with other materials or on other subjects; and they will take so much delight in the specimen given that they will miss the precepts in it. Still, many persons will be led to inquire into the real meaning and highest use of these writings, and to find the key to their interpretation, and thus more ardently desire, in some degree at least, to acquire the new aspect of nature which such a key will reveal. But he intends, yielding neither to his own personal aspirations nor to the wishes of others, but keeping steadily in view the success of his undertaking, having shared

these writings with some, to withhold the rest until the treatise intended for the people shall be published. Nevertheless, he anticipates that some persons of higher and more exalted genius, taking a hint from what they observe, will without more aid apprehend and master the others of themselves. For he is almost of the opinion (as someone has said) that this will be enough for the wise, while more will not be enough for the dull. He will therefore intermit no part of his undertaking. At the same time he saw that, so far as these writings are concerned, to begin his teaching directly with them would be too abrupt. Something suitable ought to be said by way of preface and this in the foregoing he thinks he has now done. Besides, he does not wish to conceal this or to impose any rigid forms of inquiry upon men (after the manner now in vogue in the arts); but he is assured that, when these productions have all been tested after long use and (as he thinks) with some judgment, this form of investigation, thus proved and exhibited by him, will be found the truest and most useful. Still, he would not hinder those who have more leisure than he has or who are free from the special difficulties which always beset the pioneer or who are of a more powerful and sublime genius from improving on it; for he finds in his own experience that the art of inventing grows by invention itself. Finally, it has seemed to him that, if any good be found in what has been or shall be set forth, it should be dedicated as the fat of the sacrifice to God, and to men in God's likeness who procure the welfare of mankind by benevolence and true affection. (Spedding).

Delia Bacon, demanding to know in 1856 what had become of these same writings, and having no access, it is believed, to the manuscript of the *Cogitata et Visa*, inquired, "Did he [Bacon] make so deep a summer in his verse that the track of the precept was lost in it?" Notwithstanding Bacon's own confession that a part of his philosophical system was enigmatic, no one has yet discovered in his acknowledged works any hidden meanings whatever. It should furthermore be noted that Bacon admonishes every one doing this work to do it as he did, not only "without hope of private emolument" as he tells in his *De Interpretatione Naturæ Præmium* "I am not hunting for fame nor establishing a sect. Indeed, to receive any private emolument from so great an undertaking I hold to be both ridiculous and base"; but also "under a mask" as he states in his same work.<sup>670</sup> Spedding commenting on the above (in a foot-note) as follows: "I cannot say that I clearly understand the sentence." Spedding did not see fit, however, in the fourteen large volumes of his edition of Bacon's Life, Letters, and Works, to translate the above passage into English. The plain meaning is that the personal identity of the interpreter should be concealed, or (more literally) the interpreter should not be known as such in his daily life. He should bear an assumed name. This may remind us of Sir Toby Matthew's famous postscript, appended to a letter written to Bacon at or about the time the first Shakespeare First Folio was in press; namely, that his Lordship was the most prodigious wit in all the world, though known by the name of another. However, this postscript could have been meant for Davies, and there has been no substantial proof it referred entirely to Bacon.

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670 Vol. VII., p. 367

**Cogitations de naturâ rerum** Printed by Grüter among the *Impetus Philosophici* and nothing remains to determine the date of composition.

**Cogitations de scientiâ humanâ** Three separate fragments written before 1605; copied from a manuscript which came to the British Museum among the papers of Dr. Birch, who appears to have received it from the executors of Mr. John Locker; Locker was a friend of Robert Stephens (1665–1732) the Historiographer Royal; was employed by him to see through the press his second collection of Bacon's letters, published in 1734.

- First fragment: of the limits and end of knowledge; of the use of knowledge; the fable of Metis; the fable of the sister of the giants; the fable of Cælum; the fable of Proteus; of the error in supposing a difference in point of eternity and mutability between things celestial and things sublunary; of natural history considered as the groundwork of natural philosophy.
- Second fragment: that general consent affords no presumption of truth in matters intellectual; of the error of supposing that conversancy with particulars is below the dignity of the human mind; the exposition of the fable of Midas.
- Third fragment: of wisdom in the business of life; that the quantum of matter is always the same; of the sympathy between bodies with sense and bodies without; of apparent rest, and solidity and fluidity.

**De Augmentis Scientiarum** Published 1623 was to serve for the first part of the *Instauratio Magna*. The relation which it bears to the rest of the work is best explained in the Dedicatory letter prefixed to the *Dialogue of a Holy War*: "And again, for that my book of *Advancement of Learning* may be some preparative or key for the better opening of the *Instauration*, because it exhibits a mixture of new conceits and old, whereas the *Instauration* gives the new unmixed, otherwise than with some aspersion of the old for taste's sake, I have thought good to procure a translation of that book into the general language, not without great and ample additions and enrichment thereof, especially in the second book, which handleth the partition of sciences; in such sort as I hold it may serve in lieu of the first part of the *Instauration*, and acquit my promise in that part." In a letter to Father Redempt, Baranzan dated June 30, 1622 Bacon speaks of the *De Augmentis Scientiarum* as a work already in the hands of translators, and likely to be finished by the end of the summer. "Librum meum de progressu Scientiarum traducendum commisi. Ilia translatio, volente Deo, sub finem æstatis perficietur." Therefore, though it was not published till the autumn of 1623, it may be considered as coming, in order of composition, next among the Philosophical works to the *Novum Organum* and *Parasceve*. It was intended to serve for the first part of the *Instauratio Magna*, according to the plan laid out in the *Distributio Operis*, the part which is there entitled *Partitiones Scientiarum*, and described as exhibiting a complete survey of the world of human knowledge as it then was.

But why, when Bacon determined to fit this work for that part, did he not give it the proper title? Curious as he always was in the choice of names, why not call it *Partitiones Scientiarum*,

which describes the proper business of the first part of the *Instauratio*, instead of *De dignitate et augmentis Scientiarum*, which passes it by? (Spedding).<sup>671</sup>

George Herbert the poet was one of the translators employed in this work, but we have it upon Dr. Rawley's authority that Bacon took a great deal of pains with it himself so that we must consider the whole translation as stamped with his authority. Many years before he had asked Dr. Playfer to do it; who sent him a specimen but "of such superfine Latinity, that the Lord Bacon did not encourage him to labour further in that work, in the penning of which he desired not so much neat and polite, as clear masculine and apt expression."<sup>672</sup> But Playfer's failure may be sufficiently accounted for by the state of his health. [Also see Part II: *Playfer*]. The answer is that he felt it would be inappropriate. The form in which the *De Augmentis* was cast retained so strong an impress of the original design out of which it grew, a design truly and exactly described in the title, and having no immediate reference to the ultimate plan of the *Instauratio*, that another title referring to another design would have been manifestly unfit. When he wrote his *Advancement of Learning*, he was already engaged upon a work concerning *Interpretation of Nature*, which (to judge from the fragments and sketches that remain) was meant to begin at once where the *Novum Organum* begins, without any preliminary review of the existing condition of knowledge; a work corresponding to that which in the foregoing extract he calls "the Instauration," as distinguished from the *Advancement of Learning*, which was to serve as "a preparative or key" to it; and the writing of a book which should exhibit a complete and particular survey of the state of knowledge then extant in the world was, a by-thought suggested by a particular accident.

However, Bacon may have underrated the difficulties of the reform which he proposed, he was well aware that it could not be earned into effect by a private man. A private man might suggest the course, and produce a specimen; but the execution of the work on a scale of adequate magnitude required the means and influence of a King or a Pope. Now it happened, by a very singular accident, that while he was engaged in considering and maturing his plan there succeeded to the throne of England a man whose tastes and previous training qualified him more than most other men to take an earnest, active, and intelligent interest in it. James the First was a man of peace by principle and inclination, of solid, various, and extensive learning, and of great intellectual activity. It is difficult even now to say why he might not have proved, in the province of letters, a great governor. At that time, when his faults were not yet known, he must have appeared like the very man for such an office. To Bacon it would naturally seem an object of the first importance to engage him, if possible, as a patron of the new philosophy; and, as men's minds are most impressible in times of transition, he would wish to lose no time in attempting to give his ambition a turn in that direction, while his fortune was fresh, his course unsettled, his imagination excited and open to great ideas. For this purpose, however, the work on the *Interpretation of Nature* was not forward enough to be available, nor very fit

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<sup>671</sup> Spedding. *Works*, Vol II. p.74

<sup>672</sup> *Baconiana*, p.26

perhaps in itself, had it been more forward than it was. The idea was too new, the scheme too vast, the end too remote, to engage the serious attention of a King nearly forty-years-old, who had been bred in the ancient learning and attained a proficiency in it of which he was proud. Not so a work representing the state of human science as it was, and the means of perfecting and extending it in many new directions. This lay in James' own province; of the review of what had been already done few men of his time were better qualified to judge; few perhaps were more likely to be attracted and excited by the prospect of doing more. Bacon's own travels in search of the light he had been looking for had carried him over the whole surface of the intellectual globe; and he was therefore well qualified to report upon the condition of it, to declare how far and in what directions the dominion of knowledge had been already advanced, what regions were still unexplored and unsubdued, and what measures might best be taken to bring them into subjection. Such a representation was likely enough to make an impression on a mind constituted and trained like that of James. Possibly it might even rouse him to take up the extension of knowledge as a royal business; in which case the new philosophy would have started with advantages not otherwise to be hoped for. This work therefore Bacon seems to have set about at once. There is reason to believe that the first book of the *Advancement of Learning*, which treats of the excellence and dignity of knowledge as a pursuit for Kings and Statesmen, was written in 1603, immediately after James' accession; and the second, which treats of the deficiencies remaining and the supplies required, in 1605; the intervening year of 1604 having been too much occupied with civil business to allow much leisure for the prosecution of a work of that kind. It was important to push it forward as fast as possible, even at the expense of completeness: for the very object for which it to have been undertaken, that of making an impression on the King's mind while it was in the best state to receive impressions, would have been lost by delay; and accordingly in the autumn of 1605 appeared the *Twoo Bookes of Francis Bacon, of the proficience and advancement of Learning, divine and humane*; with many marks of haste in form and composition, and even in substance not altogether adequate to the argument in hand, but nevertheless well enough adapted for its immediate purpose. If this be the true history of the *Advancement of Learning*, the rest follows naturally.

The stroke, though well aimed, was not successful. The book may have raised James' opinion of Bacon, but it did not inspire him with any zeal for the *Great Instauration*. There it was, however; and it contained such a quantity of the best fruits of Bacon's mind and so many new views bearing on the great reform which he meditated, that it seemed a pity not to find a place for it in the great work. This was easily done by enlarging the original design so as to include a preliminary survey of the existing state of knowledge; in which case the substance of the second book might do duty as the first part of the *Instauratio Magna*. If we knew when the fragment entitled *Partis Instaurationis Secundæ Delineatio* was written, we might almost fix the time at which this enlargement of the original design was resolved upon. For in that fragment Bacon proposes to distribute the whole subject of the *Interpretation of Nature* through the second,

third, fourth, fifth, and sixth parts of the work, exactly as in the *Distributio Operis*; a place being reserved for a first part, though the nature of its contents is not specified. And from the *Descriptio Globi Intellectualis*, which was written in 1612 and appears, to be a commencement of the *Partitioned Scientiarum* itself, we may partly infer the form in which he then intended to cast that part. Why he afterwards altered his intention and resolved to content himself with a mere translation of the two books of the *Advancement* with additions, it is not difficult to conjecture, if we take into account the circumstances of his life.

When the *Novum Organum* was published in October 1620, the King had just resolved to call a new Parliament after six years' intermission, and questions of vital interest both at home and abroad hung upon the issue of it. The necessary preparations for the session, Bacon's own impeachment which almost immediately followed, a severe illness consequent upon that, his condemnation and imprisonment, negotiations with importunate creditors, and the composition of the *History of Henry the Seventh*, which was finished in October 1621, must have given him occupation enough during the next twelve months. Then came the question, how he was to proceed with the *Instauratio*, so as to make the most of such time and means as remained. Sixty-two years old, with health greatly impaired, an income scarcely sufficient to live upon, and an establishment of servants much reduced, he could not afford to waste labour upon things not essential. *The Novum Organum* was not half finished. The *Natural History* was not even begun, and no fellow-labourer had yet come forward to help in it. It was only in the completion of the first of the six parts that he could hope for material assistance from others. Even this, if he had attempted to recast it in the form indicated in the *Descriptio Globi Intellectualis*, he could hardly have executed by deputy; whereas a translation of the *Advancement of Learning* might be so executed, and would need only corrections and additions to make it a complete survey of the intellectual globe, adequate in substance to its place, though not symmetrical in form. Accordingly, "by help of some good pens which did not forsake him," he proceeded at once to put this in train, and then turned his own attention to the *Natural History*, which he considered as "*basis totius negotii*."

Concerning the causes which delayed the publication of the *De Augmentis* a twelve month beyond the expected time, is no information. But it is probable that the additions which suggested themselves as he proceeded were far larger than he had anticipated being indeed in the second book as much again as the original, and more. The measures which he took however were in this instance quite successful; and by sacrificing a little symmetry of form, he succeeded in effectually preserving the substance of this first part of his great work. Tenison<sup>673</sup> mentions "Mr. Herbert" that is, George Herbert, the poet as one of the translators employed. But we have it upon Rawley's authority that Bacon took a great deal of pains with it himself (*proprio Marte plurimum desudavit*). As stated above, many years before he had asked Dr. Playfer to do it; who (according to Tenison) sent him a specimen, but "of such superfine Latinity, that the Lord Bacon

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673 *Baconiana*, p.26



did not encourage him to labour further in that work, in the penning of which he desired not so much neat and polite, as clear masculine and apt expression.” And it is not improbable that some such difficulty may have occurred. A memorandum in the *Commentarius Solidus* dated 26 July, 1608 tells of Playfer’s illness at the time: “Proceeding with the translation of my book of *Advancement of Learning* hearkening to some other if Playfer should fail,” shows that at that time it was still in Playfer’s hands; and he died at the beginning of the next year.<sup>674</sup>

#### De Augmentis – Latin

1623	Folio	Haviland	London	1st edition
1624	4to	Mettayer	Paris	2d edition
1633	Folio	Haviland	London	3d edition
1645	12mo	Moirardum	Dutch	4th edition
1652	12mo	Wynyard	Dutch	5th edition
1662	12mo	Ravestein	Dutch	6th edition
1765	8vo	Gerard	Venice	7th edition
1779	8vo	Stahel	Wirceburgi	8 <sup>th</sup> edition 2 Vols
1829	8vo	Riegelii	Nuremberg	9 <sup>th</sup> edition 2 Vols

#### Translations

1640	English	G. Wats	Oxford	Folio
1674	English	G. Wats	London	Folio
1632	French	Dugast	Paris	4to 8th year
Rep	French	Frantin	Dijon	8vo

**Descriptio globi intellectualis** [Description of the World of Thought] First published by Grüter in 1653; presumed to be composed about 1612 therefore intermediate in date between the *Advancement of Learning*, and the *De Augmentis*. Bacon has nowhere else spoken so largely of astronomy; the reason of which apparently is, that he was writing just after Galileo’s discoveries had been made known in the *Sydericus Nuncius*, published in 1611; a circumstance which makes the *Descriptio Globi Intellectualis* one of the most interesting of his minor writings. The oracles of his mind were in this case evoked by the contemplation, not of old errors, but of new truths.

**Filum labyrinthi** First published in Stephens second collection in 1734 from a manuscript belonging to Lord Oxford Harl. MSS. 6797. fo. 139; it agrees with the *Cogitata et Visa* that either might be taken for a free translation of the other, with a few additions and omissions. [Also see *Cogitata et Visa*].

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<sup>674</sup> Spedding. *Works*, Vol II

**Francisci Baconi de Verulamio scripta in naturali et universali philosophiâ** A 12mo volume printed by Elzevir at Amsterdam in 1653. The original manuscripts are not known to be in existence The pieces contained in this work are:

- Temporis Partus Masculus, sive Instauration magna imperii humani in universum, being a Prayer.
- Cogitata et Visa.
- Descriptio Globi Intellectualis.
- Thema Cœli.
- De Fluxu et Refluxu Maris.
- De Principiis atque Originibus secundum Fabulas Cupidinis et Cœli, &c.
- Indicia Vera de interpretatione Naturæ.
- Partis Instarationis Secundæ Delineatio et Argumentum.
- Phœnomena Universi, sive Historia Naturalis ad condendam Philosophiam.
- Scala Intellectus, sive Filum Labyrinthi.
- Prodromi sive Anticipationes Philosophiæ Secundæ.
- Cogitationes de Naturâ Rerum.
- Franciscus Bacon Lectori, being a Preface.
- Filum Labyrinthi, sive Inquisitio legitima de Motu.
- Franc. Baconi Aphorismi et consilia, de auxiliis mentis et accensione luminis naturalis.
- De Interpretatione Naturæ Sententiæ.
- Tradendi Modus legitimus.
- De Interpretatione Naturæ Proœmium.
- Francisci Baconi Topica Inquisitionis de Luce et Lumine.

**Gesta Grayorum** Quarto pamphlet of sixty-eight pages; printed in 1685 for W. Cuning, at his shop in the Temple Cloisters; with a dedication to Matthew Smyth, Esq., Comptroller of the Inner Temple; apparently from a manuscript written by some member of Gray's Inn who was an eye-witness of what he relates. Another publication came in 1688 with the account of the Christmas revels at Gray's Inn in 1594–95 did not find its way into print till nearly a century later; we find it entered in the London Term Catalogues, Trinity Term, July, 1688, under History, 5.<sup>675</sup> There are three main points of literary interest in the *Gesta Grayorum*, namely, a supposed allusion to Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*, the speeches of the six Councillors, and the *Masque of Proteus*.

The performance to Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* at Gray's Inn took place on the evening of December 28, and if the play was Shakespeare's play we must suppose that the company

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<sup>675</sup> Arber's Reprint, II. 230

was Shakespeare's company: the Lord Chamberlain's Men. The speeches of the six Councillors have been ascribed to the pen of Francis Bacon, by Spedding, who first made the ascription, in his *Letters and Life of Francis Bacon*.<sup>676</sup> The *Masque of Proteus* appears that the Masque was performed before the Queen at Court, at Shrovetide 1594–95. That Francis Davison was in any case the main author of it is clear from a poem included in his well-known anthology, the *Poetical Rhapsody*, first printed in 1602. There, in a series of Sonnets "to his first Love", is one the heading of which claims for him the speech of "Grayes-Inne Maske at the Court 1594, consisting of three partes, The Story of Proteus Transformations, the wonders of the Adamantine Rocke, and a speech to her Majestie", all of which agrees with the text as we know it.

**Historia densi et rari** Published 1658 contained in Dr. Rawley's *Opuscula varia posthuma*; one of the five histories mentioned in the *Historia Naturalis*.

**Historia et inquisitio prima de sono et auditu et de formâ soni et latente processu soni, sive sylva soni auditus** Published in 1658.

**Historia soni et auditus** First published by Dr. Rawley in 1688 among the *Opuscula Philosophica* and was written before the *Sylva Sylvarum*.

**Historia Ventorum** Published in November 1622 in a volume entitled "Historia Naturalis et Experimentalis ad condendam Philosophiam; sive Phænomena Universi;" dedicated to Prince Charles and contains beside the *Historia Ventorum* the titles of five similar histories. [Also see *Historiam Naturalem Et Experimentalem*]. It was to be the third division of the *Instauratio* and begins with a list of topics, or subjects to be inquired into; of these thirty-three are enumerated, and the principal sources from which Bacon compiled the statements which he goes on to give are Pliny's *Natural History*, Aristotle's *Problems* and Acosta's *History of the Indies*; a major part on prognostics is taken from the eighteenth book of Pliny. Several passages show that Bacon had read William Gilbert's *Physiologia Nova*, which was not published until 1653 but was ready for publication in 1612–13 in which year the Prince Henry died; probably his death was the cause of it remaining unpublished and possible that not long afterwards it came into Bacon's hands. Two copies of it, both imperfect, were among the papers which Sir William Boswell, sometime English minister in Holland, gave to Isaac Grütter; and from them the work was published in 1651. Grütter says nothing of the way in which Boswell had become possessed of them, but in his Preface to the tracts and fragments of Bacon's which he published two years afterwards, and which he had also received from Boswell, he mentions that these had been bequeathed to the latter by Bacon himself. It is not improbable that the copies of Gilbert's work were included in this bequest or gift, which consisted of a fragmentary and miscellaneous collection of papers. Bacon takes of what he says of naval matters from some Italian writers, but cannot refer to any particular work; what is said of windmills seems to be derived from Bacon's own observation and

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676 1861, Vol. I. p. 325

experiments. it cannot be said that it is of much value. Between the vanes, according to Bacon, the air is compressed, and therefore reacts laterally. It did not occur to him to try whether a windmill with one sail only instead of four would remain stationary, as on his theory it plainly ought to do. On the other hand, he increased the number of vanes, thereby decreasing the intervals between them, and finding that this change increased the action of the wind, ascribed the difference to the increase of compression caused by the narrower space through which the air had to pass. That the whole amount of surface exposed to the wind was increased seems to have been forgotten.

However this may be, Grüter remarks in the Preface to the *Physiologia Nova*, that it is clear that certain eminent men had had access to it while it was yet unpublished plainly alluding to Bacon, to whose *Historia Ventorum* he has once or twice given marginal references. The way in which the remark is made seems to intimate that Grüter thought the use which Bacon has made of Gilbert's unpublished work was more or less unfair. It is therefore well to point out that in the *Novum Organum* Bacon cites Gilbert by name, commending an opinion which is expressed in the *Physiologia Nova*, and which cannot be found in the *De Magnete*; whence it appears that his not mentioning Gilbert's name in connexion with what he takes from him in the *Historia Ventorum* is only the result of his common habit of omitting to cite his authorities, and not of a wish to conceal the fact of his having access to Gilbert's unpublished writings. A comparison of the *Historia Ventorum* with the *Physiologia Nova* enables us to correct, in more than one case, the received readings. Grüter remarks that he is unable to decide whether the *Physiologia* was written before or after the treatise *De Magnete*, published in 1600. It was apparently written before 1604, as the new star of 1572 is mentioned by itself, whereas later writers, as Bacon and Galileo, always couple it with the star in Ophiuchus first seen in 1604. It could be conjectured that it was written between 1600 and 1604, principally on the authority of Bacon's remark, which is not however altogether conclusive. The description of a first-rate man of war is one of the most curious parts of the following treatise, which represents a first-rate of Henry the Eighth's time, and agrees with Bacon's description in everything except the construction of the bolt-sprit. It is a reduced copy of an engraving said to be after an original by Holbein.

A number of scattered remarks come from the twenty-sixth section of the problems, the most remarkable being the statement that on the top of Athos there is always an absolute calm so much so that letters traced in the ashes of the sacrifice performed there year by year were always found, on each succeeding occasion, undisturbed. He adds that this is also told with respect to Olympus. His authority for this addition to what Aristotle had said may have been Solinus; or Alexander Aphrodisiensis as quoted by Olympiodorus. Perhaps, however, he took it from Giordano Bruno, by whom the windlessness of the summit of Olympus is mentioned in the *Cene di Cenere*. Acosta, who was provincial of the Jesuits in Peru, published in 1589 his *De Naturâ novi Orbis* which contains an account of the climatology of America, and especially of Peru. In the following year he published a larger work, entitled *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, of which the first two

books are a translation of the *De Naturâ novi Orbis*. This second work seems to have become very popular it was translated into Latin, French (translation by Regnier, published in 1600) Italian, and German. There is also an English translation by E.G. published in 1604. Most of the statements which Bacon derives from Acosta may be found in the *De Naturâ novi Orbis*, but there are some which show that he used the *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* either in the original or in some translation. Acosta's account of the climate of Peru is very favourable, and he speaks largely of the winds by which the heat of the sun is so pleasantly tempered that, as he affirms, the climate is more agreeable than that of Spain. He mentions the fine mist by which the want of rain is supplied, but does not seem to have been aware of its cause.

Under the title of each, except the last, is placed an *aditus* or preface that of the *Historia Vitae et Mortis* is omitted because, as we are told at the end of the volume, the history itself with its preface was shortly, *jam proxime*, to be published. It did not however appear until 1623. The *Historia Ventorum* is thus the first published part of the *Historia Naturalis*, which was to be the third division of the *Instauratio*. It begins with a list of topics, or subjects to be inquired into. Of these thirty-three are enumerated, and something is said in the course of the work with relation to each, but they are not all discussed fully, nor in the order in which they are set down. Bacon concludes the list by remarking that without more complete knowledge of the phenomena, some of the questions which he proposes cannot be answered. Both in the following work, and in the *De Fluxu et Refluxu Maris*, Bacon cites Acosta by name in most of the places in which he takes anything from him. Spedding is inclined to believe that Bacon takes a portion of what he says of naval matters from some Italian writers, but cannot refer to any particular work.

**Historia vitæ et mortis** Published 1623; of the five treatises which in the dedication of the *Historia Naturalis*, Bacon proposes to publish in five successive months, or even within a shorter period, this treatise that stands last in the list of titles; the reason is given in the *Aditus* [Preface] that the subject relates to the prolongation and setting up of human life.

**Historiæ gravis et levis** Prefaces only exist.

**Historiam naturalem et experimentalem** [The Natural and Experimental History,] Published in 1620 in the same volume with the *Novum Organum*, being the third part of the *Instauratio*. [Also see *Instauratio Magna; Parasceve ad Historiam naturalem et experimentalem*]. This work was always regarded by Bacon as a part of his system both fundamental and indispensable. Five other histories were included which Bacon proposed to publish month by month; namely: *Historiæ Densi et Rari; Gravis et Levis; Sympathiæ et Antipathiæ Rerum; Sulphuris, Mercurii, et Salis; [Vitæ et Mortis]*.

**Inquisitio de magnete** Published by Dr. Rawley in 1658; a loose leaf belonging to the third part of the *Instauratio*.

**Inquisitio legitima de motu** Composed around 1608.

**Instauratio Magna** published in 1620 is designed to hold six portions:

1. *De Augmentis*, which contains a general survey of the present state of knowledge.
2. *Novum Organum* (1620) here men are to be taught how to use their understanding aright in the investigation of Nature.
3. *Historia Ventorum* [*Historia Naturalis ad condendam philosophiam, sive phoenomena universi, quoe est Instaurationis Magnae pars tertia;*] where all the phenomena of the universe are to be stored up as in a treasure house, as the materials on which the new methods is to be employed and *Sylva Sylvarum*, where examples given of its operation and of the results to which it leads.
4. Which we only have a preface was to contain what Bacon had accomplished in natural philosophy without the aid of his own method.
5. We have only a Preface.
6. Here, when it would have been completed, it would set forth the new philosophy.

The name *Instauratio* does not occur in any of Bacon's letters earlier than 1609. To regard this work as a child of time rather than of wit can be seen in the *Epistle Dedicatory* of the *Instauratio Magna*.

Bacon's words as to the divisions of this work:

1. The Divisions of the Sciences, the first part exhibits a summary of general description of the knowledge, which the human race at present possesses. In laying the divisions of the sciences however, I take into account not only things already invented and known, but likewise things omitted which ought to be there.
2. The New Organon, or Directions concerning the Interpretation of Nature, to equip the intellect for passing beyond. To the second part therefore belongs the doctrine concerning the better and more perfect use of human reason in the inquisition of things, and the true helps of the understanding. The art, which I introduce with this view, which I call *Interpretation of Nature*, is a kind of logic; though the difference between it and the ordinary logic is great; indeed immense.
3. The Phenomena of the Universe; or a Natural and Experimental History for the foundation of Philosophy, embraces the Phenomena of the universe; that is to say, experience of every kind, and such a natural history as may serve for a foundation to build philosophy upon.
4. The Ladder of the Intellect, devoted to the intellect with faithful helps and guards, and got together with most careful selection a regular army of divine works, it may seem that we have no more to do but to proceed to philosophy itself. And yet in a matter so difficult and doubtful there are still some things, which it seems necessary to premise, partly for convenience of explanation, partly for present use.

5. The Forerunners; or Anticipations of the New Philosophy, is for temporary use only, pending the completion of the rest.
6. The New Philosophy; or Active Science, to which the rest is subservient and ministrant, discloses and sets for that philosophy which by the legitimate, chaste, and severe course of inquiry which I have explained and provided is at length developed and established.

The *Great Instauration* is founded upon three great principles, History, Poetry, Philosophy, which Bacon respectively terms Memory, Imagination, Reason. As Kuno Fischer stated, the *De Augmentis* (1623) is the ground plan of the *Instauration*, and explains Bacon's scheme as a whole. The Latin text of many works by Bacon materially differs from the English version; that is, a great deal may be gathered from one which cannot be from the other. For example, of the Fourth Part of the *Great Instauration* missing (which was to consist of types and models of invention as examples in certain subjects, to which the Baconian logic was to be applied), how much is learned by the Latin text, Bacon using the word *Plasmata* to express models. *Plasmata* appears to be a word connected with models formed in wax or clay and to be thus connected with the potter's wheel. In modern Greek, *plasmata* plainly means *beings*. The particular work of Bacon's to study, is the one containing the ground plan and entire scheme of the *Great Instauration* as a whole. That is embraced and contained solely in the Latin *De Augmentis*, published the same year as the plays (1623) and contains not only a rational inductive design, based on poetry and history, but is largely made up of a great book of secret methods of the delivery, or discovery of knowledge, by means of ciphers. The Latin version was originally written by Bacon in English and translated into Latin by Doctor Playfer and others. Bacon, during his lifetime, never gave the world the original English edition. But in 1610, a supposed translation of the Latin is issued under the auspices of the University of Oxford, and with a declaration, under the frontispiece portrait of Bacon, that the Universities had fulfilled (in publishing this English edition) a vow promised (*voto suscepto*), to the author living (*vivus*). Upon the second title page we find this motto, which is a profound hint for the mathematical and orderly disposition of the work, in relation to subject matter and secret cipher: "*Deus omnia in mensura, et numero et ordine disposuit.*" [Disposed all things in proportion, number and order.] This is borrowed from Solomon, and signifies, the author, like the Almighty Architect of the Universe.

**Norma historiæ præsentis** In the sup. p. 211 Bacon intended to add at the end of the volume an *Abecedarium* of abstract natures; and in Dr. Rawley's list of the works composed by him during the last five years of his life, the second in order, immediately preceding the *Historia Ventorum* is *Abecedarium Naturæ* or a metaphysical piece, which is lost.

**Novum Organum** [New Organ] Was to contain a complete statement of its nature and principles, we have only the first two books. The doctrine of this work is expressly laid down in the *De Interpretatione Naturæ Sententiæ Duodecim* and of which the date is uncertain. One of the most remarkable parts of the *Novum Organum* is the doctrine of Idola. [Also see Part I: *Idola*.] *Novum Organum* contains a *Proæmium*, a dedication to King James I., a general Preface, an account

*Distributio Operis* of the parts of which the *Instauratio* was to consist; of these the *Novum Organum* is the second; the *De Augmentis*, which was not then published occupying the place of the first. The composition of this work commenced in 1608 though published in 1620. Archbishop Tenison (writing in 1678) states distinctly: "The Second Part of his *Great Instauration* (and so considerable a part of it, that the name of the whole is given to it) is his *Novum Organum Scientiarum*, written by himself in the Latin Tongue."<sup>677</sup> And, to make this evidence the more weighty, it comes immediately after a description of the negotiations between Bacon and Playfer about the translation of the *Advancement of Learning*, and a criticism of the translation of the *De Augmentis* into English by Dr. Gilbert Wats. Playfer died, February 2, 1608–09. The letter of Bacon to Playfer was, according to Spedding "certainly written some while after November 1605, when the *Advancement of Learning* was published (a good while since, according to Bacon himself), and certainly not after July 1608." (Fowler).<sup>678</sup> The object of the *Novum Organum*, and of Bacon's philosophy in general, is, stated summarily, to enlarge the dominion of man, *Regnum Hominis* as he phrases it, by increasing his knowledge of Nature and his power over her operations. This end can only be accomplished, he conceives, by freeing the mind from its false prejudices, especially its habit of blind submission to authority, and thus bringing it face to face with the facts of Nature. At or about the early age of twenty-five, Bacon had already begun to contemplate the Renovation of Science as stated in his letter to Father Fulgentio (1625) which can be found in Spedding's works.<sup>679</sup>

There is an experiment of Bacon's in the *Novum Organum*, that Spedding attributes the following comment: <sup>680</sup> "This is perhaps the most remarkable of Bacon's experiments; and it is singular that it was so little spoken of by subsequent writers. Nearly fifty years after the publication of the *Novum Organum*, an account of a similar experiment was published by Megalotti, who was secretary of the Accademia del Cimento at Florence; and it has since been familiarly known as the Florentine experiment. It is to be remarked that Leibnitz, *Nouveaux Essais*, in mentioning the Florentine experiment, says that the globe was of gold (p. 229. Erdmann), whereas the Florentine academicians expressly say why they preferred silver to either gold or lead." The experiment in Bacon's words: "I had a hollow globe of lead made, capable of holding about two pints, and sufficiently thick to bear considerable force. Having made a hole in it, I filled it with water, and then stopt up the hole with melted lead, so that the glove became quite solid. I then flattened two opposite sides of the glove with a heavy hammer, by which the water was necessarily contracted into less space; a sphere being the figure of largest capacity. And when the hammering had no more effect in making the water shrink, I made use of a mill or press; till the water impatient of further pressure exuded through the solid lead like a fine dew. I then computed the space lost by the compression, and concluded that this was the extent of compression which the water had suffered; but only when constrained by great violence."

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<sup>677</sup> Baconiana. pp. 28–29

<sup>678</sup> Thomas Fowler. *Bacon's Novum Organum*, 1878

<sup>679</sup> Spedding. *Letters and Life*, Vol. VII. pp. 530–533

<sup>680</sup> Spedding. *Works*, Vol. VI. P. 480



The following comment comes from Johnian, a member of St John's College in the University of Cambridge: "The Johnians are always known by the name of pigs; they put up a new organ the other day, which was immediately christened: *Baconi Novum Organum*." <sup>681</sup>

### **Preface**

That the state of knowledge is not prosperous nor greatly advancing, and that a way must be opened for the human understanding entirely different from any hitherto known, and other helps provided, in order that the mind may exercise over the nature of things the authority which properly belongs to it.

It seems to me that men do not rightly understand either their store or their strength, but overrate the one and underrate the other. Hence, it follows that either from an extravagant estimate of the value of the arts which they possess they seek no further, or else from too mean an estimate of their own powers they spend their strength in small matters and never put it fairly to the trial in those which go to the main. These are as the pillars of fate set in the path of knowledge, for men have neither desire nor hope to encourage them to penetrate further. And since opinion of store is one of the chief causes of want, and satisfaction with the present induces neglect of provision for the future, it becomes a thing not only useful, but absolutely necessary, that the excess of honour and admiration with which our existing stock of inventions is regarded be in the very entrance and threshold of the work, and that frankly and without circumlocution stripped off, and men be duly warned not to exaggerate or make too much of them. For let a man look carefully into all that variety of books with which the arts and sciences abound, he will find everywhere endless repetitions of the same thing, varying in the method of treatment, but not new in substance, insomuch that the whole stock, numerous as it appears at first view, proves on examination to be but scanty. And for its value and utility it must be plainly avowed that that wisdom which we have derived principally from the Greeks is but like the boyhood of knowledge, and has the characteristic property of boys: it can talk, but it cannot generate, for it is fruitful of controversies but barren of work.

So that the state of learning as it now is appears to be represented to the life in the old fable of Scylla, who had the head and face of a virgin, but her womb was hung round with barking monsters, from which she could not be delivered. For in like manner the sciences to which we are accustomed have certain general positions which are specious and flattering; but as soon as they come to particulars, which are as the parts of generation, when they should produce fruit and works, then arise contentions and barking disputations, which are the end of the matter and all the issue they can yield. Observe also, that if sciences of this kind had any life in them, that could never have come to pass which has been the case now for many ages, that they stand almost at a stay, without receiving any augmentations worthy of the human race, insomuch that many times not only what was asserted once is asserted still, but what was a question once is a question still, and instead of being resolved by discussion

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681 Westminster Rev. Am. ed., Vol. XXXV. p 236

is only fixed and fed; and all the tradition and succession of schools is still a succession of masters and scholars, not of inventors and those who bring to further perfection the things invented. In the mechanical arts we do not find it so; they, on the contrary, as having in them some breath of life, are continually growing and becoming more perfect. As originally invented they are commonly rude, clumsy, and shapeless; afterwards they acquire new powers and more commodious arrangements and constructions, in so far that men shall sooner leave the study and pursuit of them and turn to something else than they arrive at the ultimate perfection of which they are capable.

Philosophy and the intellectual sciences, on the contrary, stand like statues, worshipped and celebrated, but not moved or advanced. Nay, they sometimes flourish most in the hands of the first author, and afterwards degenerate. For when men have once made over their judgments to others' keeping, and (like those senators whom they called *Pedarii*) have agreed to support some one person's opinion, from that time they make no enlargement of the sciences themselves, but fall to the servile office of embellishing certain individual authors and increasing their retinue. And let it not be said that the sciences have been growing gradually till they have at last reached their full stature, and so (their course being completed) have settled in the works of a few writers; and that there being now no room for the invention of better, all that remains is to embellish and cultivate those things which have been invented already. Would it were so! But the truth is that this appropriating of the sciences has its origin in nothing better than the confidence of a few persons and the sloth and indolence of the rest. For after the sciences had been in several perhaps cultivated and handled diligently, there has risen up some man of bold disposition, and famous for methods and short ways which people like, who has in appearance reduced them to an art, while he has in fact only spoiled all that the others had done.

And yet this is what posterity likes, because it makes the work short and easy, and saves further inquiry, of which they are weary and impatient. And if any one take this general acquiescence and consent for an argument of weight, as being the judgment of Time, let me tell him that the reasoning on which he relies is most fallacious and weak. For, first, we are far from knowing all that in the matter of sciences and arts has in various ages and places been brought to light and published, much less all that has been by private persons secretly attempted and stirred; so neither the births nor the miscarriages of Time are entered in our records. Nor, secondly, is the consent itself and the time it has continued a consideration of much worth. For however various are the forms of civil polities, there is but one form of polity in the sciences; and that always has been and always will be popular.

Now the doctrines which find most favour with the populace are those which are either contentious and pugnacious, or specious and empty, such, I say, as either entangle assent or tickle it. And therefore no doubt the greatest wits in each successive age have been forced out of their own course: men of capacity and intellect above the vulgar having been fain, for reputation's sake, to bow to the judgment of the time and the multitude; and thus if any contemplations of a higher order took light anywhere, they were presently blown out by the winds of vulgar opinions. So that Time is like a river which has brought down to us things light and puffed up,

while those which are weighty and solid have sunk. Nay, those very authors who have usurped a kind of dictatorship in the sciences and taken upon them to lay down the law with such confidence, yet when from time to time they come to themselves again, they fall to complaints of the subtlety of nature, the hiding places of truth, the obscurity of things, the entanglement of causes, the weakness of the human mind; wherein nevertheless they show themselves never the more modest, seeing that they will rather lay the blame upon the common condition of men and nature than upon themselves. And then whatever any art fails to attain, they ever set it down upon the authority of that art itself as impossible of attainment; and how can art be found guilty when it is judge in its own cause? So it is but a device for exempting ignorance from ignominy.

Now for those things which are delivered and received, this is their condition: barren of works, full of questions; in point of enlargement slow and languid, carrying a show of perfection in the whole, but in the parts ill filled up; in selection popular, and unsatisfactory even to those who propound them; and therefore fenced round and set forth with sundry artifices. And if there be any who have determined to make trial for themselves and put their own strength to the work of advancing the boundaries of the sciences, yet have they not ventured to cast themselves completely loose from received opinions or to seek their knowledge at the fountain; but they think they have done some great thing if they do but add and introduce into the existing sum of science something of their own, prudently considering with themselves that by making the addition they can assert their liberty, while they retain the credit of modesty by assenting to the rest. But these mediocrities and middle ways so much praised, in deferring to opinions and customs, turn to the great detriment of the sciences. For it is hardly possible at once to admire an author and to go beyond him, knowledge being as water, which will not rise above the level from which it fell. Men of this kind, therefore, amend some things, but advance little, and improve the condition of knowledge, but do not extend its range.

Some, indeed, there have been who have gone more boldly to work and, taking it all for an open matter and giving their genius full play, have made a passage for themselves and their own opinions by pulling down and demolishing former ones; and yet all their stir has but little advanced the matter, since their aim has been not to extend philosophy and the arts in substance and value, but only to change doctrines and transfer the kingdom of opinions to themselves; whereby little has indeed been gained, for though the error be the opposite of the other, the causes of erring are the same in both. And if there have been any who, not binding themselves either to other men's opinions or to their own, but loving liberty, have desired to engage others along with themselves in search, these, though honest in intention, have been weak in endeavour. For they have been content to follow probable reasons and are carried round in a whirl of arguments, and in the promiscuous liberty of search have relaxed the severity of inquiry.

There is none who has dwelt upon experience and the facts of nature as long as is necessary. Some there are indeed who have committed themselves to the waves of experience and almost turned mechanics, yet these again have in their very experiments pursued a kind of wandering inquiry,

without any regular system of operations. And besides they have mostly proposed to themselves certain petty tasks, taking it for a great matter to work out some single discovery; a course of proceeding at once poor in aim and unskillful in design. For no man can rightly and successfully investigate the nature of anything in the thing itself; let him vary his experiments as laboriously as he will, he never comes to a resting-place, but still finds something to seek beyond.

And there is another thing to be remembered; namely, that all industry in experimenting has begun with proposing to itself certain definite works to be accomplished, and has pursued them with premature and unseasonable eagerness; it has sought, I say, experiments of fruit, not experiments of light, not imitating the divine procedure, which in its first day's work created light only and assigned to it one entire day, on which day it produced no material work, but proceeded to that on the days following. As for those who have given the first place to logic, supposing that the surest helps to the sciences were to be found in that, they have indeed most truly and excellently perceived that the human intellect left to its own course is not to be trusted; but then the remedy is altogether too weak for the disease, nor is it without evil in itself. For the logic which is received, though it be very properly applied to civil business and to those arts which rest in discourse and opinion, is not nearly subtle enough to deal with nature; and in attempting what it cannot master, has done more to establish and perpetuate error than to open the way to truth.

Upon the whole, therefore, it seems that men have not been happy hitherto either in the trust which they have placed in others or in their own industry with regard to the sciences; especially as neither the demonstrations nor the experiments as yet known are much to be relied upon. But the universe to the eye of the human understanding is framed like a labyrinth, presenting as it does on every side so many ambiguities of way, such deceitful resemblances of objects and signs, natures so irregular in their lines and so knotted and entangled. And then the way is still to be made by the uncertain light of the sense, sometimes shining out, sometimes clouded over, through the woods of experience and particulars; while those who offer themselves for guides are (as was said) themselves also puzzled, and increase the number of errors and wanderers. In circumstances so difficult, neither the natural force of man's judgment nor even any accidental felicity offers any chance of success. No excellence of wit, no repetition of chance experiments, can overcome such difficulties as these. Our steps must be guided by a clue, and the whole way from the very first perception of the senses must be laid out upon a sure plan. Not that I would be understood to mean that nothing whatever has been done in so many ages by so great labours.

We have no reason to be ashamed of the discoveries, which have been made, and no doubt the ancients proved themselves in everything that turns on wit and abstract meditation, wonderful men. But, as in former ages, when men sailed only by observation of the stars, they could indeed coast along the shores of the old continent or cross a few small and Mediterranean seas; but before the ocean could be traversed and the new world discovered, the use of the mariner's needle, as a more faithful and certain guide, had to be found out; in like manner the discoveries which have

been hitherto made in the arts and sciences are such as might be made by practice, meditation, observation, argumentation; for they lay near to the senses and immediately beneath common notions; but before we can reach the remoter and more hidden parts of nature, it is necessary that a more perfect use and application of the human mind and intellect be introduced.

For my own part at least, in obedience to the everlasting love of truth, I have committed myself to the uncertainties and difficulties and solitudes of the ways and, relying on the divine assistance, have upheld my mind both against the shocks and embattled ranks of opinion, and against my own private and inward hesitations and scruples, and against the fogs and clouds of nature, and the phantoms flitting about on every side, in the hope of providing at last for the present and future generations guidance more faithful and secure. Wherein if I have made any progress, the way has been opened to me by no other means than the true and legitimate humiliation of the human spirit. For all those who before me have applied themselves to the invention of arts have but cast a glance or two upon facts and examples and experience, and straightway proceeded, as if invention were nothing more than an exercise of thought, to invoke their own spirits to give them oracles.

I, on the contrary, dwelling purely and constantly among the facts of nature, withdraw my intellect from them no further than may suffice to let the images and rays of natural objects meet in a point, as they do in the sense of vision; whence it follows that the strength and excellence of the wit has but little to do in the matter. And the same humility which I use in inventing I employ likewise in teaching. For I do not endeavour either by triumphs of confutation, or pleadings of antiquity, or assumption of authority, or even by the veil of obscurity, to invest these inventions of mine with any majesty; which might easily be done by one who sought to give luster to his own name rather than light to other men's minds. I have not sought (I say) nor do I seek either to force or ensnare men's judgments, but I lead them to things themselves and the concordances of things, that they may see for themselves what they have, what they can dispute, what they can add and contribute to the common stock.

And for myself, if in anything I have been either too credulous or too little awake and attentive, or if I have fallen off by the way and left the inquiry incomplete, nevertheless I so present these things naked and open, that my errors can be marked and set aside before the mass of knowledge be further infected by them; and it will be easy also for others to continue and carry on my labours. And by these means I suppose that I have established forever a true and lawful marriage between the empirical and the rational faculty, the unkind and ill-starred divorce and separation of which has thrown into confusion all the affairs of the human family.

Fr. Bacon.

**Epistle Dedicatory**  
**To Our Most Gracious And Mighty Prince And Lord James,**  
**By The Grace Of God**  
**Of Great Britain, France, And Ireland King, Defender Of The Faith, Etc.**

Most Gracious and Mighty King,

Your Majesty may perhaps accuse me of larceny, having stolen from your affairs so much time as was required for this work. I know not what to say for myself. For of time there can be no restitution unless it be that what has been abstracted from your business may perhaps go to the memory of your name and the honour of your age; if these things are indeed worth anything. Certainly they are quite new, totally new in their very kind: and yet they are copied from a very ancient model, even the world itself and the nature of things and of the mind. And to say truth, I am wont for my own part to regard this work as a child of time rather than of wit, the only wonder being that the first notion of the thing, and such great suspicions concerning matters long established, should have come into any man's mind. All the rest follows readily enough. And no doubt there is something of accident (as we call it) and luck as well in what men think as in what they do or say. But for this accident which I speak of, I wish that if there be any good in what I have to offer, it may be ascribed to the infinite mercy and goodness of God, and to the felicity of your Majesty's times; to which as I have been an honest and affectionate servant in my life, so after my death I may yet perhaps, through the kindling of this new light in the darkness of philosophy, be the means of making this age famous to posterity; and surely to the times of the wisest and most learned of Kings belongs of right the regeneration and restoration of the sciences. Lastly, I have a request to make, a request no way unworthy of your Majesty, and which especially concerns the work in hand, namely, that you who resemble Solomon in so many things; in the gravity of your judgments, in the peacefulness of your reign, in the largeness of your heart, in the noble variety of the books which you have composed; would further follow his example in taking order for the collecting and perfecting of a natural and experimental history, true and severe (unincumbered with literature and book-learning), such as philosophy may be built upon, such, in fact, as I shall in its proper place describe: that so at length, after the lapse of so many ages, philosophy and the sciences may no longer float in air, but rest on the solid foundation of experience of every kind, and the same well examined and weighed. I have provided the machine, but the stuff must be gathered from the facts of nature.

May God Almighty long preserve your Majesty.

Your Majesty's

Most bounden and devoted Servant,

Francis Verulam,

Chancellor.

**Physiologia Nova** Posthumous work of Gilbert published in 1653 by Grüter, but which Bacon had certainly seen in manuscript, was written after the treatise *De Magnete*, published in 1600.

**Physiological and medical remains** First published by Tenison in 1679, in a single volume entitled “Baconiana, or certain genuine Remains of Sir Francis Bacon Baron of Verulam and Viscount of St Alban’s in arguments Civil, Moral, Natural, Medical, Theological, Bibliographical now for the first time faithfully published.” The introduction professed to give an account of all Bacon’s works. There is no means of guessing when they were written; all are in Bacon’s own English, except the latter portion of the “catalogue of bodies attractive and non attractive” which appears to have been written by him in Latin. Of the second, “articles of questions touching minerals” a Latin translation by Dr. Rawley had been published in the *Opuscula Philosophica*.

**Scala intellectus and prodromi** [The Ladder of Understanding: Fore-Runners] First published by Grüter in 1653; not included in Dr. Rawley’s *Opuscula*, 1658. Apparently written any time after the plan of the *Instauration* in its six parts had been once conceived; Grüter places them among that he calls *Impetus Philosophici*; which merely means that they came to him as loose sheets without any direction under what title to arrange them; intended as Prefaces to the fourth and fifth parts of the *Instauration* respectively. With these Prefaces, the collection of works published or designed for publication as parts of the *Instauration Magna* must close. Of the fourth part not even any fragment has come down to us.

**Sulphuris mercurii** Prefaces only exist.

**Sylva Sylvarum** Published by Dr. Rawley in 1627; a considerable part of the experiments can also be found in Porta’s *Natural Magic*; it consists of one thousand paragraphs and divided into ten centuries. Each paragraph contains a statement of one or more facts, accompanied generally by some remarks tending more or less to explain the causes of the observed phenomena. Other principle sources these experiments are derived from are Aristotle’s *Problems* and his *De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus* and his *Meteorologics*; Pliny’s *Natural History*; Sandys’ *Travels*; Cardan’s *De Subtilitate*; Scaliger’s *Adversus Cardanum*. Scaliger and Comines are the only two modern writers mentioned in the *Sylva Sylvarum*; a title name derived from a Hebraism for *optima sylva* [a collection of collections]; *sylva* used as the *Grk*: *ύλη* (eeli) [materials]. The name accords with Bacon’s notion of *Natural History*; that it ought to supply the materials with which the new philosophy is to be built up. Dr. Rawley’s comment in the *To The Reader of the Sylva Sylvarum*: “this *Natural History* was a debt of his, being designed and set down for a third part of the *Instauration*.”

Table of experiments: Century I:

- Of Straining or percolation, outward and inward
- Of Motion upon pressure
- Separations of bodies liquid by weight

- Of Infusions in water and air
- Of The appetite of continuation in liquids
- Artificial springs
- Of The venomous quality of man's flesh
- Of Turning air into water
- Of Helping or altering the shape of the body
- Of Condensing of air, to yield weight or nourishment
- Of Flame and air commixed
- Of The secret nature of flame
- Flame, in the midst, and on the sides
- Of Motion of gravity
- Of Contraction of bodies in bulk
- Of Making vines more fruitful
- Of The several operations of purging medicines
- Of Meats and drinks most nourishing
- Of Medicines applied in order
- Of Cure by custom
- Of Cure by excess
- Of Cure by motion of consent
- Of Cure of disease contrary to predisposition
- Of Preparation before and after purging
- Of Stanching blood
- Of Change of aliments and medicines
- Of Diets
- Of Production of cold
- Of Turning air into water
- Of Induration of bodies
- Of Preying of air upon water
- Of The force of union
- Of Making feathers and hairs of divers colours
- Of Nourishment of young creatures in the egg, or womb
- Of Sympathy and antipathy
- Of The spirits, or pneumatics in bodies
- Of The power of heat
- Of Impossibility of annihilation

Table of experiments: Century II:

- Of Music
- Of The nullity and entity of sounds
- Of Production, conservation, and delation of sounds
- Of Magnitude, exility, and damp of sounds
- Of Communication of sounds
- Of Equality and inequality of sounds
- Of More treble and base tones
- Of Proportion of treble and bass



- Of Exterior and interior sounds
- Of Articulation of sounds

Table of experiments: Century III:

- Of The lines in which sounds move
- Of The lasting or perishing of sounds
- Of The passage or interception of sounds
- Of The medium of sounds
- Of The figures of bodies yielding sounds
- Of The medium of sounds
- Of The figures of bodies yielding sounds
- Of Mixture of sounds
- Of Melioration of sounds
- Imitation of sounds
- Of Reflexion of sounds
- Of Consent and dissent between visibles and audibles
- Of Sympathy and antipathy of sounds
- Of Hindering or helping of hearing
- Of The spiritual and fine nature of sounds
- Of Orient colours in dissolutions of metals
- Of Prolongation of life
- Of The appetite of union in bodies
- Of The like operations of heat and time
- Of The differing operations of fire and time
- Of Motions by imitation
- Of Infectious diseases
- Of The incorporation of powders and liquors
- Of Exercise of the body, and the benefits or evils thereof
- Of Meats soon glutting, or not glutting

Table of experiments: Century IV:

- Of Clarification of liquors, and the accelerating thereof
- Of Maturation, and the accelerating thereof, and of the maturation of drinks and fruits
- Of Making gold
- Of The several natures of gold
- Of Inducing and accelerating putrefaction
- Of Prohibiting and preventing putrefaction
- Of Rotten wood shining
- Of Acceleration of birth
- Of Acceleration of growth and stature
- Of Bodies sulphureous and mercurial
- Of The chameleon
- Of Subterrany fires
- Of Nitrous water

- Of Congealing of air
- Of Congealing of water into crystal
- Of Preserving the smell and colour in rose leaves
- Of The lasting of flame
- Of Infusions or burials of divers bodies in earth
- Of The affects of men's bodies from several winds
- Of Winter and summer sicknesses
- Of Pestilential years
- Of Epidemical diseases
- Of Preservation of liquors in wells, or deep vaults
- Of Stutting
- Of Sweet smells
- Of The goodness and choice of waters
- Of Temperate heats under the equinoctial
- Of The coloration of black and tawny moors
- Of Motion after the instant of death

Table of experiments: Century V:

- Of Accelerating or hastening forward germination
- Of Retarding or putting back germination
- Of Meliorating, or making better, fruits and plants
- Of Compound fruits and flowers
- Of Sympathy and antipathy of plants
- Of Making herbs and fruits medicinable

Table of experiments: Century VI:

- Of Curiosities about fruits and plants
- Of The degenerating of plants, and of their transmutation one into another
- Of The procerity and lowness of plants, and of artificial dwarfing them
- Of The rudiments of plants, and of the excrescences of plants, or super-plants
- Of Producing perfect plants without seed
- Of Foreign plants
- Of The seasons of several plants
- Of The lasting of plants
- Of Several figures of plants
- Of Some principal differences in plants
- Of All manner of composts and helps for ground

Table of experiments: Century VII:

- Of The affinities and differences between plants and bodies inanimate
- Of Affinities and differences between plants and living creatures, and of the confiners and participles of both
- Of Plants, experiments promiscuous
- Of Healing of wounds

- Of Fat diffused in flesh
- Of Ripening drink speedily
- Of Pilosity and plumage
- Of The quickness of motions in birds
- Of The clearness of the sea, the north wind blowing
- Of The different heats of fire and boiling water
- Of The qualification of heat by moisture
- Of Yawning
- Of The hiccough
- Of Sneezing
- Of The tenderness of the teeth
- Of The tongue
- Of The mouth out of taste
- Of Some prognostics of pestilential seasons
- Of Special simples for medicines
- Of Venus
- Of The insecta, or creatures bred of putrefaction
- Of Leaping
- Of The pleasures and displeasures of hearing, and of the other senses

Table of experiments: Century VIII:

- Of Veins of earth medicinal
- Of Sponges
- Of Sea-fish in fresh waters
- Of Attraction by similitude of substance
- Of Certain drinks in Turkey
- Of Sweat
- Of The glow-worm
- Of The impressions upon the body from several passions of the mind
- Of Drunkenness
- Of The hurt or help of wine, taken moderately
- Of Caterpillars
- Of The flies cantharides
- Of Lassitude
- Of Casting the skin, and shell, in some creatures
- Of The postures of the body
- Of Pestilential years
- Of Some prognostics of hard winters
- Of Certain medicines that condense and relieve the spirits
- Of Painting of the body
- Of The use of bathing and anointing
- Of Chamoletting of paper
- Of Cuttle ink
- Of Earth increasing in weight
- Of Sleep

- Of Teeth, and hard substances in the bodies of living creatures
- Of The generation and bearing of living creatures in the womb
- Of Species visible
- Of Impulsion and percussion
- Of Titillation
- Of Scarcity of rain in Egypt
- Of Clarification
- Of Plants without leaves
- Of The materials of glass
- Of Prohibition of putrefaction, and the long conservation of bodies
- Of Abundance of nitre in certain sea-shores
- Of Bodies borne up by water
- Of Fuel consuming little or nothing
- Of Cheap fuel
- Of Gathering of wind for freshness
- Of Trails of airs
- Of Increasing milk in milch beasts
- Of Sand of the nature of glass
- Of The growth of coral
- Of The gathering of manna
- Of The correcting of wines
- Of Bitumen, one of the materials of wild-fire
- Of Plaster growing as hard as marble
- Of The cure of some ulcers and hurts
- Of The healthfulness or unhealthfulness of the southern wind
- Of Wounds made with brass, and with iron
- Of Mortification by cold
- Of Weight
- Of Super natation of bodies
- Of The flying of unequal bodies in the air
- Of Water, that it may be the medium of sounds
- Of The flight of the spirits upon odious objects
- Of The super reflexion of echoes
- Of The force of imagination imitating that of the sense
- Of Preservation of bodies
- Of The growth or multiplying of metals
- Of The drowning of the more base metal in the more precious
- Of Fixation of bodies
- Of The restless nature of things in themselves and their desire to change

Table of experiments: Century IX:

- Of Perception in bodies insensible, tending to natural divination and subtile trials
- Of The causes of appetite in the stomach
- Of Sweetness of odour from the rainbow
- Of Sweet smells

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- Of The corporeal substance of smells
  - Of Fetid and fragrant odours
  - Of The causes of putrefaction
  - Of Bodies unperfectly mixed
  - Of Concoction and crudity
  - Of Alterations, which may be called majors
  - Of Bodies liquefiable, and not liquefiable
  - Of Bodies fragile and tough
  - Of The two kinds of pneumatics in bodies
  - Of Concretion and dissolution of bodies
  - Of Bodies hard and soft
  - Of Bodies ductile and tensile
  - Of Several passions of matter, and characters of bodies
  - Of Induration by sympathy
  - Of Honey and sugar
  - Of The finer sort of base metals
  - Of Certain cements and quarries
  - Of The altering of colours in hairs and feathers
  - Of The differences of living creatures, male and female
  - Of The comparative magnitude of living creatures
  - Of Producing fruit without core or stone
  - Of The melioration of tobacco
  - Of Several heats working the same effects
  - Of Swelling and dilatation in boiling
  - Of The dulcoration of fruits
  - Of Flesh edible and not edible
  - Of The salamander
  - Of The contrary operations of time on fruits and liquors
  - Of Blows and bruises
  - Of The orrice root
  - Of The compression of liquors
  - Of The working of water upon air contiguous
  - Of The nature of air
  - Of The eyes and sight
  - Of The colour of the sea or other water
  - Of Shell-fish
  - Of The right side and the left
  - Of Frictions
  - Of Globes appearing flat at distance
  - Of Shadows
  - Of The rolling and breaking of the seas
  - Of The dulcoration of salt water
  - Of The return of saltness in pits by the sea-shore
  - Of Attraction by similitude of substance
  - Of Attraction

- Of Heat under earth
- Of Flying in the air
- Of The scarlet dye
- Of Maleficiating
- Of The rise of liquors or powders by means of flame
- Of The influences of the moon
- Of Vinegar
- Of Creatures that sleep all winter
- Of The generating of creatures by copulation, and by putrefaction

Table of experiments: Century X:

- Of The transmission and influx of immateriate virtues, and the force of imagination
- Of The emission of spirits in vapour, or exhalation, odour like
- Of Emissions of spiritual species which affect the senses
- Of Emission of immateriate virtues, from the minds and spirits of men, by affections, imagination, or other impressions
- Of The secret virtue of sympathy and antipathy
- Of Secret virtues and proprieties
- Of The general sympathy of men's spirits

**Sympathiæ et antipathiæ rerum** Prefaces only exist.

**Temporis partus masculus** Probably written in the summer of 1583; an unfinished work meant to be in three books: the first to be entitled *Perpolitio et applicatio mentis*, the second *Lumen Naturæ, seu formula Interpretationis*, and the third, *Natura illuminata, sive Veritas Rerum*. In the *Præfatio Generalis*, Bacon compares his method to the mariner's compass, until the discovery of which no wise sea could be crossed; an image probably connected with his favourite device of a ship passing through the pillars of Hercules, with the motto *Plus ultra*. [Also see Part I: *Plus Ultra*.] Whatever period or periods of Bacon's life these pieces were composed, they all belong to the second part of the *Instauratio*; not as Prefaces or Prospectuses, but as portions of the work itself. Its object is to explode the various philosophical systems or theories which had been previously propounded; being the first and principal part of the doctrine of the *Idols of the Theatre*, a part which, though not directly noticed in the *Advancement of Learning*, assumed soon after so prominent a place in Bacon's scheme that he resolved to place it in the very front of his battle. Inserted at the end of the manuscript of the *Valerius Terminus* and described: "The first chapter of a book of the same argument, written in Latin, and destined to be separate and not public."

**Topica inquisitionis de luce et lumine** [Experimental inquiry concerning light] First published by Grüter in 1653 among the pieces which he entitles *Impetus Philosophici*; afterwards the work was published by Dr. Rawley in 1658.

**Valerius Terminus** With the Annotations of *Hermes Stella*; detached passages, partly of an epitome of twelve chapters of the first book of the proposed work. By the name Terminus, Bacon

intended to intimate that the new philosophy would put an end to the wandering of mankind in search of truth, that it would be the *terminus ad quem* in which when it was once attained the mind would finally acquiesce. Stella was therefore to throw a kind of starlight on the subject; enough to prevent the students losing their way, but not much more. Was to include all that was to precede the exposition of the new method of induction, which was to be the subject of the second; that is, it was to comprehend along with the first part of the *Instauratio*, the general reflexions and precepts which form the subject of the first book of the *Novum Organum*. Possibly written some time around 1603–04 and first published in Robert Stephens' *Letters and Remains* in 1734. The manuscript from which Stephens printed these fragments was found among some loose papers placed in his hands by the Earl of Oxford, and is now in the British Museum Harl. MSS. 6462. It is a thin paper volume of the quarto size, written in the hand of one of Bacon's servants, with corrections, erasures, and interlineations in his own.

- **Professional Works**

**Answers to questions proposed by Sir Alexander Hay** Printed in 1641. Sir Alexander Hay was Secretary of State for Scotland in 1608, the date assigned to the paper, at which time the project for the union was on foot. In the copy in the Lansdowne MSS., it is said to have been written at the request of Lord Northampton, who became Lord Privy Seal in that year.

**Argument in Chudleigh's Case** Translated from the Law French in which it is preserved, Lansd. MSS. 1121. The case itself is fully reported by Sir Edward Coke, who argued on the same side with Bacon, and by Anderson and Popham, who gave judgment on that same side; and Mr. Hargrave, in his manuscript notes on *Popham's Reports* in the British Museum, mentions an unedited report by Owen, also one of the majority of the judges in the library of Lincoln's Inn. [Also see Part III: *Bacon's Works at Lincoln Inn Library*].

**Arguments of law** Printed by Blackbourne in 1730 from Sloane MS. 4263 largely corrected by Bacon himself; the transcript must have been made after Easter Term, 1615. Arguments include:

1. The argument before the judges in the Exchequer Chamber, touching the clause of impeachment of waste.
2. The argument in Lowe's Case, touching tenures, in the King's Bench.
3. The argument of the lady Stanhope's Case, touching the clause of revocation of uses, in the King's Bench.
4. The several arguments proving the jurisdiction of the Council of the marches over the four English shires, before all the judges at Serjeants' Inn.

**Arguments on the Jurisdiction of the Council of the Marches** These arguments were delivered in the course of a contest of some historical interest, which was carried on, in the Courts, in Parliament, and out of doors, through the greater part of King James I's reign, and indeed earlier.

**Arguments on the writ de non precedenco rege inconsulto** Reprinted in the *Collectanea Juridica*; the case is reported by Moore, by Bulstrode, and by Rolle. It commenced in Easter Term 1615 and was the last speech of Bacon's delivered January 25, 1615–16.

**Case of the Post-Nati** First printed in 1641, together with two of Bacon's speeches in Parliament on the Union. There is a copy in the British Museum, King's MSS. 17 A. LVI. P. 262, corrected by Bacon. It was delivered in Calvin's Case reported by Sir Edward Coke, 7 *Reports*. 1., before Easter Term, 1608, in the Exchequer Chamber, whither an Assize by Calvin and a Chancery suit for discovery of evidence had been adjourned from the King's Bench and the Chancery respectively.

**Cases of Treason** In 1641 there was published a small volume in twenty-one chapters, with the title *Cases of Treason, written by Sir Francis Bacon, H.M.'s Solicitor-General*.

**De fluxu et refluxu maris** Published prior 1616 and probably written before Bacon had become acquainted with Galileo's theory of the tides. [Also see Part III: *Galileo's Theory*].

**De interpretatione naturæ** One of the many drafts of that great speech of preparation which Bacon turned into so many different shapes before it issued finally in the first book of the *Novum Organum*. First published by Grüter in 1653, who places it among the *Impetus Philosophici*. There is no data for determining when it was composed. It belongs to the days of the *Filum Labyrinthi*, when Bacon was more occupied in perfecting and explaining his method than in taking steps for collecting a natural history.

**De interpretatione naturæ proœmium** Written in the summer of 1603 and first published by Grüter among the *Impetus Philosophici* where it stands by itself, unconnected with the neighbouring pieces. All that is of general application in it was afterwards digested into the first book of the *Novum Organum*. Bacon's own account, written when he was between forty and fifty, of the plan upon which his life had been laid out.

**De principiis atque originibus** Tracts published by Grüter. Being composed of a later date than expressions found in the *Novum Organum*.

**Discourse upon the commission of Bridewell** First published by Mr. Martin in his report on Bridewell Hospital.<sup>682</sup> There is another copy in the Cambridge Library, which is anonymous and believed to have been written before October 11, 1587.

**Maxims of the Law** First edition was in 1630, with the second edition of the *Use of the Law*: a common title, *The Elements of the Common Law*, being prefixed, as well as a separate one to each part.

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<sup>682</sup> 32nd Rep. Of Charity Commission, Part 6. p. 576 from Harl. MS. 1323



**Ordinances in Chancery** Harl. MSS. 1576 in which volume is also some Orders of Lord Ellesmere; there are fifteen additional rules, which from the place in which they occur would seem to be Bacon's.

**Parasceve ad historiam naturalem et experimentalem** [Preparation for a Natural and Experimental History] The third part of the *Instauratio* published in 1620 in the same volume with the *Novum Organum*. A work, always regarded by Bacon, as a part of his system both fundamental and indispensable: "I must repeat here again what I have so often said; that though all the wits of all the ages should meet in one, though the whole human race should make Philosophy their sole business, though the whole earth were nothing but Colleges and Academies and schools of learned men, yet without such a natural and experimental history as I am going to describe, no progress worthy of the human race in Philosophy and the Sciences could possibly be made: whereas if such a history were once provided and well ordered, with the addition of such auxiliary and light giving experiments as the course of Interpretation would itself suggest, the investigation of Nature and of all sciences would be the work only of a few years. Either this must be done, therefore, or the business must be abandoned. For in this way and in this way only can the foundation be laid of a true and active Philosophy."

**Partis instaurationis secundæ delineatio et argumentum** Contains no mention of the plan of setting forth the new method of induction by means of an example, and is of earlier date than the *Cogitata et Visa* (1607). A sketch of a plan of the *Novum Organum*, as then designed; it contains the earliest intimation of the entire scheme of the *Instauratio Magna* which Bacon had already resolved to distribute into six parts: to treat the art of interpretation; to exhibit the results of the art applied; to be provisional, consisting of anticipations arrived at by the ordinary method, which were afterwards to be verified by the true method. It was probably composed after July 1608; and this would accord very well with Bouillet's conjecture that this was the manuscript sent by Bacon to Tobie Matthew in a letter dated October 10, 1609 and alluded to in the following passage: "I send you at this time the only part which hath any harshness. And yet I framed to myself an opinion that whosoever allowed well of that Preface which you so much commend, will not dislike, or at least ought not to dislike, this other speech of preparation. For it is written out of the same spirit and out of the same necessity. Nay it doth more fully lay open that the question between me and the ancients is not of the virtue of the race, but of the rightness of the way. And to speak truth, it is to the other but as *palma* to *pugnus*, part of the same thing, more large."

**Phænomena universi** First published by Grüter in 1653, who places it among the *Impetus Philosophici*; meant originally for the commencement of the third part of the *Instauratio*. Probably written before 1622.

**Preparation for the union of laws** This paper is found in Harl. MSS., 6797 and is to admit corrections and additions, and in order that the corresponding Scotch Law might be entered opposite.

**Reading on the Statute of Uses** Bacon's Double Reading in Gray's Inn, in the Lent vacation, 1600; first published very incorrectly and evidently from a bad manuscript in 1642. The reading was to extend over six days, and on each day there was to be provided an introductory discourse on matter without the statute, a division on the statute, and a few cases for exercise and argument.

**Use of the Law** only two manuscripts.<sup>683</sup>

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<sup>683</sup> Harl. MS. 1201 and Sloane MS. 4253

Alphabetically:

## Authors who published Bacon's Works

**Abbott A. Edwin, D.D.** (1838–1926) In 1885, Abbott published two books entitled *Francis Bacon An Account of his Life and his Works*. This work was undertaken six or seven years before its publication, at the request of Mr. J.R. Green, for the series of *Literature Primers*. Although the rough draft was prepared as early as 1880, unavoidable delays deferred completion, till Mr. Green's lamented death destroyed the hope that the volume might receive his supervision. The Bacon works entered:

- The Revolt against Aristotle
- The Scheme of the Magna Instauratio
- Partus Masculus Temporis
- Valerius Terminus
- The Advancement of Learning
- The Delineatio
- The Cogitata et Visa
- Filum Labyrinthi
- Redargutio Philosophiarum
- De Sapientia Veterum and the Astronomical Treatises
- The Novum Organum (Book I)
- The Novum Organum (Book II)
- Contributions to the Third Part of the Instauratio Magna
- De Augmentis
- Sylva Sylvarum
- The Merits and Demerits of Bacon's Philosophy
- The New Atlantis
- History of King Henry VII.

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- Minor Literary Works
  - The Method of the Essays
  - The Subject Matter of the Essays
  - Bacon as a Writer
  - Summary of that part of the Advancement of Learning which treats Philosophy
  - Natural Philosophy
  - Human Philosophy
  - Man Segregate the Understanding
  - Man Segregate the Will
  - Human Philosophy Man Congregate
  - Sacred Philosophy

The revision and rewriting of this work were facilitated by biographies of Bacon written during the last few years of the 1880's by Professor Fowler (1881), by Dean Church (1884), by Professor S.R. Gardiner in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1885), by Mr. Aldis Wright in the biography prefixed to his edition of the *Advancement of Learning*, (1875) which closely follows Spedding in his views of Bacon's character. Dean Church has been led to conclusions very similar to those, which Abbott endeavoured very roughly and imperfectly to express in the edition of the *Essays* (1878), and to which Abbott still, in the main, adhered to. Professor Gardiner had viewed Bacon in a new light. He had called attention to the political aspect of Bacon's career; laid stress upon the grandeur of the work that Bacon might have achieved as a Statesman, if only he could have had his own way; and has herein found some extenuation, not only for his desertion from science to statesmanship, but also for his continuance in political pursuits even when it became evident that he could achieve nothing because he was forced to go the way of others.

Abbott, before going into the category of works, gives an exceptional biography of Bacon and his times, beginning with the following: "The greatest living states man in England was not long ago (1884) accused of being able to persuade himself of anything. The accusation savoured of hyperbole; but it by no means deserved to be treated as if it amounted to a charge of lunacy. No man can do great things if he is not persuaded that he can do somewhat more than he actually succeeds in doing; no man can lead a party or work for a people if he does not believe in the party or people to an extent a little beyond what is warranted by facts. It is by this imaginative and illogical surpluseage of belief (commonly called faith) that a man uplifts both himself and others: within ordinary limits it achieves ordinary successes; beyond those limits it achieves stupendous marvels or disastrous failures. If the good was unattainable, then he would make the best of the bad, and aim at that, and call that good."

Within his preliminary introduction, Abbott goes into Bacon's weakness as Lord Chancellor, and how Buckingham manipulated him on many cases. After some further research on Bacon selling his sentences upon Buckingham's favour, here is a ladder that climbs the tree: It is first

mentioned by Douglas Denon Heath.<sup>684</sup> Professor Gardiner took this lead and followed up on it giving further evidence by letters written by Buckingham to Bacon in 1618, and says “Even in his [Bacon’s] Court he was made to feel the weight of the Favourite’s patronage, and was exposed to a constant flow of letters from Buckingham, asking him to show favour to this person or that, of course under the reservation that he would do so only so far as was consonant with justice.” Abbott in his above-mentioned work, replies to this, saying “sometimes, it is true, Buckingham adds the qualification, so far as may stand with justice and equity.” For these letters, see Part V: *Important Letters written by Bacon*.

On another occasion, May 14, 1619 Buckingham writes, in behalf of some friends and relations, to request Bacon to enforce the performance of certain conditions by some contractors who had purchased a Patent for the “transportation of butter out of Wales” from some “who have near relation to me. And herein I desire your Lordship to make what expedition you can, because now is the season to make provision of the butter that for this year is to be transported, whereof they take advantage to stand out.” On the following day, Buckingham repeats and emphasises his request or command. On December 11, disguising a shameful assent in a hasty postscript added to a hastily-written letter, Bacon’s answer comes back as follows: “I forget not your doctor’s matter. I shall speak with him to-day, having received your Lordship’s letter; and what is possible shall be done. I pray pardon my scribbling in haste.” The entire case is briefed out in a few pages in Abbott’s *Francis Bacon An Account of his Life and his Works*, 1885; twenty pages in Spedding’s *Works*, Vol. VI., but in an Appendix with Heath’s reported investigations and conclusions. Cecil Monro also notes on this particular case and concludes that Bacon “after competent investigation, to have been guilty of a deliberate perversion of justice, at the orders of Buckingham.” Wotton then took a step higher and commented “Bacon sold his sentences to Buckingham.” These biographers may be mistaken; the above two letters cannot offer any mistake as to how Buckingham manipulated Bacon’s position as Chancellor, how Buckingham made a good amount of money through these favours he asked from Bacon, and how Bacon took the bait and fell, in 1620, smack onto London’s cobbled alleyways. Somewhere in the correspondence of Anthony Bacon, at Lambeth Library, there occurs the following description of the Four Arts, without which no one could hope to succeed at Court in the later days of Queen Elizabeth:

Cog, lie, flatter and face,  
Four ways in Court to win men grace.  
If thou be thrall to none of these,  
Away, good Piers! Home, John Cheese!<sup>685</sup>

<sup>684</sup> Bacon’s *Works* in seven volumes, published 1857–1859

<sup>685</sup> These verses must have been quoted by the writer, whoever he was, from Roger Ascham’s *Scholemaster*, Arber edition, p. 54

In 1885, Abbott comments on the following works:

- Partus Masculus Temporis: <sup>686</sup> In the autumn of 1625, Bacon confessed to a correspondent that, some forty years before, he had written a work, which with juvenile audacity and a presumptuous title he had called *The Greatest Birth of Time*, or the *Great Renewal of the Empire of Man over the Universe* [Partus Maximus Temporis sive Instauration Magna Imperii Humani in Universum]. No such work is extant; but we have a short fragment proved to be very early by internal evidence, the title of which is *Partus Masculus Temporis*, or the *Male Birth of Time*. There are grounds for thinking that, under a title slightly changed and toned down, we have here the *Partus Maximus*, the first germ of the *Magna Instauration*. By “male” he means “generative” or “fruitful” as opposed to the barren philosophy of Aristotle. The exact date of this fragment is not known; but it is characteristic of Bacon’s sanguine spirit that this early (perhaps earliest) effort at the *Magna Instauration* contains little more than a grand title and a prayer against the dangers of an immoderate success.
- Valerius Terminus, Of the Interpretation of Nature: <sup>687</sup> Accordingly Bacon’s earliest connected work on Philosophy was intended to be published with the title *Valerius Terminus, Of the Interpretation of Nature*, with the annotations of Hermes Stella a work intended for a select few, and requiring the aid of an interpreter (Hermes) to cast a helpful star-light (Stella) on the wanderings of the reader towards the philosophic goal (Terminus). The work is fragmentary; and of the annotations of Hermes Stella, the author himself writes “none are set down.” It is supposed to have been written about 1603.
- The Advancement of Learning: <sup>688</sup> *The Advancement of Learning* (published in 1605) supplies the Inventory of the results of knowledge, and the deficiencies, suggested (as Mr. Ellis believes, and as appears from the above sketch) in *Valerius Terminus*. It is written in a more popular style, avoiding many technicalities used in Bacon’s other works; describing, for example, the fallacies denoted by the Idols, but avoiding the use of the term Idol; and it adopts a much more conciliatory attitude to the ancient philosophers than is expressed in Bacon’s unpublished treatises. Scarcely a page of the Second Book of the *Advancement* fails, directly or indirectly, to guide us towards the *Novum Organum*.
- The Cogitata et Visa: <sup>689</sup> In June, 1607, Sir Francis Bacon was made Solicitor-General; and about this time (possibly in the following vacation) he bethought himself that as time was slipping away and he was now “entangled more than he could have desired in civil business;” he ought not to wait for the completion of the proposed work on the *Interpretation of Nature*, but to publish at once some particular Investigation “Tables of Invention,” or “Formulae of Legitimate Investigation;” to serve as specimens of his general work, and to excite in their readers a curiosity for the Key of Interpretation. Accordingly he composed, about this time, some Tables called a Legitimate Investigation of Motion. As an introduction to the Tables, he wrote a treatise entitled *Thoughts and Judgments*

686 Spedding. *Works*, Vol. III. pp. 521–539

687 Spedding. *Works*, pp. 215–252

688 *Ibid.*, Vol. III. pp. 253–491; for the amplified Latin translation called the *De, Augmentis*, see *Works*, Vol. I. 413–837

689 *Ibid.*, Vol. III. pp. 589–620

concerning the *Interpretation of Nature*, or concerning Operative Science (*Cogitata et Visa De Interpretatione Naturae, sive De Scientia Operativa.*)<sup>690</sup> The Legitimate Investigation would have covered the ground which the second book of the *Novum Organum* was meant to occupy; the *Cogitata* covers most of the ground actually covered by the first book of the *Novum Organum*.

- Wisdom of the Ancients [*De Sapientia Veterum*]: In the year 1609 was published this Latin treatise.
- Description of the World of Thought [*Descriptio Globi Intellectualis*]: The work published in 1612, is chiefly remarkable for its neglect of recent astronomical discoveries. He indeed refers briefly to Galileo's discovery of Jupiter's satellites (published together with other discoveries in the *Sydericus Nuncius*, 1611), but he does not appear to have seen its importance in confirming the theory of Copernicus; and concerning Kepler's Laws (two of which had been published in the *De Stella Martis* in 1609, and had become known in England in 1610), he is entirely silent. In 1613 he was appointed Attorney-General, and from that time till 1620, the year before his downfall, no literary work of any kind published, or unpublished, is known to have issued from his pen. All that he did was apparently to re-write repeatedly and revise the *Novum Organum*.
- The *Novum Organum* Book I: Fifteen years after the publication of the *Advancement of Learning* (which might serve as a first part of his *Magna Instauratio*) Bacon published (1620) the *Key of the Interpretation of Nature*, or, as he now preferred to call it, the *Novum Organum* [New Instrument] which was to serve as the second part of his great work. The title page contains the title *Magna Instauratio* (being intended as the title of the whole work, and not of the *Novum Organum*) and a picture of a ship passing safely between the two Pillars of Hercules, with the text, *Multi pertransibunt et augebitur scientia* an allusion to Bacon's favourite comparison between the recent discovery of the new material world, and the anticipated discovery of a new intellectual world. Then follows an important section (entitled *The Arrangement of the Work, Distributio Operis*), which sets forth the divisions not of the *Novum Organum*, but of the whole of the proposed *Magna Instauratio* (in which the *Novum Organum* is but the second part). They are as follows:
  1. The Divisions of the Sciences (*Partitiones Scientiarum*).
  2. The New Instrument (*Novum Organum*), or Testimonies concerning the Interpretation of Nature, [*Indicia de Interpretatione Naturae*].
  3. The Phenomena of the Universe, or History, Natural and Experimental, adapted for the foundation of Philosophy [*Phaenomena Universi, sive Historia Naturalis et Experimentalis ad condendam philosophiam*].
  4. The Ladder of the Understanding [*Scala Intellectus*]. This part was to contain examples of the operation of the New Method and of the results to which it leads.
  5. Fore-runners, or Anticipations of the Second Philosophy [*Prodromi, sive Anticipationes Philosophiae Secundae*]. This was to contain such discoveries as Bacon had made by ordinary methods; and without waiting for the New Method; and it was intended to be tentative.

<sup>690</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I. p. 78, Vol. III. p. 619

6. The Second Philosophy, or Active Science (*Philosophia Secunda, sive Scientia Activa*). This was to contain the results of the application of the New Philosophy to all Phenomena.

After the *Distributio Operis* a second title page announces that the First Part of the *Instauratio* concerning the Divisions of Learning is wanting, but that it may be supplied in some measure from the Second Book of the *Advancement of Learning*. It adds these words, "Here follows the Second Part of the Instauratio, which sets forth the Art itself of interpreting Nature and of a truer operation of the Understanding; but not in the form of a regular treatise, but only summarily (*per summas*) digested into Aphorisms." A third title introduces the *Novum Organum*, or *True Testimonies* concerning the Interpretation of Nature.

The following is the arrangement in the *Novum Organum*, in a quadruple division, the idols, or false human phantasies, are opposed to the ideas of the divine mind. Of the four classes of idols, two are inherent in the human mind; two, external:

1. The Idols of the Tribe, to which the mind is exposed because of the qualities common to the whole race or Tribe of humanity.
  2. The Idols of the Cave, which results from the special peculiarities or circumstances of individuals, dwelling each in his own cave.
  3. The Idols of the Market Place, resulting from the use of words, which are the coins (often spurious or deceitful) by which men exchange thoughts.
  4. The Idols of the Theatre, whereby men in masses, like the vast audience of a theatre, allow themselves to be swayed by the impostures of symmetrical and authoritative systems of Philosophy, which are no better than theatrical fictions.
- The *Novum Organum* Book II: The Second Book of the *Novum Organum* was intended to set forth the particular example of the Art of Interpretation, for which the First Book served as a mere introduction, and accordingly Bacon selects heat as the object of his investigations.
  - Contributions to the Third Part of the *Instauratio Magna*: The Third Part of the *Instauratio Magna* was to be the Phenomena of the Universe, or History Natural and Experimental, adapted for the foundation of Philosophy. Accordingly in the same year in which Bacon published the unfinished *Novum Organum*, he also published a short treatise entitled *Preparation for a Natural and Experimental History* [*Parasceue ad Historians Naturcudem et Experimentaleni.*]
  - History of Density and Rarity: In the year 1623 was written (though not published till 1658) the *History of Density and Rarity*, principally noteworthy because Bacon appears from it to have been ignorant of the method of calculating specific gravities published by Ghetaldus twenty years before and substantially in use now. He gives, instead, a method of his own which has not commended itself to modern science.
  - De Augmentis & Sylva Sylvarum: In 1623 was published the *De Augmentis et Dignitate Scientiae*, a greatly amplified Latin Translation of the *Advancement of Learning*. It will be remembered that the *Advancement of Learning* consisted of two books, one on the



Dignity of Learning, the other on the Divisions of Learning, and that on the title page of the *Novum Organum* in 1620, occur these words: “The First Part of the *Instauration*, which embraces the Divisions of Learning, is wanting; but these Divisions may be in some measure obtained from the Second Book of the *Advancement of Learning*.” The Latin Translation accordingly amplifies the Divisions contained in the Second Book of the *Advancement* into eight books. The First Book of the *Advancement*, though retained in the Translation, is treated as a mere Introduction on the Dignity of Science, and is not even mentioned in the Introductory Table of the Divisions of Learning.

- *Sylva Sylvarum*: published in 1627 after Bacon’s death is supposed to have been written about 1624. Written after the *Sylva Sylvarum* come two brief papers, one called *Scala Intellectus*, or ladder of the Understanding, and the other *Prodromi sive Anticipationes Philosophiae Secundae*, that is, Forerunners or Anticipations of the Second Philosophy. As early as 1608, we find Bacon in the *Commentarius Solutus* seriously considering the possibility of securing some College for combined research subject to his direction; “laying for a place to command wits and pens; Westminster, Eton, Winchester, Trinity or St. John’s at Cambridge, Magdalene College, Oxford.”
- *New Atlantis*: The *New Atlantis* was published by Dr. Rawley, Bacon’s Chaplain, in 1627, at the end of the volume containing the *Sylva Sylvarum*, with a Preface in which the editor informs us that the object of the work was not only to sketch the model of Salomon’s House, the name given to the imaginary College instituted for the *Interpretation of Nature*, but also to describe the laws and constitution of an ideal Commonwealth.
- *Advertisement touching an Holy War*: Only one other work of imagination (if we accept the *Dialogue in the Redargutio*) proceeded from Bacon’s pen. This is a fragment of an *Advertisement touching an Holy War* written in the form of a Dialogue, in which the interlocutors represent a Moderate Divine, a Protestant Zelant, a Romish Catholic Zelant, a Militar Man, a Politique, and a Courtier. The conversation is life-like, and the characters well sustained; but the work is so imperfect as to leave the reader doubtful as to the intended conclusion. In 1622 (the year in which the *Advertisement* was written) the Spanish marriage being still on foot, it was natural that Bacon should recur to the instructions which in 1617 he had sent to Sir John Digby, suggesting that the marriage might “be a beginning and seed of a Holy War against the Turk.” The fragment is preceded by a long dedication to Bishop Andrews, and Bacon thought it worthy of being translated into Latin and included in his *Opera Moralia et Civilia*.
- *The History of Henry VII.*: The History of Henry VII., was probably begun in June, 1621, soon after Bacon’s release from the Tower, and presented to the King in the following October. A history of England from the Wars of the Roses to the Union of the two Kingdoms, had been noted in the *Advancement of Learning* as deficient; and a fragment, of doubtful date, but previous to 1609, shows that Bacon had previously intended to supply this deficiency. The character of Henry VII., given in that earlier fragment goes far to disprove the notion that now in 1621 Bacon idealised that monarch in order to gratify the reigning King. Bacon’s collection of *Apophthegms* was probably intended to supply the deficiency noted in the *Advancement of Learning* and in the *De Augmentis*. With the exception of *King John* the historical dramas of Shakespeare extend consecutively from the reign of Richard II., to that of Henry VIII., a period of one hundred and eighty one

years. One break, and one only, occurs in the series, that of *Henry VII.*, which is omitted. Bacon wrote one historical work, that on the reign of *Henry VII.* He began it abruptly with the victory of Bosworth Field, making but slight reference to the causes and events that led up to it. Shakespeare leaves us at this exact point in the drama preceding *Richard III.* This ends with the crowning of Henry on the battle-field by Lord Stanley who plucks the crown for the occasion from Richard's "dead temples." Bacon's history begins with the crowning of Henry on the battle-field by Lord Stanley, who finds the crown "among the spoils." The two accounts seem to be tongued and grooved together, as though from one hand. (Reed).

The argument for Bacon's authorship of the play *Henry VIII.*, may be rested in part on three points:

1. The author was indebted for some of his materials directly to Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, which though written in 1557, was not printed until 1641, or eighteen years after the appearance of the play. As Bacon was one of Wolsey's successors in office, he would naturally have had access to this manuscript, while a play-actor would not.
2. It is practically certain that in 1622–23, Bacon was engaged upon a work pertaining to the reign of Henry VIII. He completed his history of *Henry VII.*, in October 1621. This was so much admired that Prince Charles immediately requested him to write also a history of Henry VIII. Bacon promised to do so. Accordingly, in January 1623, he applied to the proper authorities for the loan of such documents as might be in the public archives relating to that monarch's reign. The application was formally granted. At this time, Bacon appears to have been actually at work in real or apparent fulfillment of his undertaking, for under date of February 10, Chamberlain writes: "Lord [Bacon] busies himself about books, and hath set out two lately *Historia Ventorum* and *De Vita et Morte*, with promises of more. I have not seen either of them because I have not leisure; but if the life of Henry VIII., which they say he is about, might come out after his own manner, I should find time and means enough to read it." A few days later (February 21), Bacon himself writes to Buckingham, who had gone to Spain with Prince Charles, asking to be remembered to the Prince, "who, I hope ere long, will make me leave King Henry VIII., and set me on work in relation to his Highnesses heroical adventures." The next reference to the subject is also in one of Bacon's own letters. Acknowledging the receipt of a communication from Toby Matthew, June 26, 1623 he says: "Since you say the Prince hath not forgot his commandment touching my history of Henry VIII., I may not forget my duty. But I find Sir Collier, who poured forth what he had in my other work, somewhat dainty of his materials in this." It appears, however, that notwithstanding all these repeated implications to the effect that he was engaged upon a history of Henry VIII., he was actually doing no such thing. He did, indeed, make a beginning; he gathered materials; he dictated one morning about two pages; and then he wrote to the Prince, apologizing for not going on with the work and for dropping

it altogether. But did he drop it? From whose pen came those wonderful panegyrics of Queen Elizabeth and King James that were printed six months afterward in the drama of *Henry VIII.*, and that can be exactly paralleled in the *Advancement of Learning* and the *In felicem Memoriam Elizabethæ*? Those heart-breaking lamentations over fallen greatness, such as Bacon must have still been uttering in private over his downfall in 1621? Those entrancing visions of peace and plenty, of honour and gladness for the English people, characteristic of one in whom forgiveness of injuries was a cardinal virtue, and love of mankind an absorbing passion?

3. Queen Catherine, the first wife of King Henry VIII., made her residence during the latter part of her life at Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire. The Duke of Manchester, to whom the place belonged, published in 1864 a valuable collection of papers, found in the castle and at Simancas in Spain, which show that of all the numerous and gifted persons who have written of that unfortunate Princess, two, and two only, have correctly adjudged her character. These two, thus in singular agreement, are Francis Bacon and the author of the Shakespeare dramas: "So far as concerns all popular ideas of her, Catherine is a creature of the mist. Shakespeare and Bacon, the highest judges and firmest painters of character, have, it is true, described her, if only lightly and by the way, as a woman of flesh and blood; the flesh rather stubborn, the blood somewhat hot; as a lady who could curse her enemies and caress her friends; a Princess full of natural graces, virtues, and infirmities. Had the portraits by Shakespeare and Bacon been painted in full, they would have been all that we could hope or wish."<sup>691</sup> And from another source: "The whole story of the Queen, as now told from the ample Simancas text, is in perfect harmony with what Shakespeare and Bacon say of her."<sup>692</sup> Lord Montagu of Kimbolton, first Earl of Manchester, was one of Bacon's dearest friends.
- *Meditationes Sacrae*: In the *Meditationes Sacrae* (published with the first edition of the Essays in 1597) there are several thoughts which may be found embodied in Bacon's later works.
  - Translation of Certain Psalms into English Verse: The *Translation of Certain Psalms into English Verse* was made, like the collection of *Apophthegms*, during a period of illness in 1624.

Meaning of Essays: As to the word Essay, it is interesting to contrast what Bacon and Ben Jonson say of it. The former (in the cancelled dedication to Prince Henry,) distinguishes Essays from just treatises; implying that his work must be expected to be a little disconnected and abrupt: "Certain brief notes, set down rather significantly than curiously, which I have called Essays. The word is late, but the thing is ancient. For Seneca's *Epistles* to Lucilius, if one mark them well, are but Essays, that is, dispersed meditations, though conveyed in the form of Epistles."

<sup>691</sup> Duke of Manchester. *Court and Society*, Vol. I. p. 5

<sup>692</sup> *The Athenæum*, January 16, 1867

Ben Jonson will have none of the Essayists: "They are the writers that turn over books, and are equally searching in all papers, that write out of what they presently find or meet, without choice by which means it happens that what they have discredited and impugned in one work, they have, before or after, extolled the same in another. Such are all the Essayists, even their master, Montaigne."<sup>693</sup> Considering the great admiration expressed by Ben Jonson for Bacon's style one is a little surprised to find no mention of Bacon's Essays, and to note the assumption that Montaigne is "Master of the Essayists." It may be noted that in 1625, describing the new edition of his Essays to Father Fulgentio, Bacon says that in Italy the book was called "*Saggi Morali*, but I gave it a weightier name, calling it *Faithful Discourses*, or *The Inwards of Things*."

**Birch Thomas** (b. 23 Nov. 1705–d. 9 Jan 1766) historian and biographer, was born of quaker parents in St. George's Court. The example of the greatest men, in preserving in their editions of the classics the smallest remains of their writings, will be a full justification of Birch's industry in collecting and inserting even the fragments of a writer equal to the most valuable of the ancients. Nor will the candid and intelligent object to the least considerable of the Duke of Buckingham's letters, since they acquire an importance from the rank and character of the writer, as well as from their carrying on the series of his correspondence, acquainting us with new facts, or ascertaining old ones with additional evidence and circumstances, and shewing the extent of that authority and influence, which his situation, as a favourite, gave him in all parts of the government, even as high as the seat of justice itself.

**Blackbourne John** (1683–1741), nonjuror, born and educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he became B.A. in 1700, and M.A. in 1705. See Part II., for a short biography on him. In 1730 Blackbourne published the following works:

- Opera omnia: Publication of *Opera omnia, quatuor voluminibus* and edited by Blackbourne, in 4 volumes, sm. folio, with engraved frontispieces.
- Schedule of the Debts of Francis Bacon, Lord Viscount of St. Alban at his death with the dividends paid to the respective Creditors: A legal Document on vellum, signed by Fra. Phelips *Audit* and John Penkethman *Scri. Publ.* A most interesting document was in the possession of Thomas Granger, who allowed Blackbourne to copy and reprint it in his edition of Bacon's *Works*. There are however, variations between the original and the copy. Waite states that the *Confessio Fraternitatis* appeared in the year 1615 in a Latin work, entitled, *Secretioris Philosophiæ Consideratio Brevis à Phillipò à Gabella, philosophiæ conscripta; et nunc primum unâ cum Confessione Fraternitatis R.C. in lucem edita, Cassellis, excudebat. G. Wesselius à 1615, Quarto.* Phillipò à Gabella, mentioned above in the title, is nowhere to be found in biographical dictionaries and could be a non-name, a pen-name, since in John Blackbourne's edition of *Lord Bacon's Works*, amongst the characters of Lord Bacon, there is a panegyric upon Bacon by one Burrhus, who calls Bacon: Phillip Bacon.<sup>694</sup>

<sup>693</sup> Jonson Ben. *Works*, ed. Gifford, p. 747

<sup>694</sup> W.F.C. Wigston. *Francis Bacon Poet, Prophet, Philosopher, versus Phantom Captain Shakespeare*, 1891

**Spedding James** (June 28, 1808–March 9, 1881) English author chiefly known as the editor of the *Works & Life* of Francis Bacon.

**Ellis Leslie Robert** (Aug 25, 1817–May 12, 1859) an English polymath, remembered principally as a mathematician and editor of the *Works* of Francis Bacon.

**Heath Douglas Denon** (1811–1859) born in Chancery Lane.

Spedding used a unique collection in bringing out that “unsurpassable model of thorough and scholar like editing” edition of Bacon’s *Works*, from 363 Vols. in 318, folio, 4yo., and 8vo. The library included a number of the first and early editions of Bacon’s *Works* and those of his contemporaries, some of them of grate rarity, and also valuable collection of books in Baconian literature.<sup>695</sup>

Baconian Collection used by Spedding:

- *Schedule of the Debts of Francis Bacon*. In 1730 this document was in the possession of Thomas granger, who allowed Blackbourne to copy and reprint it in his edition of Bacon’s Works. See Section 6 *Blackbourne John*.
- *King James His Apophthegmes; Or, Table-Talke*, by B.A. Gent. London printed by B.W. sm. 4to., unbound (1643).
- Amos Andrew. *The Great Oyer of Poisoning: The Trial of the Earl of Somerset for the Poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury in the Tower of London*. 8vo., with portrait; cloth (1846).
- *Apophthegms*. Apophthegmata Græca, Latina, Italica, Gallica, Hispanica; Collecta a Geraerdo Tuningio Leidensi, I.C. Ex Officina Plantiniana Raphelengii. Sm. 8vo., one leaf slightly defective; contemporary calf (1609).
- Opera Francisci Baronis De Verulamio. Tomus Primus. Qui continent De Dignitate & Augmentis Scientiarum Libros IX. Londini, In Offi cina Ioannis Haviland. MDCXXIII.] Sm. folio, two leaves (¶2), containing the general title and dedication, missing, and P4 slightly defective; contemporary calf, 1623.
- First edition of the De Augmentis, prepared for publication by William Rawley; exceedingly rare, and according to Archbishop Tenison, the “fairest and most correct edition.” Joseph Knight’s copy fetched £64 in 1905.
- Francisci Baconi. Operum Moralium Et Civilium Tomus. Qui continet Historiam Regni Henrici Septimi, Regis Angliæ. Sermons Fideles, sive Interiora Rerum. Tractatum de Sapientiâ Veterum. Dialogum de Bello Sacro. Et Novam Atlantidem. Curâ & Fide Guilielmi Rawley, in hoc volumine, iterum excusi, includuntur Tractatus de Augmentis Scientiarum. Historia Ventorum. Historia Vitæ & Mortis. Londini. Excusum Typis Edwardi Griffi ni, 1638. First collected edition of Bacon’s Latin works. The Dialogus de

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<sup>695</sup> The author, in the summer of 2007, was informed by the British Library curators that the collection of Spedding’s bulk work had been stolen from their archives

Bello Sacro, Nova Atlantis, and the Tractatus De Augmentis Scientiarum were all three printed by John Haviland, not by Edward Griffin as was the case with the remainder.

- Francisci Baconi. Opera Omnia, cum Novo eoque insigni Augmento Tractatum haecenus ineditum, & Ex Idiomate Anglicano in Latinum Sermonem translatorum, Opera Simonis Johannis Arnoldi. Lipsiæ, Impensis Johannis Justi Erythropili, excundebat Christiannus Goezius, A, MDCXCIV. Leipzig, 1694.
- Francisci Baconi. Opera omnia, quatuor voluminibus [edited by J. Blackbourne] 4 Vols., 1730.
- The Philosophical Works of Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam Methodized, and made English, from the Originals. With occasional Notes. By Peter Shaw. 3 vols., 1733.
- The Works of Francis Bacon. 12 Vols., 1818.
- Baconiana. Or Certain Genuine Remains Of Sr. Francis Bacon In Arguments Civil and Moral, Natural, Medical, Theological, and Bibliographical; Now the First time faithfully Published. London, Printed by J.D. for Richard Chiswell 1679. This is Boswell's copy with his autograph on the back of the portrait. The work is preceded by a long account of these remains and of Bacon's other works, by the publisher. This Discourse By Way Of Introduction occupies 104 pages and has a separate title page.
- The same. Sm. 8vo., with portrait (mounted); contemporary calf, rebounded 1679.
- Certain Considerations touching the better pacification, and Edification of the Church of England printed for Henry Tomes.
- A Wise and Moderate Discourse, Concerning Church-Affaires written by the Authour of those considerations, which seem to have some reference to this imprinted in the yeare 1641. Two works in 1 vol., sm. 4to., with two plain corners of the first title slightly mended; modern vellum, with the original limp vellum wrapper bound in; partly uncut [1640]/41. With numerous contemporary MS., notes.
- Certain Miscellany Works Of Francis Lo. Verulam published By William Rawley, London, Printed by J. Hauiland for Humphrey Robinson 1629. The Essayes Of Francis Lo. Verulam With A Table Of the Colours of Good and Evill Newly enlarged. London, Printed by John Beale 1639. In 1 vol., sm. 4to., old calf, rebounded 1629–39.
- A Charge Given by Sr. Francis Bacon Kt at a Sessions holden for the Verge Declaring The Latitude of the Jurisdiction thereof London, Printed for Robert Pawley 1662.
- The Charge Of Sir Francis Bacon touching Duells, upon an information in the Star Chamber against Priest and Wright. With The Decree of the Star Chamber in the same cause. Printed for Robert Wilson 1614.
- A conference of Pleasure, composed about 1592. Edited, from a MS., belonging to the Duke of Northumberland, by James Spedding. 1870.
- Considerations Touching A Warre With Spaine. Written by Francis Lo. Verulam, Vi. St. Alban. Imprinted 1629.
- Fr. Baconis De Augmentis Scientiarum Lib. IX. Lungd. Batavorum, Ex officina Adriani Wijngaerden. Ao 1652.

- De Augmentis Scientiarum; see above: Opera 1623.
- Francisci Baconi De Sapientia Veterum Liber Londini, Excudebat Robertus Barkerus Anno 1609. First Edition; of extreme rarity. It was reprinted in 1617 (with the omission of Bacon's address to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, who died in 1612) and first translated into English, by Sir Arthur Gorges, in 1619. There was no copy of this original edition in the Hoe and Huth collections.
- Francisci Baconi De Sapientia Veterum Liber Iam recus. Londini Apud Ioannem Billium, Anno M.DC.XVII. 12mo., vellum 1617.
- Francisci Baconi De Sapientia Veterum Liber Editio tertia. Lugduni Batavorum, Ex Officina Joannis Maire, c1610-1617.
- The Wisdome Of The Ancients, Written In Latine By Sir Francis Bacon done into English by Sir Arthur Gorges London Imprinted by John Bill. 1619. First Edition in English. It remained the only English translation until 1836.
- The Elements Of The Common Lawes Of England, Branched into a double Tract: The One Containing a Collection of some principall Rules and Maximes of the Common Law, with, their Latitude and Extent The Other The Use of the Common Law By Sir Francis Bacon London, Printed by the Assignes of John More Esquire. 1639.
- The Elements Of The Common Lawes Of England By Sir Francis Bacon London, Printed by the Assignes of John More Esquire. 1639. Three Speeches Of Sir Francis Bacon Concerning the Post-Nati Naturalization of the Scotch in England Union of the Lawes of the Kingdomes of England and Scotland London, Printed by Richard Badger, for Samuel Broun 1641. The Essayes Or, Counsels, Civill and Morall: Of Francis Lo. Verulam With A Table of the Colours, or Apparances of Good and Evill, and their Degrees, as places of Perswasion, and Disswasion London, Printed by John Beale 1639. True Peace: Or a Moderate Discourse To Compose the unsettled Consciences, and Greatest Differences In Ecclesiastical Affaires, Written by Sir Francis Bacon London, Printed for A.C. 1663. Together in 1 vol., sm. 4to., old calf, rebaked 1639-63. Bound in with the above is: Certaine Considerations touching the better pacification and Edification of the Church of England London Printed for Henry Tomes. An. 1604. This is the first edition, of which there exists an undated reprint. It is defective, as eight leaves (E1-F4) are missing.
- An Essay Of A King, With An explanation what manner of persons those should be that are to execute the power of ordinance of the Kings Prerogative. Written By Francis, Lord Verulam Viscount Saint Alban. London, Printed for Richard Best, 1642.
- The Essaies Of Sr. Francis Bacon Knight, the Kings Atturney Generall. His Religious Meditations. Places of Perswasion and Diswasion Printed at London for John Jaggard 1613. A pirated reprint of Beale's genuine edition of 1612, with the addition of the essay "Of Honour and Reputation", the Meditationes sacrae and Of the colours of Good and Evill. The two essays "Of the publique" and "Of Warre and Peace", though announced in the table, are not printed. Another edition, also published by John Jaggard, and apparently printed by William Jaggard, containing exactly the same matter, appeared in the same year.

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- The Essayes Of Francis Lo. Verulam Newly enlarged. London, Printed by John Haviland for Hanna Barret, and Richard Whitaker 1625. First Complete Edition and the last published during the author's lifetime. In his "Epistle Dedicatori", Bacon says "I doe now publish my Essayes; which, of all my other workes, haue beene most Currant: For that, as it seemes, they come home, to Mens Businesse, and Bosomes. I haue enlarge them, both in Number, and Weight; So that they are indeed a New Worke."
  - The Essayes Of Francis Lo. Verulam Newly enlarged. London Printed by John Haviland 1632.
  - Essayes and Counsels Whereunto is newly added a Table of the Colours of Good and Evil: By Sir Francis Bacon London, Printed for H.R. and are to be sold by Thomas Palmer 1664.
  - The Essays Or Counsels, Civil and Moral, Of Sir Francis Bacon With a Table of the Colours Of Good & Evil. Whereunto is added The Wisdom of the Antients. Enlarged by the Honourable Author himself; and now more exactly Published; London; Printed by M. Clark, for Samuel Mearne John Martyn and Henry Herringman MDCLXXX 1680.
  - Essays Tegg's miniature edition. 12mo., with an engraving of Envy, and an engraved title; old calf, rebacked 1810.
  - The Essays and Wisdom of the Ancients. Edited by B. Montagu. Post 8vo., 1840.
  - Bacon's Essays: with Annotations by Richard Whately, 1856.
  - The Essays, with the Wisdom of the Ancients. Notes by S.W. Singer. 1857.
  - Bacon's Essays and Colours of Good and Evil, with Notes and Glossarial Index by W. Aldis Wright. 1862. Presentation copy to Spedding from the editor, with inscription.
  - Bacon's Essays with Introduction, Notes, and Index, by E.A. Abbott. 2 Vols., 12mo., cloth 1876.
  - A Harmony of the Essays. etc. of Francis Bacon. Arranged by Edward Arber. Cr. 8vo., bds 1871.
  - Saggi Morali Del Signore Francesco Bacono Con vn'altro suo Trattato Della sapienza Degli Antichi. Tradotti in Italiano. In Londra Appresso di Giovanni Billio. 1618. First edition of the Essays in Italian.
  - Saggi Morali Opera nuoua Corretta dal Sig. Cavalier Andrea Cioli Et vn trattato della Sapienza Degl' Antichi in Fiorenza, M.DC.XIX. Appresso Pietro Ceconcelli, 1619. First Edition of the Essays printed in Italy. Presentation copy with inscription: "To James Spedding Esq. from John Forster London 12th July 1852."
  - Fr. Baconi De Verulamio Sermones Fideles, Ethici, Politici, Economici: Sive Interiora Rerum. Accedunt Faber Fortunæ Colores Boni Et Mali, & Lungd. Batavorum, Apud Franciscum Hackum A. 1659. The "Epsitola Dedicatoria" is addressed to George, Duke of Buckingham, Lord High Admiral of England.
  - The Felicity of Queen Elizabeth And Her Times, With other Things; By Francis Ld Bacon London, Printed by T. Newcomb, for George Latham 1651. This very rare little volume also contains Burleigh's Advice to Queen Elizabeth. A different translation appeared in Resuscitatio, 1657.



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- The Historie Of The Raigne Of King Henry The Seuenth. Written By Francis, Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Alban. London, Printed by W. Stansby, for Matthew Lownes, and William Barret 1622 First Edition.
  - Bacon's History of the Reign of King Henry VII. With notes by J.R. Lumby. Cr 8vo., 1876.
  - Franc. Bacon Historia Regni Henrici Septimi Angliæ Regis Opus Vere Politicum. Lugd. Batavor. Apud Franc. Hackium. Anno 1647.
  - Francisci Baronis De Verulamio Historia Naturalis Et Experimentalis Ad Condendam Philosophiam: Sive, Phænomena Vniuersi: Quæ est Instaurationis Magnæ Pars Tertia. Londini, In Offi cina Io. Haviland, impensis Mathæi Lownes & Guilielmi Barret 1622.
  - Francisci Baronis De Verulamio Historia Vitæ & Mortis. Sive, Titulus Secundus in Historiâ Naturali & Experimentalis ad condendam Philosophiam: Quæ est Instaurationis Magnæ Pars Tertia. Londini, In Offi cina Io. Haviland, impensis Matthæi Lownes. 1623. The two preceding items comprise the First Editions of two of the four sections of the third part of the Instauration Magna, namely, the Historia Ventorum and the Historia Vitæ et Mortis. The other two parts, the Historia Densi et Rari and the Sylva Sylvarum, did not appear during Bacon's lifetime.
  - Francisci Baronis De Verulamio Historia Vitæ & Mortis. Lugduni Batavorum, Ex officinâ Ioannis Maire. CloloCXXXVI 1636.
  - The Historie of Life and Death. With Observations Naturall and Experimentall for the Prolongation of Life. Written by Francis Lord Verulam London: Printed by I. Okes, for Humphrey Mosley 1638.
  - History Naturall and Experimentall Of Life and Death. Or Of the Prolongation of Life. Written in Latine by Francis Lo. Verulam London, Printed by John Haviland for William Lee, and Humphrey Mosley. 1638. A different translation from the preceding.
  - History Natural and Experimental Of Life & Death: Or, Of the Prolongation of Life. Written in Latin by Francis Lord Verulam London, Printed for William Lee 1669.
  - Fr. Baconi De Verulamio Historia Naturalis & Experimentalis De Ventis, &c. Lugd. Batavorum, Apud Franciscum Hackium. A° 1648.
  - Francisci De Verulamio Instauration magna. Londini Apud Joannem Billium Typographum Regium. Anno 1620. First Edition. It is "the greatest of all his works, and the central pile of that edifice of philosophy on which the world has bestowed his name. The Novum Organum was received with unbounded applause of the learned, both in his own and foreign nations, and placed the fame of its author at once above that of every other living author." Within the lower cover, Spedding has written a note with regard to the last leaf of the first impression of the "Novum Organum."
  - Franc. Baconis Novum Organum Scientiarum. Editio Seccunda Amstelædami Sumptibus Joannis Ravesteinij. Anno 1660.
  - The Novum Organum, or a True Guide to the Interpretation of Nature. A new Translation by G.W. Kitchin. 8vo., cloth Oxford, 1855.
  - Francisci de Verulamio Novum Organum. Edited, with Notes, by J.S. Brewer. 1856.

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- Bacon's *Novum Organum*. Edited, with introd., Notes, etc., by T. Fowler. 8vo., cloth Oxford, 1878. This volume contains an inscription addressed to Spedding from the Editor.
  - Letters of Sr Francis Bacon Augmented with several Memoires which were never before published. The Whole being illustrated by an historical introduction Edited by R. Stephens. 4to., large paper, Cambridge calf 1702.
  - Letters and Remains of the Lord Chancellor Bacon. Collected by Robert Stephens. 1734. On the title page is the signature: "F. Wrangham 1815."
  - The same. Second edition. 1736. This copy has numerous MS., annotations by John Cranch.
  - The Naturall And Experimentall History of Winds, &c. written in Latine by Francis Lo: Verulam Translated into English by R.G. Gent. London, printed for Humphrey Moseley and Tho. Dring 1653.
  - *Novum Organum*; see *Instauratio Magna*.
  - The Two Bookes of Francis Bacon. Of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning, divine and humane. To the King. At London. Printed for Henry Tomes 1605. First edition. "In this indeed, the whole of the Baconian philosophy may be said to be implicitly contained, except, perhaps, the second book of the "*Novum Organum*."
  - The Two Bookes of Sr Francis Bacon. Of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning London: Printed for William Washington 1629.
  - The Two Bookes of Sr Francis Bacon. Of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning Oxford: Printed by I.L. for Thomas Huggins. 1633. With permission of B. Fisher.
  - Of the Advancement And Proficence of Learning IX Bookes Written in Latin by Francis Bacon Interpreted by Gilbert Wats Oxford. Printed by Leon: Lichfield c1640.
  - Of the Advancement of Learning Written in Latin by Francis Bacon Interpreted by Gilbert Wats. London, printed for Thomas Williams 1674.
  - The Advancement of Learning. Edited by W. Aldis Wright. 1869.
  - *Opuscula Varia Posthuma, Philosophica, Civilia, Et Theologica, Francisci Baconi, Nunc primum Edita. Cura & Fide Guilielmi Rawley. Vna cam Nobilissimi Auctoris Vita. Londoni, Ex Offi cina r. Danielis, 1658.*
  - *Opuscula Varia Posthuma, Philosophica, Civilia, Et Theologica, Francisci Baconi, Nunc primum Edita. Cura & Fide Guilielmi Rawley. Vna cam Nobilissimi Auctoris Vita. Accessit & ejusdem Auctoris. Dialogues de Bello Sacro. Amstelodami, Apud Johannem Ravesteinium, anno M.DC.LXIII. 1663.*
  - A publication of his Majesties Edict, against Private combats whether within his Highnesse dominions, or without. Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Anno 1613. On the flyleaf there is a long note by Spedding 6-2-1868, wherein he explains his belief that this publication was written by the Earl of Northampton although it is usually ascribed to Bacon.

- The Remaines of Francis Lord Verulam, being Essayes and several Letters to several great personages, and other pieces of high concernment not heretofore published. London, printed by B. Alsop, for Lawrence Chapman, 1648.
- Resuscitatio, or bringing into publick light severall pieces of the works, civil historical, philosophical, & theological, hitherto sleeping; of Francis Bacon together with his lordships life. By William Rawley, London printed by Sarah Griffin, for William Lee. 1657.
- Resuscitatio the second edition somewhat enlarged. By William Rawley, London printed by Sarah Griffin, for William Lee. 1661.
- Resuscitatio the third edition, London printed by Sarah Griffin, for William Lee. 1671.
- Francisci Baconi Scripta in naturali et universali philosophia. Amstelodami, apud Ludovicum Elzevirium, c1653.
- Sylva Sylvarum or a natural history in ten centuries. Written by Francis Lo Verulam, published after the author's death by W. Rawley. London printed for W. Lee, Anno 1627.
- Sylva Sylvarum the second edition. London printed by J.H. for W. Lee. 1628.
- The same. 1628.
- Sylva Sylvarum written by Francis Lo Verulam, the fifth edition. London printed by John Haviland, for W. Lee, 1639.
- Sylva Sylvarum whereunto is newly added the history naturall and experimentall of life and death. Both written by Francis Lo Verulam. The seventh edition. London printed for W. Lee, and are to be sold by Thomas Williams, and William Place, 1658.
- Sylva Sylvarum whereunto is newly added the history naturall and experimentall of life and death or of the prolongation of life. Published after the author's death. By William Rawley. Whereunto is added articles of enquiry, touching metals and minerals. And the New Atlantis. 1670.
- Francis, Lord Bacon, or the case of private and national corruption, and bribery, impartially consider'd. By an Englishman. Third edition. 1721.
- The life of Francis Bacon by Mr. Mallet. With an appendix containing several pieces not printed in the last edition of his *Works*. 1760.
- Companion to the railway edition of Lord Campbell's Life of Bacon. 1853.
- Verulamiana, or opinious on men, manners, literature, politics and theology. To which is prefixed a life of the author by the editor. 1803.
- A collection of 9 engraved portraits of Lord Bacon, including a mezzotint after Cornelius Johnson. A parcel.
- A vindication of the Lord Chancellor Bacon from the aspersion of injustice, cast upon him by Mr. Wraynham. 1725.

**Dr. Rawley Gulielmus** (1588–1667) Born at Norwich, intimately associated with Bacon during the most active period of his life. Graduating at Cambridge in 1606, and afterwards receiving the fellowship of Corpus Christi College, he later on was appointed to the rectorship of Bowthorpe, Norfolk (1612). It was about this time that he met Bacon, who exerted his influence in obtaining

for him the living at Landbeach. He was made a Doctor of Divinity in 1621, having previously become private Chaplain to Bacon. From this time he takes every opportunity of assisting his friend in the preparation and publication of some of his ablest works. Many of the Prefaces and Dedications were written by him; for instance, the Preface to the *New Atlantis* in 1627; and likewise we may notice on the title page of the *De Augmentis* when it first appeared the announcement *cura et fide Giul. Rawley*. The works published by Rawley were:

- Sylva Sylvarum and New Atlantis (1627)
- Certaine Miscellany Works (1629)
- Operum Moraliū et Civilium (1638)
- Resuscitatio (1657) which contained a Life of Bacon
- Opuscula Varia Posthuma Philosophica Civilia et Theologica (1658)

As these works were completed, Rawley presented copies of them to Corpus Christi College, and we read that he bequeathed also to the same institution Camden's *Britannia* as well as the works of Cicero and Plato. It is interesting to notice Rawley's private opinion of Bacon's character, and a few extracts from his life as it appears in the *Resuscitatio* best illustrate this and can be found complete in this work under the Chapter entitled: *The Life of the Right Honourable Francis Bacon*. After referring to his early life, his marriage, and his works, he further adds: "There is a commemoration due as well to his abilities and virtues as to the course of his life. Those abilities, which commonly go single in other men, though of prime and observable parts, were all conjoined and met in him. Those are, sharpness of wit, memory, judgment, and elocution. For the former three his books do abundantly speak them; which with what sufficiency he wrote, let the world judge; but with what celerity he wrote them, I can best testify. But for the fourth, his elocution, I will only set down what I heard Sir Walter Raleigh once speak of him by way of comparison (whose judgment may well be trusted), 'that the Earl of Salisbury was an excellent speaker, but no good penman; that the Earl of Northampton (the Lord Henry Howard) was an excellent penman, but no good speaker; but that Sir Francis Bacon was eminent in both.' I have been induced to think, that if there were a beam of knowledge derived from God upon any man in these modern times, it was upon him. For though he was a great reader of books, yet he had not his knowledge from books only,<sup>696</sup> but from some grounds and notions from within himself; which, notwithstanding, he vented with great caution and circumspection."

In the year 1626, immediately after the death of Bacon, Rawley published a small tract containing a number of Latin verses to the memory of his departed friend. These were by different authors, and among them we find one by George Herbert. The title page of this quarto ran as follows: "Memoriae Honoratissimi Domini Francisci Baronis de Verulamio vicecomitis Sancti Albani Sacrum." Rawley died at Landbeach at the age of seventy-eight years, and was buried there.

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<sup>696</sup> It is stated in the Latin version of this comment from Rawley: "yet he had not his knowledge from books only. This is also noted by Spedding, and I have not seen it corrected by any other Bacon biographer, except from Spedding. It has been mistranslated once and continues to be mistranslated by others

**G. Walter Steeves** In his *Sketch Of His Life, Works And Literary Friends; Chiefly From A Bibliographical Point Of View* (1910) he gives comments and facts on the works of Bacon:

#### Early writings

- Notes on the State of Europe
- Temporis partum Maximum
- Cogitata et Visa
- Valerius Terminus
- Partis secundae Delineatis Redargutio Philosophiarum
- Mr. Bacon in Praise of Knowledge
- Mr. Bacon in Praise of his Sovereign
- Certain Observations made upon a Libel
- The Northumberland Manuscript
- Promus of Formularies and Elegancies

#### Philosophical Works

- De Augmentis Scientiarum
- Novum Organum
- Phenomena Universi
- Scala Intellectus
- Prodromi Philosophia Sectunda

#### Literary Works

- The Essays, with the Colours of Good and Evil
- History of Henry VII
- History of Henry VIII
- The Beginning of the History of Great Britain
- In Felicem Memoriam Elizabethae
- In Henricum principem Walliae Elogium Francisci Baconi
- Imagines Civiles Julii Caesaris, et Augusti Caesaris
- A Confession of Faith
- The Characters of a believing Christian in Paradoxes and seeming Contradictions
- The Prayers Translation of Certain Psalms Poetry and Poetical Works
- Apophthegms
- The Wisdom of the Ancients

#### Professional Works

- Speeches (Post Nati Naturalization of the Scotch in England, etc.)
- Law Tracts (Rules and Maxims of the Common Laws of England Use of the Law The Learned Reading of Sir Francis Bacon, etc.)
- Legal Arguments Star-Chamber Charges

### Posthumous Works

- Certain Miscellany Works by Wm. Rawley Sylva Sylvarum and New Atlantis
- Rawley's Folio, 1638
- Remains
- The Mirror of State and Eloquence Isaac Grüter's publication
- Resuscitatio
- Opuscula Varia Posthuma
- Tenison's Baconiana
- Stephens' Letters
- Dr. Birch's publication
- Blackbourne's complete edition of the *Works* and publications of David Mallet, Dr. Shaw, Montague and Spedding Recent Work.
- Notes on the State of Europe: His small tract known as *Notes on the State of Europe* was probably written in the year 1580, and is thought by Mallet to be his first literary effort. The original of this was formerly in the possession of Lord Oxford, but is now among the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum. It was printed in the Supplement to Stephens' *Letters*, 2nd collection 1734, and was reprinted by Mallet in 1760. It should be stated that Spedding is not quite satisfied with the evidence of its authenticity.
- Temporis Partum Maximum: In its imperfect form, produced little or no impression, excepting on a few of his most interested admirers. Archbishop Tenison, speaking of it, says: "This was a kind of embryo of the *Instauratio*, and if it had been preserved it might have delighted and profited philosophical readers, who could then have seen the generation of that great work, as it were, from the first egg of it, and by reference to the tract it will be seen that it was sound judgment."
- Cogitata et Visa de Interpretation Naturae: This work was one of the most important of these early tracts, as much of the matter which it contained was reproduced in the *Novum Organum*, and also because it introduced Bacon's primary ideas with regard to the *Instauration*.
- Valerius Terminus: Was the name given to a literary fragment, which according to Spedding contained "the germ of all that part of the *Instauratio* which treated of the *Interpretation of Nature*. It was to be a statement of Bacon's method without professing either to give the collection of facts, to which the collection was applied, or the results thereby obtained." It was, indeed, the precursor of the *Advancement of Learning*, and was written before the year 1605 the date of the publication of the latter work and this, in its turn, was to be still later expanded into the *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, part I., of the *Great Instauration*.

Grüter collected in his *Scripta in Naturali et Universali Philosophia* (1653) a number of the early philosophical pieces of Bacon, and entitled them *Impetus Philosophici*. This contained the preface to the *Novum Organum*, the *Partis Secundae Delineatis et Argumentum*, as well as a fragment of the *Redargutio Philosophiarum*. In the supplement to the second edition of Stephens' collection (1734) may be seen two interesting tracts entitled *Mr. Bacon in Praise of Knowledge*

and *Mr. Bacon in Praise of his Sovereign*, and the manuscripts of these are still preserved in the British Museum. In the year 1640 Gilbert Watts published a retranslation into English of Bacon's enlarged Latin work of nine books. This was of folio size, and contained the portrait of Bacon. A second edition of this followed in 1674. Some fragments and notes written by him early in life, such as the *Cogitationes de Scientia Humana* and *A Discourse in Praise of Knowledge* were expanded and grafted into this greater effort.

**Montagu Basil. Esq.** In 1850 brought out the first complete American edition of Bacon's *Works*, reprinted from that of the Inner Temple, London, the most complete ever published in England. Those of his works, which were originally written in Latin, were translated in Montagu's edition (1834); as the insertion of the original text would have unnecessarily increased the expense of the American edition, it had been deemed expedient to give the translation only. Every attention however, had been bestowed to preserve the purity of the text. The following works were added:

- **Of Bacon's Essays**

Essays or Counsels Civil and Moral. 1597<sup>697</sup> first edition of the Essays published.

Essayes.  
 Religious Meditations.  
 Places of perswasion and  
 disswasion.  
 Seene and allowed.  
 AT LONDON,  
 Printed for Humfrey Hooper, and are  
 to be sold at the blacke Beare  
 in Chauncery Lane.  
 1597.

These Essays, which are very short, are in octavo, in thirteen double pages, and somewhat incorrectly printed and for an example, in the table of contents is *Of Suters*, in the body of the book it is *Of Sutes* and they are annexed as Notes at the end of the Essays. Of this edition there is a manuscript in very ancient writing in the Lansdowne MSS., in the British Museum with reference to it in Vol. II., of *The Catalogue*, p. 173, as follows: "Essays by Lord Bacon, viz. on Studies, Discourses, Ceremonies, and Respects, Followers and Friends, Suitors, Expense, Regimen of Health, Honour and Reputation, Faction and Negotiating." The catalogue then adds, "These Essays will be found to vary in some degree from the printed copies and especially from an expensive edition of Lord Bacon's works, in which the Essays appear to be greatly mutilated." It is

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<sup>697</sup> There is a copy of this edition at Cambridge and in the Bodleian

probable that this (although groundless) relates to the edition of 1730, published by Blackburn. [Blackbourne.] It may, perhaps, be doubtful whether this is a MS., of the edition of 1597 or of 1606; but the first Essay in the edition of 1587 says, “if he conferre little, he had need of a present witt;” but the words “he had need of” are omitted in the edition of 1606. They are however in the MS., in the Museum. There is also in the Harleian MSS., 6797, a MS., of two Essays, *Of Faction and Negotiating*, with cross lines drawn through them.

- 1606 next Essay edition:

Essaies.  
 Religious Meditations.  
 Places of perswasion  
 and disswasion.  
 Seene and allowed.  
 Printed at London for John Jaggard,  
 dwelling in Fleete streete at the  
 hand and Starre neere  
 Temple barre.  
 1606.

This edition, which is in 12mo, and not paged, is, except a few literal variations, a transcript of the edition of 1597.

- 1612 next Essay edition:

The Essaies  
 Of Sr Francis Bacon Knight,  
 The King's Solliciter Generall.  
 Imprinted at London by  
 John Beale,  
 1612.

It was the intention of Bacon to have dedicated this edition to Henry Prince of Wales, but he was prevented by the death of the Prince on November 6 in that year. It was therefore dedicated to Sir. John Constable, Knight.<sup>698</sup> It is an octavo of two hundred and forty-one pages; and the two last Essays *Of the Publique*, and *Of War and Peace*, although mentioned in the table of contents, are not contained in the body of the work. This edition contains all the Essays which are in the preceding editions, except the Essay *Of Honour and Reputation*; and the title in the

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<sup>698</sup> Bacon married Alice Barnham, and Sir John Constable married her sister Dorothy Barnham. In Bacon's Will & Testament, he says, “Sir John Constable, Knight, my brother-in-law;” and he nominates him as one of his executors



former editions of the Essay *Of Followers and Friends* is in this edition and entitled *Of Followers*, and there is a separate Essay *Of Friendship*.

- 1613 next Essay edition:

The Essaies  
Of Sr Francis Bacon Knight,  
The Kings Atorney Generall.  
His Religious Meditations.  
Places of Perswasion and Disswasion.  
Seene and allowed.  
Printed at London for John Jaggard, <sup>699</sup>  
dwelling at the Hand and Starre,  
betweene the two Temple  
Gates 1613.

It is a transcript of the edition of 1612, with the erroneous entries in the table of contents of the two Essays *Of the Publique* and *Of War and Peace*, which are omitted in the body of the work; but it contains a transcript from the editions of 1597 and 1606, of the Essay *Of Honour and Reputation*, which is omitted in the edition of 1612.

- 1625 next Essay edition:

The Essayes or Covnsels Civill and Morall,  
Of Francis Lo. Verulam, Viscount St. Alban.  
Newly written.  
London, Printed by John Haviland for  
Hanna Barret. 1625.

Is a small quarto of 340 pages, and, on April 9, 1626, Lord Verulam died. Of this edition, Bacon sent a copy to the Marquis Fiat. There is a Latin edition of the Essays consisting of the Essays in the edition of 1625, except the two Essays *Of Prophecies*, and *Of Masks and Triumphs*, which seem not to have been translated. During the life of Bacon, various editions of the Essays were published and in different languages: in 1618, Italian; in 1619, French; in 1621, Italian and in French.

- Meditationes Sacrae: The first and only edition of this tract, which was published in Latin by Bacon, appeared in 1597. During his life, and since his death, it has been frequently reprinted. If the reader will compare the *Meditation upon Atheism*, with the Essay on *Atheism*, and his observation upon Atheism, he will see that these *Meditationes Sacrae* are but the seeds.

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<sup>699</sup> This same bookseller published the edition of 1606

- The Colours Of Good And Evil: This tract was published by Bacon in 1597, and has been repeatedly published by different editors. It was incorporated in the *Treatise on Rhetoric*, in the *Advancement of Learning*, and more extensively in the treatise *De Augmentis*. The dedication, of which there is a MS., in the British Museum, to the Lord Mountjoy, is copied from *The Remains*, published by Stephens.
- Praise Of Knowledge: This tract, of which there is a MS., in the British Museum, is a rudiment both of the *Advancement of Learning*, and of the *Novum Organum*: a) *Miscellaneous Tracts*; b) *Upon human philosophy* and c) *Bacon in Praise of Knowledge*.

### Bacon in Praise of Knowledge

Silence were the best celebration of that, which I mean to commend; for who would not use silence, where silence is not made? and what crier can make silence in such a noise and tumult of vain and popular opinions?

My praise shall be dedicated to the mind itself. The mind is the man, and the knowledge of the mind. A man is but what he knoweth. The mind itself is but an accident to knowledge; for knowledge is a double of that which is.

The truth of being, and the truth of knowing, is all one: and the pleasures of the affections greater than the pleasures of the senses. And are not the pleasures of the intellect greater than the pleasures of the affections? Is it not a true and only natural pleasure, whereof there is no satiety? Is it not knowledge that doth alone clear the mind of all perturbations? How many things are there which we imagine not? How many things do we esteem and value otherwise than they are? This ill-proportioned estimation, these vain imaginations, these be the clouds of error that turn into the storms of perturbation.

Is there any such happiness as for a man's mind to be raised above the confusion of things; where he may have the prospect of the order of nature, and the error of men? Is this but a vein only of delight, and not of discovery? Of contentment, and not of benefit? Shall we not as well discern the riches of nature's warehouse, as the benefit of her shop? Is truth ever barren? Shall he not be able thereby to produce worthy effects, and to endow the life of man with infinite commodities?

But shall I make this garland to be put upon a wrong head? Would anybody believe me, if I should verify this, upon the knowledge that is now in use? Are we the richer by one poor invention, by reason of all the learning that hath been these many hundred years?

The industry of artificers maketh some small improvement of things invented; and chance sometimes in experimenting, maketh us to stumble upon somewhat which is new: but all the disputation of the learned never brought to light one effect of nature before unknown.

When things are known and found out, then they can descant upon them, they can knit them into certain causes, they can reduce them to their principles. If any instance of experience stand against them, they can range it in order by some distinctions. But all this is but a web of the wit, it can work nothing.

I do not doubt but that common notions which we call reason, and the knitting of them together, which we call logic, are the art of reason and studies. But they rather cast obscurity, than gain light to the contemplation of nature. All the philosophy of nature which is now received, is either the philosophy of the Grecians, or that other of the alchemists.

Let me so give every man his due, as I give time his due, which is to discover truth. Many of these men had greater wits, far above mine own, and so are many in the Universities of Europe at this day. But alas, they learn nothing there but to believe: first, to believe that others know that which they know not; and after, themselves know that which they know not. But indeed facility to believe, impatience to doubt, temerity to answer, glory to know, doubt to contradict, end to gain, sloth to search, seeking things in words, resting in part of nature; these and the like, have been the things which have forbidden the happy match between the mind of man and the nature of things; and in place thereof have married it to vain notions and blind experiments: and what the posterity and issue of so honourable a match may be, it is not hard to consider.

Printing, a gross invention; artillery, a thing that lay not far out of the way; the needle, a thing partly known before: what a change have these three made in the world in these times; the one in state of learning, the other in state of the war, the third in the state of treasure, commodities, and navigation?

And those, I say, were but stumbled upon and lighted upon by chance. Therefore, no doubt, the sovereignty of man lieth hid in knowledge; wherein many things are reserved, which Kings with their treasure cannot buy, nor with their force command; their spirals and intelligencers can give no news of them, their seamen and discoverers cannot sail where they grow: now we govern nature in opinions, but we are thrall unto her in necessity; but if we would be led by her in invention, we should command her in action.

- Valerius Terminus: This too is clearly a rudiment of the *Advancement of Learning*, as may be perceived almost in every page: for instance, by comparing, of this volume, it is also a rudiment of the *Novum Organum*.
- Filum Labyrinthi: This tract, of which there is a MS., in the British Museum, seems to have been the rudiment of the tract in Latin in Grüter's collection entitled *Cogitata et Visa*, the three first sections containing the same sentiments in almost the same words.
- De Calore Et Frigore: This is obviously the rudiment of the *Affirmative Table* in the *Novum Organum*.

- Helps For Intellectual Powers: This tract was published by Rawley in his *Resuscitatio* (1657). In a letter from Grüter to Dr. Rawley, dated July 1, 1659 and thanking him for a present of Lord Bacon's *Posthumous Works*, in Latin, (probably *Opuscula cum Vita*, published in 1658,) he says, "one paper I wonder I saw not amongst them, the epistle of the Lord Bacon to Sir Henry Savil, about the *Helps of the Intellectual Powers*, spoken of long ago in your letters under that, or some such title, if my memory does not deceive me. If it was not forgotten and remains among your private papers, I should be glad to see a copy of it, in the use of which, my faithfulness shall not be wanting. But, perhaps, it is written in the English tongue, and is a part of that greater volume, which contains only his English works."
- The Apophthegmes: In the *Advancement of Learning*, Bacon divides the Appendices to:
  1. History
  2. Memorials
  3. Epistles
  4. Apophthegmes and, after lamenting the loss of Cæsar's book of *Apophthegmes*, he says, "as for those which are collected by others, either I have no taste in such matters, or else their choice hath not been happy."

But yet it seems that he had stored his mind with a collection of these *Mucrones Verborum*, as, for his recreation in his sickness in the year preceding his death, he fanned the old, and dictated what he thought worth preservation.

- The Ornamenta Rationalia: Are inserted from the *Baconiana*. The short notes, of which there is a MS., in the British Museum, are taken from *The Remains* published in 1645. The *Essay on Death*, of which there is a MS., in the British Museum, is inserted from *The Remains* but appears not to be in his style nor with his general sentiments upon death.

**Dr. Thomas Tenison** He is known to have been the editor of the *Baconiana* published at London 1679, though he added only the initial letters of his name to the account of all Bacon's works subjoined to that collection. He had been an intimate friend of, and fellow of the same College with Mr. William Rawley, only son of Dr. William Rawley, Chaplain to Bacon, and employed by his Lordship, as publisher of most of his works. *Baconiana*, we must remember, as a matter of fact, the book was published anonymously, and was only attributed to Tenison in after-years, mainly because at the end of the *Account of all the Lord Bacon's Works* therein printed are inscribed the initials T.T., which have been interpreted to mean Thomas Tenison. But if it were Tenison who wrote this book—as has been generally believed—the fact that he shrouds himself from public view only goes to show what a strange care he took so as not to be too readily identified with the book. Though why he should do so puzzles one to determine; for to act as literary executor to so great a man as Bacon could in no way be derogatory, even to an Archbishop.<sup>700</sup>

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700 Granville C. Cuninghame: *Bacon's Secret Disclosed in Contemporary Books*, 1911

Sir,

I have now look'd over all the books and papers in the box. In the books there are copies of Essays, Maxims of law, &c. all printed already: but they contain some things fit to be printed; and they and the letters will make a handsome folio; which I doubt not but will turn to account. For the Letters, there are divers of Sir Thomas Meauty's, worth nothing; but there are more than forty letters to the Duke of Buckingham, and some of the Duke of Buckingham to him [Bacon]. There are eight or ten to King James. There are three or four to Gondomar, and Gondomar's answer to one of them.

There are two or three letters to Bishop Williams, and two from him. There is Lord Bacon's letter to Casaubon in Latin. There is one essay never printed. All which will be well accepted. After the holy days I will methodize all, and put all letters of the same date together (for as yet they are in confusion) and then we will take farther resolutions about them. I will get an afternoon (if God permit) to see the remaining papers in Bartholomew Close.

The Greek MS., will not prove much worth. The latter and greater part is only a piece of Tzetzes. It is necessary that you procure for me Tobie Mathew's printed letters, for here are also ten of his to Lord Bacon; and I know not which they are yet printed. Also I shall want a copy of the Essays printed in 12mo, 1663, printed for Thomas Palmer, at the Crown in Westminster Hall, with a preface by one Griffith. I have the book; and the preface is mentioned in the title page, but is wanting.

I am your assured friend,

T. Tenison.

December 16, 1632

If more sheets of Dr. Spencer's are done, pray send them.

For Mr. Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown,  
in St. Paul's Church-Yard, London.

Dr. Rawley dying in the seventy-ninth year of his age, June 18, 1667 near a year after his son; his executor, Mr. John Rawley, put into the hands of his friend Dr. Tenison these papers of Bacon, which composed the *Baconiana* and probably, at the same time, presented to him all the rest of his Lordship's manuscripts, which Dr. Rawley had been possessed of, but did not think proper to make public. The reasons of his reserve appear from Dr. Tenison's account cited above, to have been, "that he judged some papers touching matters of state to tread too near to the heels of truth, and to the times of the persons concerned; and that he thought his Lordship's letters concerning his fall might be injurious to his honour, and cause the old wounds of it to bleed anew." But this is a delicacy, which, though suitable to the age in which Dr. Rawley lived, and to the relation under which he had stood to his noble patron, ought to have no force in other times and circumstances, nor ever to be too much indulged to the prejudice of the rights of historical truth.

Dr. Tenison being, soon after the publication of the *Baconiana*, removed from the more private station of a country living to the vicarage of St. Martin's-in-the-fields, Westminster, and, after the revolution, advanced to the Bishopric of Lincoln, and at last to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, had scarce leisure, if he had been inclined, to select more of the papers of his admired Bacon. These therefore with the rest of his manuscripts, not already deposited in the library at Lambeth, were left by him in his last will, dated April 11, 1715 to his Chaplain, Dr. Edmund Gibson, then rector of Lambeth, and afterwards successively Bishop of Lincoln and London, and to Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Benjamin Ibbot, who had succeeded Dr. Gibson as library-keeper to his grace.

Dr. Ibbot dying many years before Bishop Gibson, the whole collection of Archbishop Tenison's papers came under the disposition of that Bishop, who directed his two executors, the late Dr. Bettesworth, Dean of the Arches, and his eldest son, George Gibson, *Esq.*, to deposit them, with the addition of many others of his own collecting, in the manuscript library at Lambeth: and accordingly after his Lordship's death, which happened on September 6, 1748 all these manuscripts were delivered by his said executors to Archbishop Herring, on October 21 of that year, and placed in the library on February 23 following. But as they lay undigested in bundles, and in that condition were neither convenient for use, nor secure from damage, the Archbishop directed them to be methodized and bound up in volumes with proper indexes, which was done by his learned librarian, Andrew Coltee Ducarel, L.L.D., Fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies, to whose knowledge, industry, and love of history and antiquities, the valuable library of manuscripts of the Archiepiscopal see of Canterbury is highly indebted for the order; and by whose obliging and communicating temper it is rendered generally useful.

Bishop Gibson's collection, including what is the chief part of it, that of Archbishop Tenison, fills fourteen large volumes in folio. The eighth of these consists merely of Bacon's papers. Of them principally, the work, which now offered to the public, is formed; nor has any paper been admitted into it that had been published before, except two of Bacon's letters, which having been disguised and mutilated in all former impressions, were thought proper to be reprinted here, together with two other letters of his Lordship; one on the remarkable case of Peacham, the other accompanying his present to King James I., of his *Novum Organum*. These letters were unwillingly to be omitted, because the collection, in which they have appeared, entitled by the very learned and ingenious editor, Sir David Dalrymple, Bart. *Memorials and Letters relating to the History of Britain in the reign of James the First*, published from the Originals, at Glasgow (1762) in 8vo., is likely to be much less known in England, from the smallness of the number of printed copies, than it deserves. The general rule of publishing only what is new, restrained it from adding those letters written in the earlier part of Bacon's life, which had before been published from the originals, found among the papers of his brother Anthony, in the *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, from the Year 1581 to her death, 1603.

## Part V. Chronological Order:

### Important Letters Written by Bacon

- **August 1585**

To the Right Honourable Sir Francis Walsingham,  
Principal Secretary to Her Majesty.

It may please your Honour to give me leave amidst your great and diverse business to put you in remembrance of my poor suit, leaving the time unto your Honour's best opportunity and commodity. I think the objection of my years will wear away with the length of my suit. The very stay doth in this respect concern me, because I am thereby hindered to take a course of practice, which by the leave of God, if her Majesty like not of my suit, I must and will follow: not for any necessity of estate, but for my credit sake, which I know by living out of action will wear. I spake when the Court was at Theball's to Mr. Vice-Chamberlain,<sup>1</sup> who promised me his furdurance; which I did lest he mought be made for some other. If it may please your Honour, who as I hear hath great interest in him, to speak with him in it, I think he will be fast mine. Thus desiring continuance of your Honour's favour, I wish you all good, and myself occasion to do you service.

Gray's Inn, this 25th of August, 1585.

Your Honour's in all duty,  
Fr. Bacon.

- **May 1586**

To Lord Burghley.

My very good Lord,

I take it as an undoubted sign of your Lordship's favour unto me that being hardly informed of me you took occasion rather of good advice than of evil opinion thereby. And if your Lordship had grounded only upon the said information of theirs, I mought and would truly have upholden

that few of the matters were justly objected; as the very circumstances do induce in that they were delivered by men that did misaffect me and besides were to give colour to their own doings. But because your Lordship did mingle therewith both a late motion of mine own and somewhat which you had otherwise heard, I know it to be my duty (and so do I stand affected) rather to prove your Lordship's admonition effectual in my doings hereafter, than causeless by excusing what is past. And yet (with your Lordship's pardon humbly asked) it may please you to remember that I did endeavour to set forth that said motion in such sort as it mought breed no harder effect than a denial. And I protest simply before God that I sought therein an ease in coming within Bars, and not any extraordinary and singular note of favour. And for that your Lordship may otherwise have heard of me, it shall make me more wary and circumspect in carriage of myself. Indeed I find in my simple observation that they which live as it were in umbra and not in public or frequent action, how moderately and modestly soever they behave themselves, yet *laborant invidiâ*. I find also that such persons as are of nature bashful (as myself is), whereby they want that plausible familiarity which others have, are often mistaken for proud. But once I know well and I most humbly beseech your Lordship to believe, that arrogancy and overweening is so far from my nature, as if I think well of myself in anything it is in this that I am free from that vice. And I hope upon this your Lordship's speech I have entered into those considerations as my behaviour shall no more deliver me for other than I am. And so wishing unto your Lordship all honour and to myself continuance of your good opinion with mind and means to deserve it, I humbly take my leave.

Gray's Inn, this 6th day of May, 1586.  
Your Lordship's most bounden Nephew,  
Fr. Bacon.

- 1592-93

To the Lord Treasurer Burghley.

My Lord,

With as much confidence as mine own honest and faithful devotion unto your service and your honourable correspondence unto me and my poor estate can breed in a man, do I commend myself unto your Lordship I wax now somewhat ancient; one and thirty years is a great deal of sand in the hour-glass. My health, I thank God, I find confirmed; and I do not fear that action shall impair it, because I account my ordinary course of study and meditation to be more painful than most parts of action are. I ever bare a mind (in some middle place that I could discharge) to serve her Majesty; not as a man born under Sol, that loveth honour; nor under Jupiter, that loveth business (for the contemplative planet carrieth me away wholly); but as a man born under an excellent Sovereign, that deserveth the dedication of all men's abilities. Besides, I do not find myself so much self-love, but that the greater parts of my thoughts are to deserve well (if I were



able) of my friends, and namely of your Lordship; who being the Atlas of this commonwealth, the honour of my house, and the second founder of my estate, I am tied by all duties, both of a good patriot, and of an unworthy kinsman, and of an obliged servant, to employ whatsoever I am to do you service. Again, the meanness of my estate doth somewhat move me: for though I cannot accuse myself that I am either prodigal or slothful, yet my health is not to spend, nor my course to get. Lastly, confess that I have as vast contemplative ends, as I have moderate civil ends: for I have taken all knowledge to be my province; and if I could purge it of two sorts of rovers whereof the one with frivolous disputations, confutations, and verbosities, the other with blind experiments and auricular traditions and impostures, hath committed so many spoils, I hope I should bring in industrious observations, grounded conclusions, and profitable inventions and discoveries; the best state of that province. This, whether it be curiosity, or vain glory, or nature, or (if one take it favourably) philanthropia, is so fixed in my mind as it cannot be removed. And I do easily see, that place of any reasonable countenance doth bring commandment of more wits than of a man's own; which is the thing I greatly affect. And for your Lordship, perhaps you shall not find more strength and less encounter in any other. And if your Lordship shall find now, or at any time, that I do seek or affect any place whereunto any that is nearer unto your Lordship shall be concurrent, say then that I am a most dishonest man. And if your Lordship will not carry me on, I will not do as Anaxagoras did, who reduced himself with contemplation unto voluntary poverty: but this I will do; I will sell the inheritance that I have, and purchase some lease of quick revenue, or some office of gain that shall be executed by deputy, and so give over all care of service, and become some sorry book-maker, or a true pioneer in that mine of truth, which (he said) lay so deep. This which I have writ unto your Lordship is rather thoughts than words, being set down without all art, disguising, or reservation. Wherein I have done honour both to your Lordship's wisdom, in judging that that will be best believed of your Lordship which is truest, and to your Lordship's good nature, in retaining nothing from you. And even so I wish your Lordship all happiness, and to myself means and occasion to be added to my faithful desire to do you service.

From my lodging at Gray's Inn.

- **March, 1592–93**

A Letter to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, in excuse of his Speech in  
Parliament against the Triple Subsidy.

It may please your Lordship,

I was sorry to find by your Lordship's speech yesterday that my last speech in Parliament, delivered in discharge of my conscience and duty to God, her Majesty and my country, was offensive. If it were misreported, I would be glad to attend your Lordship to disavow anything I said not. If it were misconstrued, I would be glad to expound my words, to exclude any sense I meant not.

If my heart be misjudged by imputation of popularity or opposition by any envious or officious informer, I have great wrong; and the greater, because the manner of my speech did most evidently show that I spake simply and only to satisfy my conscience, and not with any advantage or policy to sway the cause; and my terms carried all signification of duty and zeal towards her Majesty and her service. It is true that from the beginning, whatsoever was above a double subsidy, I did wish might (for precedent's sake) appear to be extraordinary, and (for discontent's sake) might not have been levied upon the poorer sort; though otherwise I wished it as rising as I think this will prove, and more. This was my mind, I confess it. And therefore I most humbly pray your Lordship, first to continue in your own good opinion; and (then to perform in part of an honest friend towards your poor servant and ally, in drawing her Majesty to accept of the sincerity and simplicity of my heart, and I bear with the rest, and restore me to her Majesty's favour.

- **Copie que Monsr Francois Bacon a escrit à sa Mate, 1593**

To the Queen.

Madam,

Remembering that your Majesty had been gracious to me both in countenancing me and conferring upon me the reversion of a good place, and perceiving your Majesty had taken some displeasure inwards me, both these were arguments to move me to offer unto your Majesty my service, to the end to have means to deserve your benefit and to repair my error. Upon this ground I affected myself to no great matter, but only a place of my profession, such as I do see divers younger in proceeding to myself, and men of no great note, do without blame aspire unto. But if any of my friends do press this matter, I do assure your Majesty my spirit is not with them. It sufficeth me that I have let your Majesty know that I am ready to do that for your service which I never would do for mine own gain. And if your Majesty like others better, I shall with the Lacedemonian be glad that there is such choice of abler men than myself. Your Majesty's favour indeed, and access to your royal person, I did ever, encouraged by your own speeches, seek and desire; and I would be very glad to be reintegrate in that. But I will not wrong mine own good mind so much as to stand upon it now, when your Majesty may conceive I do it but to make my profit of it. But my mind turneth upon other wheels than those of profit. The conclusion shall be that I wish your Majesty served answerable to yourself. *Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos*. Thus I most humbly crave pardon of my boldness and plainness. God preserve your Majesty.

- **March 30, 1593**

To the Earl of Essex.

My Lord:

I thank your Lordship very much for your kind and comfortable letter, which I hope will be followed at hand with another of more assurance. And I must confess this very delay hath gone

so near me, as it hath almost overthrown my health. For when I revolved the good memory of my father, the near degree of alliance I stand in to my Lord Treasurer, your Lordship's so signalled and declared favour, the honourable testimony of so many counsellors, the commendation unlaboured and in sort offered by my Lords the Judges and the Master of the Rolls elect; that I was voiced with great expectation, and (though I say it myself) with the wishes of most men, to the higher place; that I am a man that the Queen hath already done for; and princes, especially her Majesty, loveth to make an end where they begin: and then add hereunto the obscurity and many exceptions to my competitors; when (I say) I revolve all this. I cannot but conclude with myself that no man ever received a more exquisite disgrace. And therefore truly, my Lord, I was determined, and am determined, if her Majesty reject me, this to do. My nature can take no evil ply; but I will by God's assistance, with this disgrace of my Fortune, and yet with that comfort of the good opinion of so many honourable and worthy persons, I retire myself with a couple of men to Cambridge, and there spend my life in my studies and contemplations, without looking back. I humbly pray your Lordship to pardon me for troubling you with my melancholy. For the matter itself, I commend it to your love. Only I pray you communicate afresh this clay with my Lord Treasurer and Sir Robert Cecil; and if you esteem my fortune, remember the point of precedency. The objections to my competitors your Lordship knoweth partly. I pray spare them not, not over the Queen, but to the great ones, to show your confidence and to work their distaste. Thus longing exceedingly to exchange troubling your Lordship with serving you, I rest

Your Lordship's, in most entire and faithful duty.

F.B.

I humbly pray your Lordship I may hear  
from you sometime this day.

- **April 1593**

Lambeth, written in the hand of one of his brother's men and docketed "Une lettre au Mons.  
Le Compte d'Essex de Mons. Francois Bacon, 1593, an mois d'Avrill."

To the Earl of Essex.

My Lord:

I did almost conjecture by your silence and countenance a distaste in the course I imparted to your Lordship touching mine own fortune; the care whereof in your Lordship as it is no news to me, so nevertheless the main effects and demonstrations thereof past are so far from dulling in me the sense of any new, as contrariwise every new refresheth the memory of many past. And for the free and loving advice your Lordship hath given me, I cannot correspond to the same with greater duty, than by assuring your Lordship that I will not dispose of myself without your allowance; not only because it is the best wisdom in any man in his own matters to rest in the

wisdom of a friend (for who can by often looking in the glass discern and judge so well of his own favour, as another with whom he converseth?), but also because my affection to your Lordship hath made mine own contentment inseparable from your satisfaction. But notwithstanding, I know it will be pleasing to your good Lordship that I use my liberty of replying; and I do almost assure myself that your Lordship will rest persuaded by the answer of those reasons which your Lordship vouchsafed to open. They were two; the one that I should include...[The rest of the letter is wanting].

- **April 16, 1593**

To the Right Honourable Sir Robert Cecil, Knight one of her  
Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council.

Sir,

I thank your Honour very much for the signification which I received by Mr. Hickes of your good opinion, good affection, and readiness. And as to the impediment which you mention and I did forecast, I know you bear that honourable disposition as it will rather give you apprehension to deal more effectually for me than otherwise; not only because the trial of friends is in case of difficulty, but again for that without that circumstance your Honour should be only esteemed true friend and kinsman, whereas now you shall be further judged a most honourable counsellor. For pardons are ever honourable, because they come from mercy, but most honourable towards such offenders. My desire is your Honour should break with my Lord your father as soon as may stand with your convenience, which was the cause why now I did write. And so I wish your Honour all happiness.

From Gray's Inn, this 16th April, 1593.

Your Honour's in Faithful affection to be commanded

Fr. Bacon.

- **September 15, 1592**

To Mr. Thomas Phillips.

Sir,

I congratulate your return, hoping that all is passed on your side. Your Mercury is returned; whose return alarmed as upon some great matter, which I fear he will not satisfy. News of his coming came before his own letter, and to other than to his proper servant, which maketh me desirous to satisfy or to salve. My Lord hath required him to repair to me; which upon his Lordship's and mine own letters received I doubt not but he will with all speed perform; where I pray you to meet him if you may, that laying our heads together we may maintain his credit, satisfy my Lord's expectation, and procure some good service. I pray the rather spare not your

travail, because I think the Queen is already party to the advertisement of his coming over, and in some suspect which you may not disclose to him.

So I wish you as myself, this 15<sup>th</sup> of September, 1592.

Yours ever assured,

Fr. Bacon.

- **January 25, 1594**

To Anthony Bacon.

Good Brother,

Since I saw you this hath passed. Tuesday, though sent for, I saw not the Queen. Her Majesty alleged she was then to resolve with her Counsel upon her places of law. But this resolution was *ut supra*; and note the rest of the counsellors were persuaded she came rather forwards than otherwise. For against me she is never peremptory but to my Lord of Essex. I missed a letter of my Lord Keeper's; but thus much I hear otherwise.

The Queen seemeth to apprehend my travel; whereupon I was sent for by Sir Robert Cecil in sort as from her Majesty; himself having of purpose immediately gone to London to speak with me, and not finding me there, he wrote to me. Whereupon I came to the Court, and upon his relation to me of her Majesty's speech, I desired leave to answer it in writing; not I said that I mistrusted his report but mine own wit; the copy of which answer I send; we parted in kindness *secundum exterius*.

This copy you must needs return; for I have no other, and I wrate this by memory after the original sent away.

The Queen's speech is after this sort. Why? I have made no Solicitor. Hath anybody carried a Solicitor with him in his pocket? But he must have it in his own time (as if it were but yesterday's nomination) or else I must be thought to cast him away. Then her Majesty sweareth that if I continue this manner, she will seek all England for a Solicitor rather than take me. Yea she will send for Houghton and Coventry [Birch: Thomas Coventry, afterwards one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, and father of the Lord Keeper Coventry.] tomorrow next (as if she would swear them both). Again she entereth into it, that she never dealt so with any as with me (*in hoc erratum non est*); she hath pulled me over the bar (note the words, for they cannot be her own), she hath used me in her greatest causes. But this is Essex; and she is more angry with him than with me; and such-like speeches, so strange, as I should leese myself in it, but that I have cast off the care of it.

My conceit is, that I am the least part of mine own matter. But her Majesty would have a delay, and yet would not bear it herself. Therefore she giveth no way to me, and she perceiveth her counsel giveth no way to others, and so it sticketh as she would have it. But what the secret of it is *oculus aquilæ non penetravit*.

My Lord [Burghley] continueth on kindly and wisely a course worthy to obtain a better effect than a delay, which to me is the most unwelcome condition.

Now to perform the part of a brother and to render you the like kindness, advise you whether it, were not, a good time to set in strongly with the Queen to draw her to honour your travels. For in the course I am like to take, it will be a great and a necessary stay to me, besides the natural comfort I shall receive. And if you will have me deal with my Lord of Essex, or otherwise break it by mean to the Queen, as that which shall give me full contentment, I will do it as effectually and with as much good discretion as I can. Wherein if you aid me with your direction, I shall observe it. This as I did ever account it sure and certain to be accomplished in case myself had been placed, and therefore deferred it till then as to the proper opportunity; so now that I see such delay in mine own placing, I wish *ex animo* it should not expect.

I pray let me know what mine uncle Killigrew will do. [Relating to the borrowing of money.] For I must now be more careful of my credit than ever, since I receive so little thence where I deserved best. And to be plain with you, I mean even to make the best of those small things I have with as much expedition as may be without loss; and so sing a mass of *requiem* I hope abroad; for I know her Majesty's nature, that she neither careth though the whole surname of the Bacons travelled, nor of the Cecils neither.

I have here an idle pen or two, specially one that was cozened, thinking to have gotten some money this term; I pray send me somewhat else for them to write out besides your Irish collection, which is almost done. There is a collection of Dr. James of foreign states, largeliest of Flanders, which, though it be no great matter, yet I would be glad to have it. Thus I commend you to God's good preservation.

From my lodge at Twickenham Park, this 25th of January, 1594.

Your entire loving brother

Fr. Bacon.

- **January 25, 1594**

Letter to Sir Robert Cecil.

Sir,

Your Honour may remember that upon your relation of her Majesty's speech touching my travel, I asked leave to make answer in writing; not but I knew then what was true; but because I was careful to express it without doing myself wrong. And it is true I had then opinion to have written to her Majesty. But since, weighing with myself that her Majesty gave no ear to the motion made by yourself that I might answer it by mine own attendance, I began to doubt the second degree, whether it might not be taken for presumption in me to write to her Majesty; and so resolved that it was best for me to follow her Majesty's own way in committing it to your report.

It may please your Honour therefore to deliver to her Majesty, first, that it is an exceeding grief to me that any, not motion (for there was not now a motion), but mention that should come from me should offend her Majesty, whom for these one-and-twenty years (for so long it is that I kissed her Majesty's hands upon my journey into France) I have used the best of my wits to please.

Next, mine answer standing upon two points, the one, that this mention of travel to my Lord of Essex was no present motion, suit, or request; but casting the worst of my fortune with an honourable friend that had long used me privately, I told his Lordship of this purpose of mine to travel, accompanying it with these very words, that upon her Majesty's rejecting me with such circumstance, though my heart might be good yet mine eyes would be sore that I should take no pleasure to look upon my friends; for that I was not an impudent man, that could face out a disgrace; and that I hoped her Majesty would not be offended, if not being able to endure the sun, I fled into the shade.

The other, that it was more than this; for I did expressly and particularly (for so much wit God then lent me) by way of caveat restrain my Lord's good affection that he should in no wise utter or mention this matter till her Majesty had made a Solicitor; wherewith (now since my looking upon your letter) I did in a dutiful manner challenge my Lord, who very honourably acknowledged [it], seeing he did it for the best; and therefore I leave his Lordship to answer for himself.

All this my Lord of Essex can testify to be true; and I report me to yourself, whether at the first, when I desired deliberation to answer, yet nevertheless said I would to you privately declare what had passed, I said not in effect so much. The conclusion shall be, that wheresoever God and her Majesty shall appoint me to live, I shall truly pray for her Majesty's preservation and felicity.

And so I humbly commend me to you,  
your poor kinsman to do you service.

Fr. Bacon.

- **Spring 1594**

To Fulke Greville.

Sir,

I understand of your pains to have visited me, for which I thank you. My matter is an endless question. I assure you I had said *Requiesec anima mea*: but I now am otherwise put to my psalter: *Nolite confidere*. I dare go no further. Her Majesty had by set speech more than once assured me of her intention to call me to her service; which I could not understand but of the place I had been named to. And now whether *invidus homo hoc fecit*; or whether my matter must be an appendix to my Lord of Essex suit; or whether her Majesty, pretending to prove my ability, meaneth but to take advantage of some errors which, like enough, at one time or other I may commit; or what it is; but her Majesty is not ready to dispatch it. And what though the Master

of the Rolls, and my Lord of Essex, and yourself, and others, think my case without doubt, yet in the mean time I have a hard condition, to stand so that whatsoever service I do to her Majesty, it shall be thought to be but *servitium viscatum*, lime-twigs and fetches to place myself; and so I shall have envy, not thanks. This is a course to quench all good spirits, and to corrupt every man's nature; which will, I fear, much hurt her Majesty's service in the end. I have been like a piece of stuff bespoken in the Shop; and if her Majesty will not take me, it may be the selling by parcels will be more gainful. For to be, as I told you, like a child following a bird, which when he is nearest flieth away and lighteth a little before, and then the child after it again, and so *in infinitum*, I am weary of it; as also of wearying my of friends; of whom, nevertheless, I hope in one course gratefully to deserve. And so, not forgetting your business, I leave to trouble you with this idle letter, being but *justa et moderata querimonia*: for indeed I do confess, *primus amor* [first love] will not easily be cast off. And thus again I commend me to you.

- **July 20, 1594**

To the Queen.

Most gracious and admirable Sovereign,

As I do acknowledge a providence of God towards me that findeth it expedient for me *tolerare jugum in juventute meâ*, so this present arrest of me by his divine Majesty from your Majesty's service is not the least affliction that I have proved. And I hope your Majesty doth conceive that nothing under mere impossibility could have detained me from earning so gracious a vail as it pleased your Majesty to give me. But your Majesty's service by the grace of God shall take no lack thereby (and thanks to God, it hath light upon him, that may be best spared); only the discomfort is mine; who nevertheless have the private comfort that in the time I have been acquainted with this service it hath been my hap to stumble upon somewhat unseen, which may import the same (as I made my Lord Keeper acquainted before my going). So leaving it to God to make a good ending of a hard beginning (and most humbly craving your Majesty's pardon for presuming to trouble your Majesty), I recommend your sacred Majesty to God's tenderest preservation.

From Huntingdon, this 20th of July, 1594.

Your sacred Majesty's in most humble obedience and devotion,

Fr. Bacon.

- **October 14, 1594-95**

Letter to the Lord Keeper.

It may please your good Lordship,

I conceive the end already made, which will I trust be to me a beginning of good fortune, or at least of content. Her Majesty by God's grace shall live and reign long. She is not running



away, I may trust her. Or whether she look towards me or no, I remain the same, not altered in my intention. If I had been an ambitious man, it would have overthrown me. But minded as I am, *revertet benedictio mea in sinum meum*. If I had made any reckoning of anything to be stirred, I would have waited on your Lordship, and will be at any time ready to wait on you to do you service. So I commend your good Lordship to God's holy preservation.

From Twicknam Park, this 14th of October.

Your Lordship's most humble at your hon. commandments,

Fr. Bacon.

- **November 1594-95**

To the Lord of Essex.

It may please your good Lordship,

I pray God her Majesty's weighing be not like the weight of a balance: *gravia deorsum, levius sursum*. But I am as far from being altered in devotion towards her, as I am from distrust that she will be altered in opinion towards me, when she knoweth me better. For myself, I have lost some opinion, some time, and some means; this is my account: bill then for opinion, it is a blast that goeth and cometh; for time, it is true it goeth and cometh not; but yet I have learned that it may be redeemed.

For means, I value that most; and the rather, because I am purposed not to follow the practice of the law: (If her Majesty command me in any particular, I shall be ready to do her willing service;) and my reason is only, because it drinketh too much time, which I have dedicated to better purposes. But even for that point of estate and means, I partly lean to Thales' opinion, That a philosopher may be rich if he will. Thus your Lordship seeth how I comfort myself; to the increase whereof I would fain please myself to believe that to be true which my Lord Treasurer writeth; which is, that it is more than a philosopher morally can digest. But without any such high conceit, I esteem it like the pulling out of an aching tooth, which, I remember, when I was a child and had little philosophy, I was glad of when it was done. For your Lordship, I do think myself more beholding to you than to any man. And I say, I reckon myself as a common (not popular, but common); and as much as is lawful to be enclosed of a common, so much your Lordship shall be sure to have.

Your Lordship's, to obey your honourable commands,  
more settled than ever.

- **1596**

To the Lord of Essex.

My singular GOOD Lord,

Your Lordship's so honourable minding my poor fortune the last year, in the very entrance into that great action (which is a time of less leisure), and in so liberal an allowance of your care,

as to write three letters to stir me up friends in your absence, doth after a sort warrant me not to object to myself your present quantity of affairs, whereby to silence myself from petition of the like favour. I brake with your Lordship myself at the Tower, and I take it my brother hath since renewed the same motion, touching a fortune I was in thought to attempt in *genere æconomico*. In *genere politico*, certain cross winds have blown contrary. My suit to your Lordship is for your several letters to be left with me, dormant, to the gentlewoman and either of her parents; wherein I do not doubt but as the beams of your favour have often dissolved the coldness of my fortune, so in this argument your Lordship will do the like with your pen. My desire is also, that your Lordship would vouchsafe unto me, as out of your care, a general letter to my Lord Keeper, for his Lordship's holding me from you recommended, both in the course of my practice and in the course of my employment in her Majesty's service. Wherein if your Lordship shall in any antithesis or relation affirm that his Lordship shall have no less fruit of me than of any other whom he may cherish, I hope your Lordship shall engage yourself for no impossibility.

Lastly and chiefly, I know not whether I shall attain to see your Lordship before your noble journey; for ceremonies are things infinitely inferior to my love and to my zeal. This let me, with your allowance, say unto you by pen. It is true that in my well-meaning advices, out of my love to your Lordship, and perhaps out of the state of mine own mind, I have sometimes persuaded a course differing; *ac tibi pro tutis insignia facta placebunt*. Be it so: yet remember, that the signing of your name is nothing, unless it be to some good patent or charter, whereby your country may be endowed with good and benefit. Which I speak, both to move you to preserve your person for further merit and service of her Majesty and your country; and likewise to refer this action to the same end. And so, in most true and fervent prayers, I commend your Lordship and your work in hand to the preservation and conduct of the Divine Majesty; so much the more watchful, as these actions do more manifestly in show, though alike in truth, depend upon His divine providence.

- **January 22, 1597**

Indorsed by Lord Ellesmere, Mr. Bacon. To the R. hon.  
his very good L., the L. Keeper of the great Seale of England.

Yt may please your r. hon. good L.

I have understood that your L. hath an intention to reduce the office of Clerk of the Star Chamber to the just and lawful fees, and to purge it of the exactions newly imposed, and I was advised by a wise friend to desire humbly of your L. to be called unto it. But truly, my good L., I am determined not to meddle in it: first, because my time is not yet come in presence, at lest for any thing doth yet judicially appear. Next, because I trust your Lo. Judgment better then mine own; and sure I am, as long as it is in your good hand, *terminus antiquus non movebitur*. Lastly, because looking into the matter at first, and since better informing my self, I find the ground to watry for me, or any other to stand upon. And therefore, as at first I always protested to sondre

my self from any thing that was unjust, so the same course I hold still, ever desiring your L., as I have heretofore done, that in safting this unlawful prize, no lawful fraught may be [not legible] which I know perfectly your L. will do, and to your L. I wholly leave it. So I commend your good L. to the preservation of the divine Ma.

From Gray's Inn, this xxijnd of Jan. 1597.<sup>701</sup>

• 1597

A Letter of Advice to the Earl of Essex to take upon him the care of  
Irish causes when Mr. Secretary Cecil was in France.

My singular good Lord,

I do write, because I had no time fully to express my conceit to your Lordship, touching Irish affairs, considering them as they may concern your Lordship; knowing that you will consider them as they may concern the state. That it is one of the aptest particulars for your Lordship to purchase honour upon, I am moved to think for three reasons. Because it is ingenerate in your house, in respect of my Lord your father's noble attempts: because of all the actions of state on foot at this time, the labour resteth most in that particular: and because the world will make a kind of comparison between those that have set it out of frame and those that shall bring it into frame: which kind of honour giveth the quickest kind of reflexion. The transferring this honour upon yourself consisteth in two points: the one, if the principal persons employed come in by you and depend upon you; the other, if your Lordship declare yourself and profess to have a care of that kingdom. For the persons, it falleth out well that your Lordship hath had no interest in the persons of imputation. For neither Sir William Fitzwilliams nor Sir John Norris was yours. Sir William Russell was conceived yours, but was curbed. Sir Coniers Clifford (as I conceive it) dependeth on you, who is said to do well. And if my Lord of Ormond, in the interim, do accommodate things well (as it is said he doth), I take it he hath always had good understanding with your Lordship. So as all things hitherto are not only whole and entire, but of favourable aspect towards your Lordship, if hereafter you choose well. Concerning the care of the business, the general and popular conceit hath been, that Irish causes have been much neglected; whereby the reputation of better care will put life into them. But for a beginning and key to that which shall follow, it were good your Lordship would have some large and serious conference with Sir

<sup>701</sup> Bacon's grant of the reversion of the office of Clerk of the Star Chamber is mentioned in the Gen. Biogr. Diet. iii. 257, it is asserted that, though Sir R. Cecil prevented Bacon from obtaining any high appointment, "he procured him the reversion of the place of Register of the Court of Star Chamber." The last part of the statement may be true, but for the first there appears no sufficient foundation. How it happened that Bacon was not made Solicitor General in 1594 has not been fully explained, but the documents at Bridgewater House tend to prove that Sir Robert Cecil was Bacon's sincere friend, rather than his enemy. In his investigations into abuses and fees of various courts, it seems that Lord Ellesmere projected to include those of the Star Chamber; and among the MSS., are many connected with that subject. Bacon refers to his own expectations and to Lord Ellesmere's inquiries in this letter

William Russell, Sir Richard Bingham, the Earl of Toumond, and Mr. Wilbraham, to know their relation of the past, their opinion of the present, and their advice for the future.

For the points of apposing them, I am too much a stranger to the business to deduce them. But in a general topic, methinks the pertinent interrogations must be, either of the possibility and means of accord, or of the nature of the war, or of the reformation of abuses, or of the joining of practice with force in the disunion of the rebels. If your Lordship doubt to put your sickle into another's harvest; first, time brings it to you in Mr. Secretary's absence: next, being mixt with matter of war, it is fittest for you: and lastly, I know your Lordship will carry it with that modesty and respect towards aged dignity, and that good correspondence towards my dear kinsman and your good friend now abroad, as no inconvenience may grow that way.

Thus have I played the ignorant statesman, which I do to nobody but your Lordship: except to the Queen sometimes when she trains me on. But your Lordship will accept my duty and good meaning, and secure me touching the privateness of that I write.

- **October**

To the Lord of Essex.

It may please your Lordship,

That your Lordship is in *statu quo prius*, no man taketh greater gladness than I do; the rather, because I assure myself that of your eclipses, as this hath been the longest, it shall be the last. As the comical poet saith, *Neque illam tu satis noveras, neque te ilia; hoc ubi fit, ibi non vivitur*. For if I may be so bold as to say what I think, I believe neither your Lordship looked to have found her Majesty in all points as you have done, neither her Majesty percase looked to find your Lordship as she hath done. And therefore I hope upon this experience may grow more perfect knowledge, and upon knowledge more true consent; which I for my part do infinitely wish; as accounting these accidents to be like the fish Remora; which though it be not great, yet hath it a hidden property to hinder the sailing of the ship. And therefore as bearing unto your Lordship, after her Majesty, of all public persons the second duty, I could not but signify unto you my affectionate gratulation. And so I commend your good Lordship to the best preservation of the Divine Majesty.

From Gray's Inn.

- **November, 1597**

To the R. hon. his very good L. the L.  
Keeper of the Great Seale of England be these delivered.

Yt may please your hon. good L.

As I began by letter so I have thought good to go on, signifying to your L., with reference had to my former letter, that I am the same man, and bare the same mind, and am ready to

perform and make good what I have written, desiring your L. not only to discern of this my intention, howsoever in other circumstances, concerning the quick and not the impostume of the office, I may seem to stand; but also to think that I had considered and digested with my self how I mought put in execution my purpose of good will to be carried without all note, as first to a deputation in some apt person your L. mought choose, and so to a passing over to such depute, and then a name in the next degree is soon changed. All which I do now write, both lest your L. mought conceive any alteration or inconstancy in me, and also than you mought think that I had sufficient regard to all by matters of discretion before I would expound any thing to a person of such honour. I am assured the matter is *bonum in se*, and therefore accidents may be accommodate. So in most humble manner I take my leave, commending your L. to God's preservation.

From Gray's Inn, this xijth of Nov, 1597.  
Humbly at your L. honourable commandment,  
Fr. Bacon.

- **September 24, 1598**

To Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary of State.

It may please your Honour,

I humbly pray you to understand how badly I have been used by the enclosed, being a copy of a letter of complaint thereof, which I have written to the Lord Keeper. How sensitive you are of wrongs offered to your blood in my particular, I have had not long since experience. But herein I think your Honour will be doubly sensitive, in tenderness also of the indignity to her Majesty's service for as for me, Mr. Sympson might have had me every day in London; and therefore to belay me, while he knew I came from the Tower about her Majesty's special service, was to my understanding very bold. And two days before he brags he forbore me, because I dined with sheriff More. So as with Mr. Sympson, examinations at the Tower are not so great a privilege, *cundo et redeundo*, as sheriff More's dinner. But this complaint I make in duty; and to that end have also informed my Lord of Essex thereof; for otherwise his punishment will do me no good. So with signification of my humble duty, I commend your Honour to the divine preservation.

From Coleman Street, this 24th of September [1598].  
At your honourable command particularly,  
Fr. Bacon.

- **September 1598**

To Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.

It may please your Lordship,

I am to make humble complaint to your Lordship of some hard dealing offered me by one Sympson, a goldsmith, a man noted much, as I have heard, for extremities and stoutness upon his purse: but yet I could scarcely have imagined he would have dealt either so dishonestly towards myself, or be contemptuously towards her Majesty's service.<sup>702</sup> For this Lombard (pardon me, I most humbly pray your Lordship, if being admonished by the street he dwells in, I give him that name) having me in bond for £300 principal, and I having the last term confessed the action, and by his full and direct consent respited the satisfaction till the beginning of this term to come, without ever giving me warning either by letter or message an execution upon me, having trained me at such time as I came from the Tower, where, Mr. Waad can witness, we attended a service of no mean importance. Neither would he so much as vouchsafe to come and speak with me to take any order in it, though I sent for him divers times, and his house was just by; handling it as upon a despite, being a man I never provoked with a cross word, no nor with many delays. He would have urged it to have had me in prison; which he had done, had not sheriff More, to whom I sent, gently recommended me to an handsome house in Coleman Street, where I am. Now because he will not treat with me, I am enforced humbly to desire your Lordship to send for him, according to your place, to bring him to some reason; and this forthwith, because I continue here to my further discredit and inconvenience, and the trouble of the gentleman with whom I am. I have an hundred pounds lying by me, which he may have, and the rest upon some reasonable time and security; or, if need be, the whole; but with my more trouble. As for the contempt he hath offered, in regard her Majesty's service, to my understanding, carrieth a privilege *cundo et redeundo* in meaner causes, much more in matters of this nature, especially in persons known to be qualified with that place and employment, which, though unworthy, I am vouchsafed, I enforce nothing; thinking I have done my part when I have made it known; and so leave it to your Lordship's honorable consideration.

And so with signification of my humble duty, etc.

- **1599**

To the Lord of Essex.

My Lord,

Conceiving that your Lordship came now up in the person of a good servant to see your sovereign mistress, which kind of compliments are many times *instar magnorum meritorum*,

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<sup>702</sup> The examination taken on September 23, 1598, before Peyton, Waad, and himself, of John Stanley

and therefore that it would be hard for me to find you, I have committed to this poor paper the humble salutations of him that is more yours than any man's and more yours than any man. To these salutations I add a due and joyful gratulation confessing that your Lordship, in your last conference with me before your journey, spake not in vain, (God making it good, that you trusted we should say *Quis putasset*. Which it is found true in a happy sense, so I wish you do not find another *Quis putasset* in the manner of taking this so great a service. But I hope it is, as he said, *Nubecula est, cito transibit*: and that your Lordship's wisdom and obsequious circumspection and patience will turn all to the best. So referring all to some time that I may attend you, I commit you to God's best preservation.

- 1600

To the Earl of Essex.

My Lord,

No man can better expound my doings than your Lordship, which maketh me need to say the less. Only I humbly pray you to believe that I aspire to the conscience and commendation first of *bonus civis*, which with us is a good and true servant to the Queen, and next of *bonus vir*, that is an honest man. I desire your Lordship also to think that though I confess I love some things much better than I love your Lordship, as the Queen's service, her quiet and contentment, her honour, her favour, the good of my country, and the like, yet I love few persons better than yourself, both for gratitude's sake, and for your own virtues, which cannot hurt but by accident or abuse. Of which my good affection I was ever and am ready to yield testimony by any good offices but with such reservations as yourself cannot but allow; for as I was ever sorry that your Lordship should fly with waxen wings, doubting Icarus' fortune, so for the growing up of your own feathers, specially ostrich's, or any other save of a bird of prey, no man shall be more glad. And this is the axletree whereupon I have turned and shall turn; which to signify to you, though I think you are of yourself persuaded as much, is the cause of my writing, and so I commend your Lordship to God's goodness.

From Gray's Inn, this 20th day of July, 1600.

Your Lordship's most humbly,

Fr. Bacon.

- 1601

To Mr. Secretary Cecil.

It may please Your Honour,

Because we live in an age where every man's imperfections is but another's fable; and that there fell out an accident in the Exchequer, which I know not how nor how soon may be traduced,

though I dare trust rumour in it, except it be malicious or extreme partial; I am bold now to possess your Honour, as one that ever I found careful of my advancement and yet more jealous of my wrongs, with the truth of that which passed; deferring my further request until I may attend your honour; and so I continue,

Your Honour's very humble, and particularly bounden,

Fr. Bacon.

Gray's Inn, this 29th of April, 1601.

A true remembrance of the abuse I received of Mr. Attorney General publicly in the Exchequer the first day of term; for the truth whereof I refer myself to all that were present.

I moved to have a reseizure of the lands of Geo. Moore, a relapsed recusant, a fugitive, and a practicing traitor; and shewed better matter for the Queen against the discharge by plea, which is ever with a *salvo jure*. And this I did in as gentle and reasonable terms as might be.

Mr. Attorney kindled at it, and said, "Mr. Bacon, if you have any tooth against me, pluck it out; for it will do you more hurt than all the teeth in your head will do you good." I answered coldly in these very words: "Mr. Attorney, I respect you, I fear you not, and the less you speak of your own greatness, the more I will think of it."

He replied, "I think scorn to stand upon terms of greatness towards you, who are less than little; less than the least;" and other such strange light terms he gave me, with that insulting which cannot be expressed.

Herewith stirred, yet I said no more but this: "Mr. Attorney, do not depress me so far; for I have been your better, and may be again, when it please the Queen." With this he spake, neither I nor himself could tell what, as if he had been born Attorney General: and in the end bade me not meddle with the Queen's business, but with mine own; and that I was unsworn, etc. I told him, sworn or unsworn was all one to an honest man; and that I ever set my service first, and myself second: and wished to God that he would do the like.

Then he said, it were good to clap a *cap. Utlegatum* upon my back! To which I only said he could not; and that he was at fault; for he hunted upon an old scent.

He gave me a number of disgraceful words besides; which I answered with silence, and shewing that I was not moved with them.

### • 1603

An Offer of Service to His Majesty King James upon his first coming in.

It May Please your Most Excellent Majesty,

It is observed upon a place in the Canticles by some, *Ego sum flos campi et lilium convallium*, that, *à dispari*, it is not said, *Ego sum flos horti, et lilium montium*; because the majesty of that person is not inclosed for a few, nor appropriate to the great. And yet notwithstanding, this royal virtue of access, which nature and judgment have planted in your Majesty's mind as the portal of



all the rest, could not of itself (my imperfections considered) have animated me to make oblation of myself immediately to your Majesty, had it not been joined with an habit of like liberty, which I enjoyed with my late dear Sovereign Mistress; a Prince happy in all things, but most happy in such a successor. And yet further and more nearly, I was not a little encouraged, not only upon a supposal that unto your Majesty's sacred ears (open to the air of all virtues) there might perhaps have come some small breath of the good memory of my father, so long a principal counsellor in this your kingdom; but also by the particular knowledge of the infinite devotion and incessant endeavours (beyond the strength of his body, and the nature of the times) which appeared in my good brother towards your Majesty's service; and were on your Majesty's part, through your singular benignity, by many most gracious and lively significations and favours accepted and acknowledged, beyond the merit of anything he could effect. All which endeavours and duties for the most part were common to myself with him, though by design (as between brethren) dissembled.

And therefore, most high and mighty King, my most dear and dread sovereign lord, since now the corner-stone is laid of the mightiest monarchy in Europe; and that God above, who is noted to have a mighty hand in bridling the floods and fluctuations of the seas and of people's hearts, hath, by the miraculous and universal consent (the more strange because it proceedeth from such diversity of causes) in your coming in, given a sign and token what he intendeth in the continuance; I think there is no subject of your Majesty's, who Loveth this island, and is not hollow and unworthy, whose heart is not set, on fire, only to bring you peace-offerings to make you propitious, but to sacrifice himself a burnt-offering to your Majesty's service: amongst which number no man's fire shall be more pure and fervent than mine. But how far forth it shall blaze out, that resteth in your Majesty's employment. For since your fortune in the greatness thereof hath for a time debarred your Majesty of the princely virtue which one calleth the principal, "*Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos*", because your Majesty hath many of yours which are unknown to you, I must leave all to the trial of further time, and so thirsting after the happiness of kissing your royal hand, continue ever, etc.

A Letter to Lord of Northumberland Mentioning a  
Proclamation Drawn for the King at his Entrance.

It may Please Your Lordship,

I do hold it a thing formal and necessary for the King to forerun his coming (be it never so speedy) with some gracious declaration, for the cherishing, entertaining, and preparing of men's affections. For which purpose I have conceived a draft, it being a tiling familiar in my Mistress' times to have my pen used in public writings of satisfaction. The use of this may be in two sorts: first properly, if your Lordship think convenient to show the King any such draft; because the veins and pulses of this state cannot be but best known here; which if your Lordship should do, then I would desire you to withdraw my name, and only signify that you gave some heads of direction of such a matter to one of whose style and pen you had some opinion. The other

collateral; that though your Lordship make no other use of it, yet it is a kind of portraiture of that which I think worthy to be advised by your Lordship to the King, and perhaps more compendious and significant than if I had set them down in articles. I would have attended your Lordship but for some little physic I took. To-morrow morning I will wait on you. So I ever, etc.

A Letter to the Earl of Southampton, upon the King's coming in.

It may please your Lordship,

I would have been very glad to have presented my humble service to your Lordship by my attendance, if I could have foreseen that it should not have been impleading unto you. And therefore, because I would commit no error, I choose to write; assuring your Lordship (how credible soever it may seem to you at first, yet it is as true as a thing that God knoweth) that this great change hath wrought in me no other change towards your Lordship than this, that I may safely be now that which I was truly before.

And so craving no other pardon than for troubling you with this letter, I do not now begin, but continue to be.

Your Lordship's humble and much devoted.

**A Letter to the Earl of Northumberland after he had been with the King.**

It may please your good Lordship,

I would not have lost this journey, and yet I have not that for which I went. For I have had no private conference to any purpose with the King; and no more hath almost any other English. For the speech his Majesty admitteth with some noblemen is rather matter of grace than of business. With the Attorney he spake, being urged by the Treasurer of Scotland, but yet no more than needs must. After I had received his Majesty's first welcome, I was promised private access; but yet, not knowing what matter of service your Lordship's letter might carry (for I saw it not), and well knowing that primeness in advertisement is much, I chose rather to deliver it to Sir Thomas Erskins, than to cool it in my hands, upon expectation of access. Your Lordship shall find a prince the farthest from the appearance of vain-glory that may be, and rather like a prince of the ancient form than of the latter time. His speech is swift and cursory, and in the full dialect of his country; and in point of business, short; in point of discourse, large. He affecteth popularity by gracing such as he hath heard to be popular, and not by any fashions of his own. He is thought somewhat general in his favours, and his virtue of access is rather because he is much abroad and in press, than that he giveth easy audience about serious things. He hasteneth to a mixture of both kingdoms and nations, faster perhaps than policy will conveniently bear. I told your Lordship once before, that (methought) his Majesty rather asked counsel of the time past than of the time to come. But it is early yet to ground any settled opinion. For the particularities I refer to conference, having in these generals gone further in so tender an argument than I would have done, were not both the reader and the bearer assured.

- **July 3, 1603**

To Robert, Lord Cecil.

It may please your good Lordship,

They say late thanks are ever best. But the reason was, I thought to have seen your Lordship ere this. Howsoever, I shall never forget this your last favour amongst others; and it grieveth me not a little, that I find myself of no use to such an honourable and kind friend.

For that matter, I think I shall desire your assistance for the punishment of the contempt; not that I would use the privilege in future time, but because I would not have the dignity of the King's service prejudiced in my instance. But herein I will be ruled by your Lordship.

It is fit likewise, though much against my mind, that I let your Lordship know that I shall not be able to pay the money within the time by your Lordship undertaken, which was a fortnight. Nay, money I find so hard to come by at this time, as I thought to have become an humble suitor to your Honour to have sustained me with your credit for the present from argent debts, with taking up £300 till I can put away some land. But I am so forward with some sales, as this request I hope I may Forbear.

For my estate (because your Honour hath care of it), it is thus: I shall be able with selling the skirts of my living in Hertfordshire to preserve the body; and to leave myself, being clearly out of debt, and having some money in my pocket, £300 land per annum, with a fair house, and the ground well timbered. This is now my labour.

For my purpose or course, I desire to meddle as little as I can in the King's causes, his Majesty now abounding in counsel; and to follow my private thrift and practice, and to marry with some convenient advancement. For as for any ambition, I do assure your Honour mine is quenched. In the Queen's, my excellent Mistress' time the *quorum* was small; her service was a kind of freehold, and it was a more solemn time. All those points agreed with my nature and judgment. My ambition now I shall only put upon my pen, whereby I shall be able to maintain memory and merit of the times succeeding.

Lastly, for this divulged and almost prostituted title of Knighthood, I could without charge, by your Honour's mean, be content to have it, both because of this late disgrace, and because I have three new Knights in my mess in Gray's-Inn commons; and because I have found out an Alderman's daughter, an handsome maiden, to my liking.

So as if your Honour will find the time, I will come to the Court from Gorhambury upon any warning. How my sales go forward, your Lordship shall in a few days hear. Meanwhile, if you will not be pleased to take further day with this lewd fellow, I hope your Lordship will not suffer him to take any part of the penalty, but principal, interest, and costs.

So I remain your Lordship's most bounden,

Fr. Bacon.

3 July, 1603.

- **July 16, 1603**

To Robert, Lord Cecil.

It may please your good Lordship,

In answer of your last letter, your money shall be ready before your day; principal, interest, and costs of suit. So the sheriff promised, when I released errors; and a Jew takes no more. The rest cannot be forgotten; for I cannot forget your Lordship's *dum memor ipse mei*; and if there have been *aliquid nimis*, it shall be amended. And, to be plain with your Lordship, that will quicken me now, which slackened me before. Then I thought you might have had more use of me, than now I suppose you are like to have. Not but I think the impediment will be rather in my mind than in the matter or times. But to do you service, I will come out of my religion at any time. For my Knighthood, I wish the manner might be such as might grace me, since the matter will not; I mean, that I might not be merely gregarious in a troop. The coronation is at hand. It may please your Lordship to let me hear from you speedily. So I continue your Lordship's ever much bounden,

Fr. Bacon.

From Gorhambury, this 16th of July, 1603.

- **August 1604**

Indorsed by Lord Ellesmere, Mr. Colman, his acquaintance for the Jewel.

I, Morgan Colman, have received from the Right honourable the Baron of Ellesmere, Lord High Chancellor of England, by the hands of Mr. Arthur Manwayringe, a Jewel of Susanna, made of gold, set with diamonds and rubies, upon which I lent to Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, fifty pounds; I say received the said Jewell the xxjst August, 1604.

Mor. Colman.<sup>703</sup>

- **November 1605**

To Mr. Matthew.

Sir,

I perceive yon have some time when you can be content to think of your friends; from whom since you have borrowed yourself, you do well, not paying the principal, to send the interest at six months day. The relation which here I send you inclosed carries the truth of that which is public;

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<sup>703</sup> Had this document related to any man inferior to Bacon, it would hardly have been thought worth printing. He was knighted in July 1603, having been made one of the King's Counsel on 21st April, 1603 and not on the 25th August, 1604. Morgan Colman was one of the persons who had the management of the household of Lord Ellesmere

and though my little leisure might have required a briefer, yet the matter would have endured and asked a larger.

I have now at last taught that child to go, at the swaddling whereof you were. My work touching the *Proficiency and Advancement of Learning* I have put into two books; whereof the former, which you saw, I count but as a Page to the latter. I have now published them both; whereof I thought it a small adventure to send you a copy, who have more right to it than any man, except Bishop Andrews, who was my inquisitor.

The death of the late great Judge concerned not me, because the other was not removed. I write this in answer to your good wishes; which I return not as flowers of Florence, but as you mean them; whom I conceive place cannot alter, no more than time shall me, except it be to the better.

- **August 4, 1606**

To the Right Worshipful his very loving Cousin, Sir Thomas Post. Hobby. <sup>704</sup>

Good Cousin,

No man knoweth better than yourself what part I bear in grief for Mr. Bettenham's departure. For in good faith I never thought myself at better liberty than when he and I were by ourselves together. His end was Christian and comfortable, in partite memory and in partite charity, and the disposition of that he left wise, just, and charitable.

For your bonds or bills, I take it they be three, amounting to about nine score pounds; I left them with Mr. Peccam, because of your nearness to me. But I shall be able and will undertake to satisfy your desire that you may take time till Allhallow tide. But then we shall need it, lest we subject ourselves to importunity and clamour. Your privy seal is forthcoming; but no money was by Mr. Bettenham by it received; and if the conduit run, we will come with our pitcher, as you write.

Your loving congratulation for my doubled life, as you call it, I thank you for. No man may better conceive the joys of a good wife than yourself, with whom I dare not compare. But I thank God I have not taken a thorn out of my foot to put it into my side. For as my state is somewhat amended, so I have no other circumstance of complaint. But herein we will dilate when we meet; which meeting will be much more joyful if my Lady bear a part to mend the music: to whom I pray let me in all kindness be commended.

And so I rest yours assured,

Fr. Bacon.

This 4th of August, 1606.

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<sup>704</sup> Youngest son of Bacon's Aunt Elizabeth (now Lady Russell) by her first marriage

- **September 1606**

A Letter of Request to Dr. Playfere, to Translate  
*The Advancement of Learning* into Latin.

Mr. Doctor Playfer,

A great desire will take a small occasion to hope and put in trial that which is desired. It pleased you a good while since to express unto me the good liking which you conceived of my book of the *Advancement of Learning*; and that more significantly seemed to me than out of courtesy or civil respect. Myself, as I then took contentment in your approbation thereof so I should esteem and acknowledge not only my contentment increased, but my labours advanced, if I might obtain your help in that nature which I desire. Wherein, before I set down in plain terms my request unto you, I will open myself what it was which I chiefly sought and propounded to myself in that work; that you may perceive that which I now desire to be pursuant thereupon. If I do not err (for any judgment that a man maketh of his own doings had need be spoken with a *Si nunquam fallit imago*, I have this opinion, that if I had sought my own commendation, it had been a much fitter course for me to have done as gardeners use to do, by taking their seeds and slips, and rearing them first into plants, and so uttering them in pots, when they are in flower, and in their best state. But for as much as my end was merit of the state of learning to my power, and not glory; and because my purpose was rather to excite other men's wits than to magnify my own: I was desirous to prevent the incertaintness of my own life and times, by uttering rather seeds than plants: nay and funder (as the proverb is) by sowing with the basket, than with the hand.

Wherefore, since I have only taken upon me to ring a bell to call other wits together (which is the meanest office), it cannot but be consonant to my desire, to have that bell heard as far as can be. And since that they are but sparks, which can work but upon matter prepared, I have the more reason to wish that those sparks may fly abroad, that they may the better find and light upon those minds and spirits which are apt to be kindled. And therefore the privateness of the language considered wherein it is written, excluding so many readers, (as, on the other side, the obscurity of the argument in many parts of it excludeth many others), I must account it a second birth of that work, if it might be translated into Latin, without manifest loss of the sense and matter. For this purpose I could not represent to myself any man into whose hands I do more earnestly desire that work should fall than yourself; for by that I have heard and read, I know no man a greater master in commanding words to serve matter.

Nevertheless, I am not ignorant of the worth of your labours, whether such as your place and profession imposeth on you, or such as your own virtue may, upon your voluntary election, take in hand. But I can lay before you no other persuasions than either the work itself may affect you with, or the honour of his Majesty, to whom it is dedicated, or your particular inclination to myself; who, as I never took so much comfort in any labours of my own, so I shall never acknowledge myself more obliged in any thing to the labour of another, than in that which shall

assist this. Which your labour if I can by my place, profession, means, friends, travel, word, deed, requite unto you, I shall esteem myself so straitly bound thereunto, as I shall be ever most ready both to take and seek occasions of thankfulness. So leaving it nevertheless *salva amicitia* (as reason is) to your own good liking, I remain.

- **December 1607**

A Letter to Sir Thomas Bodley, after he had imparted to  
Sir Thomas a writing entitled *Cogitata et Visa*.

Sir,

In respect of my going down to my house: to the country, I shall have miss of my papers; which I pray you therefore to return unto me. You are, I beat you witness, slothful, and you help me nothing; so as I am half in conceit that you affect not the argument; for myself I know well you love and affect. I can say no more to you but *non canimus surdis, respondent omnia sylvæ*. If you be not of the lodgings chalked up (whereof I speak in my preface) I am but to pass by your door. But if I had you but a fortnight at Gorhambury, I would make you tell me another tale; or else I would add a Cogitation against Libraries, and be revenged on you that way. I pray send me some good news of Sir Thomas Smith, and commend me very kindly to him. So I rest.

- **December 24, 1607**

A Letter of Expostulation to Sir Vincent Skinner.

Sir Vincent Skinner,

I see that by your needless delays this matter is grown to a new question; wherein for the matter itself, if it had been stayed at the beginning by my Lord Treasurer and Mr. Chancellor, I should not so much have stood upon it; for the great and daily travels which I take in his Majesty's service either are rewarded in themselves, in that they are but my duty, or else may deserve a much greater matter. Neither can I think amiss of any man, that in furtherance of the King's benefit moved the doubt, that knew not what warrant you had. But my wrong is, that you having had my Lord Treasurer's and Mr. Chancellor's warrant for payment above a month since, you, I say, making your payments belike upon such differences as are better known to yourself, than agreeable with due respect and his Majesty's service, have delayed it all this time, otherwise than I mought have expected either from our ancient acquaintance, or from that regard which one in your place may own to one in mine. By occasion whereof there ensueth to me a greater inconvenience, that now my name, in sort, must be in question amongst you, as if I were a man likely either to demand that that were unreasonable or be denied that which is reasonable; and this must be, because you may pleasure men at pleasure. But this I leave with this; that it is the first matter wherein I had occasion to discern of your friendship, which I see to fall to this; that whereas Mr. Chancellor the last time,

in my man's hearing, very honourably said that he would not discontent any in my place, it seems that you have no such caution. But my writing unto you now is to know of you where now the stay is, that I may do that which is fit for me without being any more beholding unto you, to whom indeed no man ought to be beholden in these cases in a right course.

And so I bid you farewell.

Fr. Bacon.

24th Dec. 1607.

### **To Mr. Matthew.**

Sir,

Because you shall not lose your labour this afternoon, which now I must needs spend with my Lord Chancellor, I send my desire to you in this letter, that you will take care not to leave the writing, which I left with you last, with any man, so long as that he may be able to take a copy of it; because first it must be censured by you, and then considered again by me. The thing which I expect most from you is, that you would read it carefully over by yourself; and to make some little note in writing, where you think (to speak like a critic) that I do perhaps *indormiscere*; or where I do *indulgere genio*; or where, in fine, I give any manner of disadvantage to myself. This *super totam materiam*, you must not fail to note; besides, all such words and phrases as you cannot like; for you know in how high account I have your judgment.

### **To Mr. Matthew, imprisoned for religion.**

Mr. Matthew,

Do not think me forgetful or altered towards you. But if I should say I could do you any good, I should make my power more than it is. I do hear that which I am right sorry for; that you grow more impatient and busy than at first; which maketh me exceedingly fear the issue of that which seemeth not to stand at a stay; I myself am not, of doubt, that you have been miserably abused, when you were first seduced; but that which I take in compassion, others may take severity. I pray God, that understandeth us all better than we understand one another, contain you (even as I hope He will) at the least within the bounds of loyalty to his Majesty, and natural piety towards your country.

And I intreat you much, sometimes to meditate upon the extreme effects of superstition in this last, Powder Treason; lit to be tabled and pictured in the chambers of meditation, as another hell above the ground; and well justifying the censure of the heathen, that superstition is far worse than atheism; by how much it is less evil to have no opinion of God at all, than such as is impious towards his divine majesty and goodness.

Good Mr. Matthew, receive yourself back from these courses of perdition. Willing to have written a great deal more, I continue.



- **August 19, 1608**

Indorsed by Lord Ellesmere, Calendars of the Star Chamber,  
delivered to Sir Fr. Bacon, August 19, 1608.

In Camera Stellata. [Star Chamber]

One Book of the Calendar of Orders, beginning anno primo et secundo Henr. Septimi, and ending in termino Trinitatis, anno XXX° Henr. viijvi.

One other Book of Calendar of Orders, beginning in termino Michis, anno XXX° H. 8, and ending in termino Hillarij, anno vto Eliz. Rnæ.

One other Book of Calendar of Orders, beginning termino Pasch. anno quinto dñæ Reginæ Eliz., and ending in Trinity XXX° dictæ Rnæ.

One other Calendar, in lose papers, beginning in termino Michis, anno XXX° dictæ Eliz., and ending at Trinity xxxij° dictæ Eliz.

One other Book, or Alphabet Calendar, containing all such matters as were debated in the Star Chamber from Mich, terme, in the 8 year of Kinge Henry the 8, until Trinity in the xiiijth year of his reign.

One other Book, or Alphabet Calendar, to give light of divers especial presidents, under Mr. Mynat's hand. The several Calendars above said were delivered to the right honour, the Lord Chancellor, by Richard Dallydowne and Edward Hawkyns, 19 August, 1608.

Read this 19th of Aug. 1608, of the hands of the right Hon. the L. Chancellor, the books and papers above written.

Fr. Bacon.  
Richard Deladoue.  
Edw. Hawkyns.

- **December 1608**

A Letter to Mr. Matthew, touching *Instauratio Magna*.

Mr. Matthew,

I heartily thank you for your letter of the 10th of February, and am glad to receive from you matter both of encouragement and advertisement touching my writings. For my part I do wish that since there is almost no *lumen siccum* in the world, but all *madidum* and *maceratum*, infused in affections and bloods or humours, that these things of mine had those separations that might make them more acceptable; so that they claim not so much acquaintance of the present times, as they be thereby the less like to last. And to show you that I have some purpose to new mould them, I send you a leaf or two of the Preface, carrying some figure of the whole work; wherein I

purpose to take that which I count real and effectual of both writings; and chiefly to add pledge if not payment to my promise. I send you also a memorial of Queen Elizabeth, to requite your elogy of the late Duke of Florence's felicity. Of this, when you were here, I showed you some model; though at that time me thought you were more willing to hear Julius Caesar than Queen Elizabeth commended. But this which I send is more full, and hath more of the narrative: and further, hath one part that I think will not be disagreeable either to you or that place; being the true tracks of her proceedings towards the Catholics, which are infinitely mistaken. And though I do not imagine they will pass allowance there, yet they will gain your excuse.

I find Mr. Le Zure to use you well (I mean his tongue of you), which shows you either honest or wise. But this I speak merrily. For in good faith I do conceive hope that you will so govern yourself, as we may take you as assuredly for a good subject and patriot, as you take yourself for a good Christian; and so we may again enjoy your company, and you your conscience, if it may no otherwise be. For my part, assure yourself that (as we say in the law) *mutatis mutandis*, my love and good wishes to you are not diminished. And so I remain.

**To Mr. Matthew.**

Sir,

Two letters of mine are now already walking towards you; but so that we might meet, it were no matter though our letters should lose their way. I make a shift in the mean time to be glad of your approaches, and would be more glad to be an agent for your presence, who have been a patient by your absence. If your body by indisposition make you acknowledge the healthful air of your native country, much more do I assure myself that you continue to have your mind no way estranged. And as my trust with the state is above suspicion, so my knowledge both of your Loyalty and honest nature will ever make me show myself your faithful friend without scruple. You have reason to commend that gentleman to me, by whom you sent your last, although his having travelled so long amongst the sadder nations of the world make him much the less easy upon small acquaintance to be understood. I have sent you some copies of my book of the *Advancement*, which you desired; and a little work of my recreation, which you desired not. My *Instauration* I reserve for our conference; it sleeps not.

Those works of the Alphabet are in my opinion of less use to you where you are now, than at Paris; and therefore I conceived that you had sent me a kind of tacit countermand of your former request. But in regard that some friends of yours have still insisted here, I send them to you; and for my part, I value your own reading more than your publishing them to others. Thus, in extreme haste, I have scribbled to you I know not what, which therefore is the less affected, and for that very reason will not be esteemed the less by you.

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**To Mr. Matthew.**

Sir,

I thank you for your last, and pray you to believe that your liberty in giving opinion of those writings which I sent you, is that which I sought, which I expected, and which I take in exceeding good part; so good as that it makes me recontinue, or rather continue, my hearty wishes of your company here, that so you might use the same liberty concerning my actions which now you exercise concerning my writings. For that of Queen Elizabeth, your judgment of the temper and truth of that part which concerns some of her foreign proceedings concurs fully with the judgment of others, to whom I have communicated part of it; and as things go, I suppose they are likely to be more and more justified and allowed. And whereas you say, for some other part, that it moves and opens a fair occasion and broad way into some field of contradiction: on the other side it is written to me from the leiger at Paris, and some others also, that it carries a manifest impression of truth with it, and that it even convinces as it goes. These are their very words; which I write not for mine own glory, but to show what variety of opinion rises from the disposition of several readers. And I must confess my desire to be, that my writings should not court the present time, or some few places, in such sort as might make them either less general to persons, or less permanent in future ages.

As for the *Instauration*, your so full approbation thereof I read with much comfort, by how much more my heart is upon it; and by how much less I expected consent and concurrence ill a matter so obscure. Of this I can assure you, that though many things of real hope decay with youth (and multitude of civil businesses is wont to diminish the price, though not the delight, of contemplations), yet the proceeding in that work doth gain with me upon my affection and desire, both by years and businesses.

And therefore I hope, even by this, that it is well pleasing to God, from whom and to whom all good moves. To Him I most heartily commend you.

• **October 10, 1609**

A Letter to Mr. Matthew, upon sending to him part of *Instauratio Magna*.

Mr. Matthew,

I plainly perceive by your affectionate writing touching my work, that one and the same thing affected us both; which is the good end to which it is dedicate; for as to any ability of mine, it cannot merit that degree of approbation. For your caution for churchmen and church matters, as for any impediment it might be to the applause and celebrity of my work, it moveth me not; but as it may hinder the fruit and good which may come of a quiet and calm passage to the good port to which it is bound, I hold it a just respect; so as to fetch a fair wind I go not too far about. But the truth is, I shall have no occasion to meet them in my way except it lie as they will needs confederate themselves with Aristotle, who you know, is intemperately magnified with

the schoolmen; and is also allied (as I take it) to the Jesuits, by Faber, who was a companion of Loyola, and a great Aristotelian.

I send you at this time the only part which hath any harshness; and yet I framed to myself an opinion, that whosoever allowed well of that preface which you so much commend, will not dislike, or at least ought not to dislike, this other speech of preparation: for it is written out of the same spirit, and out of the same necessity. Nay, it doth more fully lay open that the question between me and the ancients is not of the virtue of the race, but of the tightness of the way. And to speak truth, it is to the other but as *palma to pugnus*, part of the same thing more large. You conceive aright that in this and the other you have commission to impart and communicate them to others according to your discretion.

Other matters I write not of. Myself am like the miller of Huntingdon, that was wont to pray for peace amongst the willows; for while the winds blew, the wind-mills wrought, and the water-mill was less customed. So I see that controversies of religion must hinder the advancement of sciences. Let me conclude with my perpetual wish towards yourself, that the approbation of yourself, by your own discreet and temperate carriage, may restore you to your country, and your friends to your society.

And so I commend you to God's goodness.

Gray's Inn, this 10th of October, 1609.

**A Letter to the Bishop of Ely, upon sending his writing entitled *Cogitata et Visa*.**

My Very Good Lord,

Now your Lordship hath been so long in the church and the palace, disputing between kings and popes, methinks you should take pleasure to look into the field, and refresh your mind with some matter of philosophy, though that science be now through axed a child again, and left to boys and young men; and because you were wont to make me believe you took liking to my writings, I send you some of this vacation's fruits; and thus much more of my mind and purpose. I hasten not to publish; perishing I would prevent. And I am forced to respect as well my times as the matter. For with me it is thus, and I think with all men in my case: if I bind myself to an argument, it loadeth my mind; but if I rid my mind of the present cogitation, it is rather a recreation. This hath put me into these miscellanies; which I purpose to suppress, if God give me leave to write a just and perfect volume of philosophy, which I go on with though slowly. I send not your Lordship too much, lest it may glut you. Now let me tell you what my desire is. If your Lordship be so good now, as when you were the good Dean of Westminster, my request to you is, that not by pricks, but by notes, you would mark unto me whatsoever shall seem unto you either not current in the style, or harsh to credit and opinion, or inconvenient for the person of the writer; for no man can be judge and party; and when our minds judge by reflection of ourselves, they are more subject to error. And though for the matter itself my judgment be in some things fixed, and not accessible by any men's judgment that goeth not my way: yet even

in those things, the admonition of a friend may make me express myself diversely. I would have come to your Lordship, but that I am hastening to my house in the country. And so I commend your Lordship to God's goodness.

- **February 17, 1610**

A Letter to Mr. Matthew, upon sending his book *De Sapientia Veterum*.

Mr. Matthew,

I do heartily thank you for your letter of the 24th of August from Salamanca; and in recompense thereof, I send you a little work of mine that hath begun to pass the world. They tell me my Latin is turned into silver, and become current. Had you been here, you should have been my inquisitor before it came forth: but I think the greatest inquisitor in Spain will allow it. But one thing you must pardon me if I make no haste to believe, that the world should be grown to such an ecstasy as to reject truth in philosophy, because the author dissenteth in religion; no more than they do by Aristotle or Averroes. My great work goeth forward; and after my manner, I alter ever when I add. So that nothing is finished till all be finished. This I have written in the midst of a term and parliament; thinking no time so precious but that I should talk of these matters with so good and dear a friend. And so with my wonted wishes I leave you to God's goodness.

From Gray's Inn, the 17th of February, 1610.

- **August 27, 1610**

To Sir Michael Hickes.<sup>705</sup>

Sir Michael Hicks,

It is but a wish and not any ways to desire it to your trouble. But I heartily wish I had your company here at my Mother's funeral, which I purpose on Thursday next in the forenoon. I dare promise you a good sermon to be made by Mr. Fenton, the preacher of Gray's Inn; for he never maketh other. Feast I make none. But if I mought have your company for two or three days at my house I should pass over this mournful occasion with more comfort. If your son had continued at St. Julian's it mought have been an adamant to have drawn you; but now if you come I must say it is only for my sake. I commend myself to my Lady, and commend my wife to you both, and rest yours ever assured.

Fr. Bacon.

This Monday the 27th of August, 1610.

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<sup>705</sup> Robert Cecil's secretary

- **October 1610**

Letter to Isaac Causabon the great scholar.

Understanding from your letter to the Lord Cary that you approve my writings, I not only took it as a matter for congratulation with myself, but thought I ought to write and tell you how much pleasure it had given me. You are right in supposing that my great desire is to draw the sciences out of their hiding-places into the light. For indeed to write at leisure that which is to be read at leisure matters little; but to bring about the better ordering of man's life and business, with all its troubles and difficulties, by the help of sound and true contemplations, this is the thing I aim at. How great an enterprise in this kind I am attempting, and with what small helps, you will learn perhaps hereafter. In the meantime you would do me a very great pleasure if you would in like manner make known to me what you are yourself revolving and endeavouring and working at. For I hold that conjunction of minds and studies has a greater part in friendships than civil ties and offices of occasion. Surely I think no man could ever more truly say of himself with the Psalm than I can, *My soul hath been a stranger in her pilgrimage*. So I seem to have my conversation among the ancients more than among these with whom I live. And why should I not likewise converse rather with the absent than the present, and make my friendships by choice and election, rather than suffer them, as the manner is, to be settled by accident? But to return to my purpose. If in anything my friendship can be of use or grace to you or yours, assure yourself of my good and diligent service: and so biddeth you farewell.

Your friend, etc.

- **February 17, 1610**

A Letter to Mr. Matthew upon sending his book *De Sapientia Veterum*.

Mr. Matthew,

I do heartily thank you for your letter of the 24th of August from Salamanca; and in recompense thereof, I send you a little work of mine that hath begun to pass the world. They tell me my Latin is turned into silver, and become current. Had you been here, you should have been my inquisitor before it came forth: but I think the greatest inquisitor in Spain will allow it. But one thing you must pardon me if I make no haste to believe, that the world should be grown to such an ecstasy as to reject truth in philosophy, because the author dissenteth in religion; no more than they do by Aristotle or Averroes. My great work goeth forward; and after my manner, I alter ever when I add. So that nothing is finished till all be finished. This I have written in the midst of a term and parliament; thinking no time so precious but that I should talk of these matters with so good and dear a friend. And so with my wonted wishes I leave you to God's goodness.

From Gray's Inn, the 17th of February, 1610.

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- 1611

To the King, desiring to succeed in the Attorney's place.

It may please your Majesty,

Your great and princely favours towards me in advancing me to place, and that which is to me of no less comfort, your Majesty's benign and gracious acceptation from time to time of my poor services, much above the merit and value of them, hath almost brought me to an opinion, that I may sooner perchance be wanting to myself in not asking, than find your Majesty's goodness wanting to me in any my reasonable and modest desires. And therefore perceiving how at this time preferments of the law fly about mine ears, to some above me and to some below me, I did conceive your Majesty may think it rather a kind of dullness, or want of faith, than modesty, if I should not come with my pitcher to Jacob's well, as others do. Wherein I shall propound to your Majesty that which tendeth not so much to the raising of my fortune, as to the settling of my mind: being sometimes assailed with this cogitation, that by reason of my slowness to sue and apprehend occasions upon the sudden, keeping one plain course of painful service, I may in *fine dierum* be in danger to be neglected and forgotten.

And if that should be, then were it much better for me, now while I stand in your Majesty's good opinion (though unworthy), and have some little reputation in the world, to give over the course I am in, and to make proof to do you some honour by my pen, either by writing some faithful narrative of your happy though not untraduced times; or by recompiling your laws, which I perceive your Majesty laboureth with and hath in your head, as Jupiter had Pallas; or some other the like work (for without our endeavour to do you honour I would not live); than to spend my wits and time in this laborious place wherein I serve, if it shall be deprived of those outward ornaments and inward comforts which it was wont to have, in respect of an assured succession to some place of more dignity and rest: which seemeth to be an hope now altogether casual, if not wholly intercepted. Wherefore, not to hold your Majesty long, my humble suit to you is that which I think I should not without suit be put by, which is, that I may obtain your assurance to succeed (if I live) into the Attorney's place, whensoever it shall be void; it being but the natural and immediate step and rise which the place I now hold hath ever in a sort made claim to, and almost never failed of. In this suit I make no friends to your Majesty, though your Majesty knoweth that I want not those which are near and assured, but rely upon no other motive than your grace; resting your most humble subject and servant.

- January 8, 1611

To Sir Michael Hickes, Knight.

Sir Michael,

I do use as you know to pay my debts with time. But indeed if you will have a good and partite colour in a carnation stocking it must be long in the dyeing. I have some scruple of

conscience whether it was my Lady's stockings or her daughter's, and I would have the restitution to be to the right person, else I shall not have absolution. Therefore I have sent to them both, desiring them to wear them for my sake, as I did wear theirs for mine own sake. So wishing you all a good new year, I rest Yours assured,

Fr. Bacon.  
Gray's Inn, this 8th of Jan. 1611.

- **October 21, 1611**

A Letter of thanks to the King upon Mr. Attorney's sickness.

It may please your most Excellent Majesty,

I do understand by some of my good friends, to my great comfort, that your Majesty hath in mind your Majesty's royal promise (which to me is *anchora spei*), touching the Attorney's place. I hope Mr. Attorney shall do well. I thank God I wish no man's death; nor much mine own life, more than to do your Majesty service. For I account my life the accident, and my duty the substance. But this I will be bold to say; if it please God that I ever serve your Majesty in the Attorney's place, I have, known an Attorney Cooke, and an Attorney Hubberd, both worthy men and far above myself; but if I should not find a middle way between their two dispositions and carriage, I should not satisfy myself. But these things are far or near, as it shall please God. Meanwhile I most humbly pray your Majesty accept my sacrifice of thanksgiving for your gracious favour.

God preserve your Majesty.  
I ever remain.

- **January 1, 1612**

A Letter to the Lord Treasurer Salisbury upon a New Year's Tide.

It may please your good Lordship,

I would intreat the new year to answer for the old, in my humble thanks to your Lordship, both for many your favours, and chiefly that upon the occasion of Mr. Attorney's infirmity I found your Lordship even as I would wish. This doth increase a desire in me to express my thankful mind to your Lordship; hoping that though I find age and decays grow upon me, yet I may have a flash or two of spirit left to do you service. And I do protest before God, without compliment or any light vein of mind, that if I knew in what course of life to do you best service, I would take it, and make my thoughts, which now fly to many pieces, be reduced to that centre. But all this is no more than I am, which is not much, but yet the entire of him that is.



- **May 29, 1612**

The beginning of a letter to the King immediately after my Lord Treasurer's decease.

It may please your Majesty,

If I shall seem in these few lines to write *majora quam pro fortuna*, it may please your Majesty to take it to be an effect not of presumption but of affection. For of the one I was never noted; and for the other I could never show it hitherto to the full; having been as a hawk tied to another's fist, that mought sometimes bait and proffer but could never fly. And therefore if, as it was said to one that spake great words, *Amice, verba tua desiderant civitatem*, so your Majesty say to me, "Bacon, your words require a place to speak them;" I must answer, that place or not place is in your Majesty to add or refrain: and though I never go higher but to Heaven, yet your Majesty...[The rest remains wanted].

- **May 31, 1612**

Letter to the King immediately after the Lord Treasurer's death.

It may please your excellent Majesty,

I cannot but endeavour to merit, considering your preventing graces, which is the occasion of these few lines.

Your Majesty hath lost a great subject and a great servant. But if I should praise him in propriety, I should say that he was a fit man to keep things from growing worse but no very fit man to reduce things to be much better. For he loved to have the eyes of all Israel a little too much upon himself, and to have all business still under the hammer and like clay in the hands of the potter, to mould it as he thought good; so that bewail more *in operatione* than *in opere*. And though he had fine passages of action, yet the real conclusions came slowly on. So that although your Majesty hath grave counsellors and worthy persons left, yet you do as it were turn a leaf, wherein if your Majesty shall give a frame and constitution to matters, before you place the persons, in my simple opinion it were not amiss. But the great matter and most instant for the present, is the consideration of a Parliament, for two effects: the one for the supply of your estate; the other for the better knitting of the hearts of your subjects unto your Majesty, according to your infinite merit; for both which, Parliaments have been and are the ancient and honourable remedy.

Now because I take myself to have a little skill in that region, as one that ever affected that your Majesty mought in all your causes not only prevail, but prevail with satisfaction of the inner man: and though no man can say but I was a perfect and peremptory royalist, yet every man makes me believe that I was never one hour out of credit with the lower house: my desire is to know whether your Majesty will give me Leave to meditate and propound unto you some preparative remembrances touching the future Parliament.

Your Majesty may truly perceive, that, though I cannot challenge to myself either invention, or judgment, or elocution, or method, or any of those powers, yet my offering is care and observance: and as my good old mistress wont to call me her watch-candle, because it pleased her to say I did continually burn (and yet she suffered me to waste almost to nothing), so I must much more owe the like duty to your Majesty, by whom my fortunes have been settled and raised. And so craving pardon, I rest.

Your Majesty's most humble servant devote,  
F.B.

- **August 7, 1613**

To the King.

It may please your most Excellent Majesty.

Having understood of the death of the Lord Chief Justice, I do ground in all humbleness an assured hope, that your Majesty will not think of any other but your poor servants, your attorney and your solicitor (one of them) for that place. Else we shall be like Noah's dove, not knowing where to rest our foot. For the places of rest after the extreme painful places wherein we serve have need to be, either the Lord Chancellor's place, or the Mastership of the Rolls, or the places of the two chief justices: whereof, for the first, I would be almost loth to live to see this worthy counsellor fail. The mastership of the Rolls is blocked with a reversion. My Lord Coke is like to outlive us both. So as if this turn fail, I for my part know not whither to look. I have served your Majesty above a prentice hood, full seven years and more, as your solicitor, which is, I think, one of the painfulest places in your kingdom, specially as my employments have been; and God hath brought mine own years to fifty-two, which I think is older than ever any solicitor continued unpreferred.

My suit is principally that you would remove Mr. Attorney to the place; if he refuse, then I hope your Majesty will seek no further than myself, that I may at last, out of your Majesty's grace and favour, step forwards to a place either of more comfort or more ease. Besides, how necessary it is for your Majesty to strengthen your service amongst the Judges by a Chief Justice which is sure to your prerogative, your Majesty's knoweth. Therefore I cease further to trouble your Majesty, humbly craving pardon, and relying wholly upon your goodness and remembrance, and resting in all true humbleness.

Your Majesty's most devoted and faithful subject and servant,  
Fr. Bacon.

- **October 1613**

To the King.

It may please your Majesty,

A full heart is like a full pen; it can hardly make any distinguished work. The more I look into mine own weakness the more I must magnify your favours, and the more I behold your favours the more I must consider mine own weakness. This is my hope, that God who hath moved your heart to favour me will write your service in my heart. Two things I may promise; for though they be not mine own yet they are surer than mine own, because they are God's gifts; that is integrity and industry. And therefore whensoever I shall make my account to you, I shall do it in these words, *ecce tibi lucrifeci*, and not *ecce mihi lucrifeci*. And for industry, I shall take to me in this procuration not Martha's part, to be busied in many things, but Mary's part, which [is] to intend your service; for the less my abilities are the more they ought to be contracted *ad unum*. For the present I humbly pray your Majesty to accept my most humble thanks and vows as the forerunners of honest services which I shall always perform with a faithful heart.

Your Majesty's most obedient servant,  
Fr. Bacon.

- **November 23, 1614**

Indorsed by Lord Ellesmere, The Lady Bacon, touching her husband's suit in the Chancery.

Sir Fra. Bacon. To the Right Honourable her very good Lord,  
Thomas Lord Ellesmere, Lord Chancellor of England.

Right honourable.

My humble duty to your good Lordship. My husband hath signified to me the honourable favour your Lords, hath lately showed in his just cause and mine, for the which I am bound ever to pray for your Lords. I understand your Lords, is pleased to require the names of such whom I choose to trust for receiving the money, and the new statute and assurance in that behalf to be taken. In a former letter to your Lordship I did name Sir Thomas Blount a worthy gentleman, my friend and neighbour here in the country. Sir Francis Barnham, my near kinsman, and Sir John Constable, who hath married my sister. Thees three I did and do still make choice of, and withal one Mr. Fitch, a citizen of London, an honest man, whom I am willing to join with them for a fourth. Thus craving pardon for this trouble, with my humble thanks and prayers for your Lords, health and long life, I take my leave, remaining,

Humbly your Lords, in all thankfulness and duty,  
Alice Bacon.

From Gorhambury, this 23th of November, 1614.<sup>706</sup>

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<sup>706</sup> We hear of this suit in Chancery, spoken of in the endorsement to this letter, nowhere else, but it respected part of Alice Bacon's property derived from her wealthy father, Alderman Barnham. It is wholly in Alice Bacon's handwriting, but it was probably dictated by her husband, Francis Bacon

- **February 9, 1615**

A letter to the King touching the Lord Chancellor's sickness.

It may please your most excellent Majesty, I am glad to understand by Mr. Murray that your Majesty accepteth well of my poor endeavours in opening unto you the passages of your service, that business may come the less crude and the more prepared to your royal judgment; the perfection whereof, as I cannot expect they should satisfy in every particular, so I hope through my assiduity there will result a good total. My Lord Chancellor's sickness falleth out *duro tempore*. I have always known him a wise man, and of a just elevation for monarchy. But your Majesty's service must not be mortal. And if you leese him, as your Majesty hath now of late purchased many hearts by depressing the wicked, so God doth minister unto you a counterpart to do the like by raising the honest. God evermore preserve your Majesty. Your Majesty's most humble subject and devoted servant. February 9, 1615.

- **February 12, 1615**

A letter to the King touching the Lord Chancellor's place.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

Your worthy Chancellor, I fear, goes his last day. God hath hitherto used to weed out such servants as grew not fit for your Majesty. But now he hath gathered to himself a true age, out of your garden. But your Majesty's service must not be mortal.

Upon this heavy accident I pray your Majesty in all humbleness and sincerity to give me leave to use a few words. I must never forget, when I moved your Majesty for the Attorney's place, it was your own sole act, more than that Somerset, when he knew your Majesty had resolved it, thrust himself into the business for a fee: and therefore I have no reason to pray to saints. I shall now again make oblation to your Majesty, first of my heart, then of my service, thirdly of my place of Attorney, which I think is honestly worth £6,000 per annum, and fourthly of my place of the Star Chamber, which is worth £1,600 per annum; and with the favour and countenance of a Chancellor much more.

I hope I may be acquitted of presumption if I think of it, both because my father had the place, which is some civil inducement to my desire (and I pray God your Majesty may have twenty no worse years in your greatness, than Queen Elizabeth had in her model, after my father's placing), and chiefly because since the Chancellor's place went to the law, it was ever conferred upon some of the Learned Counsel, and never upon a Judge. For Audeley was raised from King's Serjeant; my father from attorney of the wards; Bromley from solicitor; Puckering from Queen's Serjeant; Egerton from Master of the Rolls, having newly left the Attorney's place.

Now I beseech your Majesty let me put you the present case truly. If you take my Lord Coke, this will follow: first your Majesty shall put an over-ruling nature in an over-ruling place, which

may breed an extreme. Next you shall blunt his industries in matter of your finances, which seemeth to aim at another place. And lastly, popular men are no sure mounters for your Majesty's saddle. If you take my Lord Hubbard, you shall have a Judge at the upper end of your council board and another at the lower end, whereby your Majesty will find your prerogative pent; for though there should be emulation between them, yet as legists they will agree in magnifying that wherein they are best. He is no statesman but an economist, wholly for himself; so as your Majesty, more than an outward form, will find little help in him for your business. If you take my Lord of Canterbury, I will say no more but the Chancellor's place requires an whole man; and to have both jurisdictions, spiritual and temporal, in that height, is fit but for a King.

For myself, I can only present your Majesty with *gloria in obsequio*: yet I dare promise, that if I sit in that place your business shall not make such short turns upon you as it doth, but when a direction is once given, it shall be pursued and performed, and your Majesty shall only be troubled with the true care of a King, which is to think what you would have done in chief, and not how for the passages.

I do presume also, in respect of my father's memory, and that I have been always gracious in the lower house, I have some interest in the gentlemen of England, and shall be able to do some effect in rectifying that body of Parliament men, which is *cardo rerum*. For let me tell your Majesty, that that part of the Chancellor's place, which is to judge in equity between party and party, that same *regnum judiciale* (which since my father's time is but too much enlarged) concerneth your Majesty least, more than the acquitting of your conscience for justice. But it is the other parts, of a moderator amongst your Council, of an overseer over your Judges, of a planter of fit justices and governors in the country, that importeth your affairs and these times most.

I will add also, that I hope by my care the inventive part of your Council will be strengthened, who now commonly do exercise rather their judgments than their inventions, and the inventive part cometh from projectors and private men, which cannot be so well; in which kind my Lord of Salisbury had a good method, if his ends had been upright.

To conclude: if I were the man I would be, I should hope, that as your Majesty hath of late won hearts by depressing, you should in this leese no hearts by advancing: for I see your people can better skill of *concretum* than *abstractum*, and that the waves of their affections flow rather after persons than things: so that acts of this nature (if this were one) do more good than twenty bills of grace.

If God call my Lord, the warrants and commissions which are requisite for the taking of the Seal, and for the working with it, and for the reviving of warrants under his hand, which die with him, and the like, shall be in readiness. And in this time presseth more, because it is the end of a term, and almost the beginning of the circuits; so that the Seal cannot stand still. But this may be done as heretofore by commission, till your Majesty hath resolved of an officer. God ever preserve your Majesty.

Your Majesty's most humble subject and bounden servant,  
Fr. Bacon.

- **February 15, 1615**

A Letter to Sir George Villiers touching a message brought to him by  
Mr. Shute of a promise of the Chancellor's place.

Sir,

The message which I received from you by Mr. Shute hath bred in me such belief and confidence, as I will now wholly rely upon your excellent and happy self. When persons of greatness and quality begin speech with me of the matter, and offer me their good offices, I can but answer them civilly. But those things are but toys. I am yours surer to you than to my own life. For, as they speak of the Turquois stone in a ring, I will break into twenty pieces, before you have the least fall. God keep you ever.

Your truest servant,

Fr. Bacon.

15th of February, 1615.

- **February 21, 1615**

A Letter to Sir George Villiers, touching a motion to sweat him Councillor.

Sir,

My Lord Chancellor's health growing with the days, and his resignation being an incertainty, I would be glad you went on with my first motion, my swearing Privy Councillor. This I desire not so much to make myself more sure of the other, and to put it past competition (for herein I rest wholly upon the King and your excellent self), but because I find hourly that I need this strength in his Majesty's service, both for my better warrant and satisfaction of my conscience that I deal not in things above my vocation, and for my better countenance and prevailing where his Majesty's service is under any pretext opposed, I would it were despatched. I remember a greater matter than this was despatched by a letter from Royston, which was the placing of the Archbishop that now is; and I imagine the King did it of purpose, that the act might appear to be his own.

My Lord Chancellor told me yesterday in plain terms, that if the King would ask his opinion touching the person that he would commend to succeed him upon death or disability, he would name me for the fittest man. You may advise whether use may not be made of this offer.

I sent a pretty while since a paper to Mr. John Murray, which was indeed a little remembrance of some things past, concerning my honest and faithful services to his Majesty; not by way of boasting (from which I am far), but as tokens of my studying his service uprightly and carefully. If you be pleased to call for the paper, which is with Mr. John Murray, and to find a fit time that his Majesty may cast an eye upon it, I think it will do no hurt; and I have written to Mr. Murray to deliver the paper if you call for it. God keep you in all happiness.

Your truest servant.

- **March 7, 1616**

To the Lord of Buckingham upon his being chosen Lord Keeper.

My dearest Lord,

It is both in cares and kindness, that small ones float up to the tongue, and great ones sink down into the heart with silence. Therefore I could speak little to your Lordship to-day, neither had I fit time: but I must profess thus much, that in this day's work you are the truest and perfectest mirror and example of firm and generous friendship that ever was in court. And I shall count every day lost, wherein I shall not either study your well-doing in thought, or do your name honour in speech, or perform you service in deed. Good my Lord, account and accept me.

Your most bounden and devoted friend and servant of all men living,  
Fr. Bacon, C.S.

- **March 23, 1616**

To the King.

May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

My continual meditations upon your Majesty's service and greatness have amongst other things produced this paper enclosed, which I most humbly pray your Majesty to excuse, being that which, in my judgment, I think to be good, both *de vero* and *ad populum*. Of other things I have written to my Lord of Buckingham. God forever preserve and prosper your Majesty.

Your Majesty's humble servant, most devoted and most bounden,  
Fr. Bacon.

- **May 30, 1616**

A Letter to Sir George Villiers touching his swearing Councillor.

Sir,

The time is as I should think now or never for his Majesty to finish his good meaning towards me, if it please him to consider what is past and what is to come. If I would tender my profit and oblige men unto me by my place and practice, I could have more profit than I can desire, and could oblige all the world and offend none; which is a brave condition for a man's private. But my heart is not on these things. Yet on the other side, I would be sorry that worthless persons should make a note that I get nothing but pains, and enemies, and a little popular reputation which followeth me whether I will or no. If anything be to be done for yourself, I should take infinite contentment that my honour might wait upon yours. But I would be loth it should

wait upon any man's else. If you would put your strength to this business, I know it is done. And that done many things more will begin.

God keep you ever. I rest your true and devoted servant,

Fr. Bacon.

30 May, 1616.

- **June 3, 1616**

A Letter to Sir George Villiers upon the choice his Majesty gave him whether he would be sworn Councillor or have assurance to succeed the Chancellor.

Sir,

The King giveth me a noble choice, and you are the man my heart ever told me you were. Ambition would draw me to the later part of the choice. But in respect of my hearty wishes that my Lord Chancellor may live long, and the small hopes I have that I shall live long myself, and above all because I see his Majesty's service daily and instantly bleedeth, towards which I persuade myself, (vainly perhaps) but yet in mine own thoughts firmly and constantly, that I shall give when I am of the table some effectual furtherance (as a poor thread of the labyrinth which hath no other virtue but an united continuance without interruption or distraction), I do accept of the former, to be Councillor for the present, and to give over pleading at bar; let the other matter rest upon my proof, and his Majesty's pleasure, and the accidents of time. For to speak plainly I would be loth that my Lord Chancellor, to whom I owe most after the King and yourself, should be locked to his successor, for any advancement or gracing of me.

So I ever remain your true and most devoted and obedient servant,

Fr. Bacon.

- **June 13, 1616**

To Sir George Villiers.

There is a Particular, wherein I think you may do yourself honour, which as I am informed, hath been laboured by my Lady of Bedford, and put in good way by the Bishop of Bathe and Wells, concerning the restoring to preach of a famous Preacher, one Doctor Burgesse who though he hath been silenced a great time, yet he hath now made such a submission touching his Conformity, as giveth satisfaction: it is much desired also by Greys-Inne (if he shall be free from the State) to choose him for their Preacher: And certainly it is safer to place him there, than in another Auditory, because he will be well watched, if he mould any ways fly forth in his sermons beyond duty. This may seem a trifle, but I do assure you in opening this Man's mouth to preach, you shall open very many mouths to speak honour of you and I confess I would have a full Cry of Puritans, of Papists, of all the World to speak well of you: And besides



I am persuaded (which is above all earthly glory) you shall do God good Service in it. I pray deal with his Majesty in it. I rest,

Your devoted and bounden Servant,  
Fra. Bacon.

- **July 1, 1616**

To George Villiers.

Sir,

I send you inclosed a warrant for my Lady of Somerset's Pardon, reformed in that main, and material point, of inserting a Clause (that me was not a Principal, but an Accessory before the Fact, by the instigation of base persons). Her Friends think long to have it dispatched, which I marvel not at, for that in matter of Life, Moments are numbered.

I do more and more take contentment in his Majesty's choice of Sir Oliver St. John, for his Deputy of Ireland, finding, upon divers conferences with him, his great sufficiency; and I hope the good intelligence which he purposeth to hold with me, by advertisements from time to time, shall work a good effect for his Majesty's Service.

I am wonderful desirous to see that Kingdom flourish, because it is the proper work and glory of his Majesty and his Times. And his Majesty may be pleased to call to mind, that a good while since, when the great Rent and Divisions were in the Parliament of Ireland, I was no unfortunate Remembrancer to his Majesty's princely wisdom in that business. God ever keep you and prosper you.

Your true and most devoted and bounden Servant,  
Fr. Bacon.

- **July 2, 1616**

To George Villiers.

Sir,

I think I cannot do better service towards the good estate of the Kingdom of Ireland, than to procure the King to be well served in the eminent places of Law and Justice: I shall therefore name unto you for the Attorney's place there, or for the Solicitor's place, if the now Solicitor shall go up, a Gentleman of mine own breeding and framing, Mr. Edward Wyrthington of Greys-Inne, he is born to eight hundred pounds a year; he is the eldest son of a most severe Justicer, amongst the Recusants of Lancashire, and a Man most able for Law and Speech, and by me trained in the King's causes.

My Lord Deputy by my description, is much in love with the Man. I hear my Lord of Canterbury, and Sir Thomas Laquey should name one Sir John Beare, and some other mean

Men. This man I commend upon my credit, for the good of his Majesty's service. God ever preserve and prosper you.

I rest, your most devoted, and most bounden Servant,  
Fr. Bacon.

- **July 28, 1616**

To the King.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

According to your Commandment, I send inclosed the Preface to the Patent of Creation of Sir George Villiers. I have not used any glaring terms, but drawn it according to your Majesty's Instructions, and the note which thereupon I framed, and your Majesty allowed, with some additions which I have inserted. But I hope your Majesty will be pleased to correct and perfect it.

Your Majesty will be also be pleased to remember, that if the Creation shall be at Roughford your pleasure and this draught be speedily returned for it will take a sending of the Bill for your Majesty's Signature, and a sending back of the same to pass the Seals, and a sending thereupon of the Patent itself: So it must be twice sent up and down before the day. God evermore preserve your Majesty.

Your Majesty's most devoted and most bounden Servant,  
Fr. Bacon.

- **August 12, 1616**

To the King.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

I have sent Sir George Villiers' Patent drawn again, containing also a Baronry; the name Blechley, which is his own and to my thinking soundeth better than Whaddon. I have included both in one Patent, to avoid a double preface, and as hath been used in the Patents of Earls of like nature. Nevertheless the ceremony of robing and otherwise is to be double, as is also used in like case of Earls.

It resteth, that I express unto your Majesty my great joy in your honouring and advancing this Gentleman, whom to describe, not with colours but with true lines, I may say this; your Majesty certainly hath found out and chosen a safe Nature, a capable Man, an honest Will, generous and noble Affections, and a Courage well lodged; and one that I know loveth your Majesty unfeignedly, and admireth you as much as is in a Man to admire his Sovereign upon Earth. Only your Majesty's school (wherein he hath already so well profited, as in this entrance upon the stage, being the time of greatest danger, he hath not committed any manifest error) will

add perfection, to your Majesty's comfort, and the great contentment of your people. God ever preserve and prosper your Majesty.

I rest in all humbleness, your Majesty's most bounden  
and most devoted Subject and Servant,  
Fr. Bacon.

- **August 22, 1616**

To George Villiers.

Sir,

I am more and more bound unto his Majesty, who, I think, knowing me to have other ends than ambition is contented to make me judge of mine own desires. I am now beating my Brains (among many cares of his Majesty's business) touching the redeeming the time in this business of Cloth. The great question is, how to miss or how to mate the Flemmings, how to pass by them, or how to pass over them. In my next Letter I shall alter your style but I shall never whilst I breathe alter mine own style, in being your true and most devoted Servant,

Fr. Bacon.

- **March 10, 1617**

To the King.

May it please your Majesty,

According to your Highness' pleasure signified by my Lord Chamberlain, I have considered of the petition of certain baronets made unto your Majesty for confirmation and extent or explanation of certain points mentioned in their charter; and am of opinion:

That first, whereas it is desired, that the baronets be declared a middle degree between baron and knight, I hold this to be reasonable as to their placing.

Secondly, where it is desired that unto the words degree or dignity of baron, the word honour might be added, I know very well that in the preface of the baronets' patent it is mentioned that all honours are derived from the King. I find also, that in the patent of the Baneretts, which are marshaled under the baronets (except it be certain principals), the word honour is granted. I find also that the word dignity is many times in law a superior word to the word honour, as being applied to the King himself, all capital indictments concluding *contra coronam et dignitatem nostram*. It is evident also that the word honour and honourable are used in these times in common speech very promiscuously; nevertheless, because the style of honour belongs chiefly to peers and Counsellors, I am doubtful what opinion to give therein.

Thirdly, whereas it is believed that if there be any question of precedence touching baronets it may be ordered that the same be decided by the commissioners marshal, I do not see but it may be granted them for avoiding disturbances.

Fourthly, for the precedence of baronets, I find no alteration or difficulty, except it be in this, that the daughters of baronets are desired to be declared to have precedence before the wives of knights' eldest sons; which because it is a degree hereditary, and that in all examples the daughters in general have place next the eldest brothers' wives, I hold convenient.

Lastly, whereas it is desired that the apparent heirs males of the bodies of the baronets may be knighted during the life of their fathers; for that I have received from the Lord Chamberlain a signification, that your Majesty did so understand it, I humbly subscribe thereunto; with this, that the baronets' eldest sons being knighted do not take place of ancient knights, so long as their fathers' live.

All which nevertheless I humbly submit to your Majesty's better judgement.

Your Majesty's most humble and most bounden servant,  
Fr. Bacon.

- **April 12, 1617**

To the renowned University of Cambridge his dear and reverend Mother.

I am debtor to you of your letters, and of the time likewise that I have taken, to answer them. But as soon as I could choose what to think on, I thought good to let you know that although you may err much in your valuation of me, yet you shall not be deceived in your assurance: And for the other part also, though the manner be to mend the Picture by the Life, yet I would be glad to mend the Life by the Picture, and to become and be as you express me to be. Your gratulations shall be no more welcome to me, than your business or occasions, which I will attend; and yet not so, but that I shall endeavour to prevent them by my care of your good. And so I commend you to God's goodness.

Your most loving and assured Friend and Son,  
Gorhambury, Fr. Bacon, C.S.

- **April 23, 1617**

To the Bishop of Norwich.

After my hearty commendations, I having heard of you, as a man well deserving, and of able gifts to become profitable in the church; and there being fallen within my gift the rectory of etc., which seems to be a thing of good value, £18 in the King's books, and in a good country, I have thought good to make offer of it to you; the rather that you are of Trinity college, whereof myself

was some time: and my purpose is to make choice of men rather by care and inquiry, than by their own suits and commendatory letters. So I bid you farewell from,

Dorset House, 23 April, 1617.

Your loving friend.

- **April 28, 1617**

The Lord Keeper to his niece, touching her marriage.

Good Niece,

Amongst your other virtues I know there wanteth not in you a mind to hearken to the advice of your friends; and therefore you will give me leave to move you again more seriously than before in the match with Mr. Comptroller. The state wherein you now are is to be preferred before marriage, or changed for marriage, not simply the one or the other, but according as by God's providence the offers of marriage are more or less fit to be embraced. This gentleman is religious, a person of honour, being Councillor of State, a great officer, and in very good favour with his Majesty. He is of years and health fit to be comfortable to you, and to free you of burdensome cares. He is of good means and a wise and provident man, and of a loving and excellent good nature, and as I find, hath set his affection upon you; so as I foresee you may sooner change your mind, which as you told me is not yet toward marriage, than find so happy a choice. I hear he is willing to visit you before his going into France, which by the King's commandment is to be within some ten days; and I could wish you used him kindly and with respect. His return out of France is intended before Michaelmas. God direct you, and be with you.

I rest your very loving uncle, and assured friend,

Fr. Bacon, C.S.

Dorset House, this 28 April, 1617.

- **May 25, 1617**

To the R. Hon. very good L. the Earl of Buckingham of his  
Majesty's most Hon. Council of England and Scotland.

My very good Lord,

I know your Lordship hath a special care of anything that concerneth the Queen. She was entered into dislike of her Solicitor, this bearer Mr. Lowder, and resolute in it. To serve and not to please is no man's condition. Therefore upon knowledge of her pleasure he was willing to part with his place, upon hope not to be destituted, but to be preferred to one of the Baron's places in Ireland. I pray move the King for him, and let his Majesty know from me, that I think (howsoever he pleased not here) he is fit to do his Majesty service in that place; he is grave and formal (which is somewhat there), and sufficient enough for that place. The Queen hath made

Mr. Hackwell her solicitor, who hath for a long time taken much pains in her business, wherein she hath done well. He was an opposite in Parliament, as Jones was, that the King hath made Chief Justice of Ireland. But I hold it no ill counsel to win or to remove such men. God preserve and prosper you.

Your true and devoted friend and servant,

Fr. Bacon.

Whitehall, 25 May, 1617.

- **June 8, 1617**

To the Earl of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

This day I have made even with the business of the kingdom for common justice. Not one cause unheard. The lawyers drawn dry of all the motions they were to make. Not one petition unanswered. And this I think could not be said in our age before. This I speak not out of ostentation, but out of gladness, when I have done my duty. I know men think I cannot continue, if I should thus oppress myself with business. But that account is made.

The duties of life are more than life. And if I die now I shall die before the world be weary of me, which in our times is somewhat rare. And all this while I have been a little unperfect in my foot. But I have taken pains more like the beast with four legs, than like a man with scarce two legs. But if it be a gout (which I do neither acknowledge nor much disclaim) it is a good-natured gout: for I have no rage of it, and it goeth away quickly. I have hope it is but an accident of changing from a field-air to a Thames-air; or rather, I think, it is the distance of the King and your Lordship from me that doth congeal my humours and spirits.

When I had written this letter, I received your Lordship's letter of the third of this present, wherein your Lordship sheweth your solicitous care of my health, which did wonderfully comfort me. And it is true, that at this present I am very well, and my supposed gout quite vanished.

I humbly pray you to commend my service, infinite in desire, howsoever limited in ability, to his Majesty, to hear of whose health and good disposition is to me the greatest beatitude which I can receive in this world.

And I humbly beseech his Majesty to pardon me that I do not now send him my account of council business, and other his royal commands, till within these four days; because this flood of business of justice did hitherto wholly possess me; which I know worketh this effect, as it contenteth his subjects, and knitteth their hearts more and more to his Majesty; though I must confess my mind is upon other matters, as his Majesty shall know, by the grace of God, at his return. God ever bless and prosper you.

Your Lordship's true and most devoted friend and servant,

Fr. Bacon.

Whitehall, this 8th of June, 1617.

- **July 12, 1617**

To the Earl of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I shall write to your Lordship of a business which your Lordship may think to concern myself; but I do think it concerneth your Lordship much more. For as for me, as my judgment is not so weak to think it can do me any hurt, so my love to you is so strong, as I would prefer the good of you and yours before mine own particular. It seemeth Secretary Winwood hath officiously busied himself to make a match between your brother and Sir Edward Coke's daughter: and, as we hear, he doth it rather to make a faction, than out of any great affection to your Lordship. It is true, he hath the consent of Sir Edward Coke (as we hear) upon reasonable conditions for your brother, and yet no better than without question may be found in some other matches. But the mother's consent is not had, nor the young gentlewoman's, who expecteth a great fortune from her mother, which without her consent is endangered. This match, out of my faith and freedom towards your Lordship, I hold very inconvenient both for your brother and yourself.

First, he shall marry into a disgraced house, which in reason of state is never held good.

Next, he shall marry into a troubled house of man and wife, which in religion and Christian discretion is disliked.

Thirdly, your Lordship will go near to lose all such your friends as are adverse to Sir Edward Coke (myself only except, who out of a pure love and thankfulness shall ever be firm to you).

And lastly and chiefly (believe it), it will greatly weaken and distract the King's service; for though, in regard of the King's great wisdom and depth, I am persuaded those things will not follow which, they imagine, yet opinion will do a great deal of harm, and cast the King back, and make him relapse into those inconveniences which are now well on to be recovered.

Therefore my advice is, and your Lordship shall do yourself a great deal of honour, if, according to religion and the law of God, your Lordship will signify unto my Lady your mother, that your desire is that the marriage be not pressed or proceeded in without the consent of both parents; and so either break it altogether, or defer any further dealing in it, till your Lordship's return: and this the rather, for that (besides the inconvenience of the matter itself) it hath been carried so harshly and inconsiderately by Secretary Winwood, as for doubt that the father should take away the maiden by force, the mother, to get the start, hath conveyed her away secretly; which is ill of all sides.

Thus hoping your Lordship will not only accept well, but believe my faithful advice, who by my great experience in the world must needs see further than your Lordship can, I ever rest,

Your Lordship's true and most devoted friend and servant,

Fr. Bacon, C.S.

I have not heard from your Lordship since I sent the King my last account of council business; but I assure myself you received it, because I sent at the same time a jacket to Secretary Laque, who hath signified to me that he hath received it. Pray your Lordship deliver to his Majesty this little note of Chancery business.

- July 25, 1617

To the King.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

I think it agreeable to my duty, and the great obligation wherein I am tied to your Majesty, to be freer than other men in giving your Majesty faithful counsel while things are in passing, and more bond than other men in doing your commandments when your resolution is settled and made known to me. I shall therefore most humbly crave pardon from your Majesty if in plainness and no less humbleness I deliver to your Majesty my honest and disinterested opinion in the business of the match of Sir John Villiers, which I take to be *magnum in parvo*, preserving always the laws and duties of a firm friend to my Lord of Buckingham, whom I will never cease to love, and to whom I have written already, but have not heard yet from him. But first I have three suits to make to your Majesty, hoping well you will grant them all.

The first is, that if there be any merit in drawing on that match, your Majesty would bestow the thanks, not upon the zeal of Sir Edward Coke to please your Majesty, nor upon the eloquent persuasions or pragmatics of Mr. Secretary Winwood; but upon them who, carrying your commandments and directions with strength and justice (in the matter of the governor of Diepe, in the matter of Sir Robert Rich, and in the matter of protecting the lady according to your commandment), have so humbled Sir Edward Coke, as he seeks now that with submission, which (as your Majesty knows) before he rejected with scorn. For this is the true orator that hath persuaded this business, as I doubt not but your Majesty in your excellent wisdom doth easily discover.

My second suit is, that your Majesty would not think me so pusillanimous, as that I, who when I was but Mr. Bacon, had ever through your Majesty's favour good reason at Sir Edward Coke's hands when he was at the greatest, should now that your Majesty (by your great goodness) hath placed me so near your chair (being as I hope by God's grace and your instructions made a servant according to your heart and hand), fear him or take umbrage of him in respect of mine own particular.

My third suit is, that if your Majesty be resolved the match shall go on, after you have heard my reasons to the contrary, I may receive therein your particular will and commandments from yourself, that I may conform myself thereunto: imagining with myself (though I will not wager upon women's minds) that I can prevail more with the mother than any other man. For if I should be requested in it from my Lord of Buckingham, the answer of a true friend ought to be, that I had rather go against his mind than against his good: but your Majesty I must obey; and besides I shall conceive that your Majesty out of your great wisdom and depth doth see those things which I see not.

Now therefore, not to hold your Majesty with many words, which do but drown matter: Let me most humbly desire your Majesty to take into your royal consideration, that your state is at this time not only in good quiet and obedience, but in good affection and disposition. Your



Majesty's prerogative and authority having risen some just degrees above the horizon more than heretofore, which hath dispersed vapours. Your Judges are in good temper. Your Justices of peace, which is the body of the gentlemen of England, grow to be loving and obsequious, and to be weary of the humour of ruffling. All mutinous spirits grow to be a little poor, and to draw in their horns, and not the less for your Majesty's disauthorising the man I now speak of.

Now then I reasonably doubt that if there be but an opinion of his coming in with the strength of such an alliance, it will give a turn and a relapse in men's minds unto the former state of things, hardly to be holpen, to the great weakening of your Majesty's service.

Again, your Majesty may have perceived that as far as it was fit for me in modesty to advise, I was ever for a Parliament; which seemeth to me to be *cardo rerum* or *summa summarum* for the present occasions; but this my advice was ever conditional, that your Majesty should go to a Parliament with a council united and not distracted; and that, your Majesty will give me leave never to expect, if that man come in; not for any difference of mine own, for I can be *omnibus omnia* for your Majesty's service, but because he is by nature insociable, and by habit popular, and too old now to take a new ply, and men begin already to collect, yea and to conclude, that he that raiseth such a smoke to get in, will set all on fire when he is in.

It may please your Majesty, now I have said I have done; and as I think I have done a duty not unworthy the first year of your last high favour. I most humbly pray your Majesty to pardon me if in anything I have erred; for my errors shall always be supplied by obedience. And so I conclude with my prayers for the happy preservation of your person and state.

Your Majesty's most humble, bounden, and most devoted servant,

Fr. Bacon, C.S.

From Gorhambury, this 25th of July, 1617.

- **July 25, 1617**

To the Earl of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I do think long to hear from your Lordship touching my last letter, wherein I gave you my opinion touching your brother's match. As I then showed my dislike of the matter, so the carriage of it here in the manner I dislike as much. If your Lordship think it is humour or interest in me that leads me, God judge my sincerity. But I must say, that in your many noble favours towards me, they ever moved and flowed from yourself, and not from any of your friends whatsoever; and therefore in requital give me leave that my counsels to you again be referred to your happiness, and not to the desires of any of your friends. I shall ever give you, as I give my master, safe counsel and such as time will approve.

I received yesterday from Mr. Attorney the Queen's bill, which I send your Lordship. The payment is not out of lands, but out of the customs, and so it can be but the rent. Your Lordship

remembereth, it is but in a case which I hope shall never be: that is, after his Majesty's death, if she survive. God ever bless and direct you.

Your Lordship's most faithful and devoted friend and servant,

Fr. Bacon, C.S.

Gorhambury, this 25th of July, 1617.

- **July 29, 1617**

To the Earl of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I have sent inclosed a letter to his Majesty concerning the strangers: in which business I had formerly written to your Lordship a joint letter with my Lord of Canterbury, and my Lord Privy Seal, and Mr. Secretary Winwood. I am, I thank God, much relieved with my being in the country-air, and the order I keep; so that of late years I have not found my health better.

Your Lordship writeth seldomer than you were wont; but when you are once gotten into England, you will be more at leisure.

God bless and prosper you.

Your Lordship's true and devoted friend and servant,

Fr. Bacon, C.S.

Gorhambury, 29 July, 1617.

- **August 23, 1617**

To the Earl of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

Since my last to your Lordship I did first send for Mr. Attorney General, and made him know that since I heard from court I was resolved to further the match and the conditions thereof for your brother's advancement the best I could. I did send also to my Lady Hatton and some of her special friends, to let them know I would in anything declare for the match; which I did to the end that if they had any apprehension of my assistance they might be discouraged in it. I sent also to Sir John Butler, and after by letter to my Lady your mother, to tender ray performance of any good office towards the match or the advancement from the mother. This was all I could think of for the present.

I did ever fear that this alliance would go near to leese me your Lordship that I hold so dear, and that was the only respect particular to myself that moved me to be as I was, till I heard from you. But I will rely upon your constancy and nature, and my own deserving, and the firm tie we have in respect of the King's service.

In the mean time I must a little complain to your Lordship, that I do hear my Lady your mother and your brother Sir John do speak of me with some bitterness and neglect. I must bear

with the one as a lady and the other as a lover, and with both for your Lordship's sake, whom I will make judge of anything they shall have against me. But I hope, though I be true servant to your Lordship, you will not have me vassal to their passions, especially as long as they [are] governed by Sir Edward Coke and Secretary Winwood; the latter of which I take to be the worst; for Sir Edward Coke, I think, is more modest and discreet.

Therefore your Lordship shall do me right, and yet I shall take it for a favour, if you signify to them that you have received satisfaction from me, and would have them use me friendly and in good manner. God keep us from these long journeys and absence, which makes misunderstandings and gives advantage to untruth, and God ever prosper and preserve your Lordship.

Your Lordship's true and devoted friend and servant,

Fr. Bacon, C.S.

Gorhambury, 23 of August, 1617.

- **August 31, 1617**

To the King.

It may please your most Excellent Majesty,

I dare not presume any more to reply upon your Majesty, but reserve my defence till I attend your Majesty at your happy return; when I hope verily to approve myself not only a true servant to your Majesty, but a true friend to my Lord of Buckingham. And for the times also, I hope to give your Majesty a good account, though distance of place may obscure them.

But there is one part of your Majesty's letter that I would be sorry to take time to answer; which is, that your Majesty conceiveth that, whereas I wrote that the height of my Lord's fortune might make him secure, I meant that he was turned proud or unknowing of himself. Surely the opinion which I have ever had of my Lord (whereof your Majesty is best witness) is far from that. But my meaning was plain and simple. That his Lordship might through his great fortune be the less apt to cast and foresee the unfaithfulness of friends and malignity of enviers and accidents of times: which is a judgment (as your Majesty knoweth better than I) that the best authors make of the best and best tempered spirits, *ut sunt res humanæ*; insomuch as Guicciardine maketh the same judgment (not of a particular person) but of the wisest state of Europe, the senate of Venice, at one time; when he saith, their prosperity had made them secure and underweighers of perils. Therefore I beseech your Majesty to deliver me in this from any the least imputation upon my dear and noble Lord and friend.

And so expecting that that sun which when it went from us left us cold weather, and now it is returned towards us hath brought with it a blessed harvest, will when it cometh to us disperse all mists and mistakings, I ever rest.

Your Majesty's most humble, bounden and faithful servant,

Fr. Bacon, C.S.

Gorhambury.

- **September 22, 1617**

To the Earl of Buckingham.

My ever best Lord, now better than yourself,

Your Lordship's pen or rather pencil hath portrayed towards me such magnanimity and nobleness and true kindness, as methinketh I see the image of some ancient virtue, and not anything of these times. It is the line of my life, and not the lines of my letter, that must express my thankfulness: wherein if I fail, then God fail me, and make me as miserable as I think myself at this time happy by this reviver, through his Majesty's singular clemency, and your incomparable love and favour.

God preserve you, prosper you, and reward you for your kindness  
to your raised and infinitely obliged friend and servant,

Fr. Bacon, C.S.

- **January 2, 1618**<sup>707</sup>

To the King.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

I do many times with gladness and for a remedy of my other labours, revolve in my mind the great happiness which God (of his singular goodness) hath accumulated upon your Majesty every way; and how complete the same would be, if the state of your means were once rectified, and well ordered. Your People militar and obedient; fit for war, used to peace. Your Church illightened with good preachers, as an heaven of stars. Your Judges learned, and learning from you; just, and just by your example. Your Nobility in a right distance between crown and people; no oppressors of the people, no overshadowers of the crown. Your Council full of tribute of care, faith, and freedom. Your gentlemen and justices of peace willing to apply your royal mandates to the nature of their several countries, but ready to obey. Your servants in awe of your wisdom, in hope of your goodness. The fields growing every day by the improvement and recovery of grounds, from the desert to the garden. The city grown from wood to brick. Your sea-walls or *pomærium* of your island, surveyed and in edifying. Your merchants embracing the whole compass of the world, east, west, north, and south.

The times give you peace, and yet offer you opportunities of action abroad. And lastly, your excellent royal issue entaileth these blessings and favours of God to descend to all posterity.

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<sup>707</sup> On January 1, 1617–18, George Villiers, Earl of Buckingham, was created Marquis of Buckingham to him and his male heirs of his body, beyond all expectation, without any Investiture, by letters patents delivered into his hand; the Keeper of the Great Seal [Bacon], Lord Treasurer [Earl of Suffolk], Duke of Lenox, Marquis Hamilton, the Lord Chamberlain [Earl of Pembroke], the Earl of Arundel, Earl of Montgomery, the Viscounts Lisle, Wallingford, Fenton, and other witnesses being present. (Camden)

It resteth therefore that God having done so great things for your Majesty and you for others, you would do so much for yourself, as to go through (according to your beginnings) with the rectifying and settling of your estate of means, which only is wanting. *Hoc rebus defuit unum.*

I therefore, whom only love and duty to your Majesty and royal line hath made a financier, do intend to present unto your Majesty a perfect book of your estate, like a prospective glass, to draw your estate nearer to your sight; beseeching your Majesty to conceive, that if I have not attained to do that that I would do in this which is not proper for me, nor in my element, I shall make your Majesty amends in some other things in which I am better bred. God ever preserve and prosper your M.

Your Ms. servant most humble obliged and devoted,

Fr. Verulam.

2 Jan. 1618.

- **June 15, 1618**

To The Lord Chancellor.

My Honourable Lord,

Understanding that the cause depending in the Chancery between the Lady Vernon and the officers of his Majesty's household is now ready for a decree, though doubt not but, as his Majesty hath been satisfied of the equity of the cause on his officers behalf, who have undergone the business by his Majesty's command, your Lordship will also find their cause worthy of your favour; yet I have thought fit once again to recommend it to your Lordship, desiring you to give them a speedy end of it, that both his Majesty may be freed from further importunity, and they from the charge and trouble of following it; which I will be ever ready to acknowledge as a favour done unto myself, and always rest.

Your Lordship's faithful friend and servant,

G. Buckingham.

Greenwich, the 15 day of June, 1618.

- **December 2, 1618**

My Honourable Lord,

I having understood by Dr. Steward that your Lordship hath made a decree against him in Chancery, which he thinketh very hard for him to perform; although I know it is unusual to your Lordship to make any alterations when things are so far past, yet in regard I owe him a good turn which I know not how to perform but this way, I desire your Lordship, if there be any place left for mitigation, your Lordship would shew him what favour you may for my sake in his desires; which I shall be ever ready to acknowledge as a great courtesy done unto myself; and will ever rest.

Your Lordship's faithful friend and servant,

G. Buckingham.

Newmarket, the 2nd of December 1618.

- **December 3, 1618**

To The Lord Chancellor.

My Honourable Lord,

I have written a letter unto your Lordship, which will be delivered unto you in behalf of Dr. Steward; and besides have thought fit to use all freedom with you in that as in other things. And therefore have thought fit to tell you that, he being a man of very good reputation, and a stout man that will not yield to anything wherein he conceiveth any hard course against him, I should be sorry he should make any complaint against you. And therefore if you can advise of any course how you may be eased of that burden and freed from his complaint, without shew of any fear of him or anything he can say, I'll be ready to join with you for the accomplishment thereof.

Your Lordship's faithful friend and servant,

G. Buckingham.

From Newmarket, the 3rd of December 1618.

- **October 18, 1618**

To the King.

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

According to your commandment given unto us, we have, upon divers meetings and conferences, considered what form and manner of proceeding against Sir Walter Raleigh might best stand with your Majesty's justice and honour, if you shall be pleased that the law shall pass upon him.

And first, we are of opinion, that Sir Walter Raleigh, being attainted of high treason (which is the highest and last work of law), he cannot be drawn in question judicially for any crime or offense since committed. And therefore we humbly present two forms of proceeding to your Majesty: the one, that together with the warrant to the Lieutenant of the Tower, if your Majesty shall so please, for his execution, to publish a narrative in print of his late crimes and offenses; which (albeit your Majesty is not bound to give an account of your actions in these cases to any but only to God alone) we humbly offer to your Majesty's consideration, as well in respect of the great effluxion of time since his attainder, and of his employment by your Majesty's commission, as for that his late crimes and offenses are not yet publicly known.

The other form (whereunto, if your Majesty so please, we rather incline) is that where your Majesty is so renowned for your justice, it may have such a proceeding as is nearest to legal proceeding; which is, that he be called before the whole body of your Council of State, and your principal Judges, in your Council Chamber; and that some of the nobility and gentlemen of quality be admitted to be present to hear the whole proceeding, as in like cases hath been used. And after the assembly; of all these, that some of your Majesty's Councillors of State that

are best acquainted with the case should openly declare, that this form of proceeding against Sir Walter is holden for that he is civilly dead. After this your Majesty's Counsel Learned to charge him with his acts of hostility, depredation, abuse as well of your Majesty's commission as of your subjects under his charge, impostures, attempt of escape, and other his misdemeanours. But for that which concerns the French, wherein he was rather passive than active, and without which the charge is complete, we humbly refer to your Majesty's consideration, how far that shall be touched. After which charge so given, the examinations read, and Sir Walter heard, and some to be confronted against him, if need be, then he is to be withdrawn and sent back; for that no sentence is or can be given against him. And after he is gone, then the Lords of the Council and Judges to give their advice to your Majesty, whether in respect of these subsequent offenses, upon the whole matter, your Majesty, if you so please, may not with justice and honour give warrant for his execution upon his attainder. And of this whole proceeding we are of opinion that a solemn act of council should be made, with a memorial of the whole presence. But before this be done, that your Majesty may be pleased to signify your gracious direction herein to your Council of State; and that your Counsel Learned, before the calling of Sir Walter, should deliver the heads of the matter, together with the principal examinations touching the same, wherewith Sir Walter is to be charged, unto them, that they may be perfectly informed of the true state of the case, and give their advice accordingly. All which nevertheless we, in all humbleness, present and submit to your princely wisdom and judgment, and shall follow whatsoever it shall please your Majesty to direct us herein with all dutiful readiness.

Your Majesty's most humble, and faithful servants, etc.

York House, this 16th October, 1618.

- **February 10, 1619**

Letter to the King.

But I make no judgment yet, but will go on with all diligence; and, if it may not be done otherwise, it is fit Peacock be put to the torture. He deserveth it as well as Peacham did. I beseech Your Majesty not to think I am more bitter because my name is in it; for, besides that I always make my particular a cypher when there is a question of Your Majesty's honour and service, I think myself honoured by being brought into so good company. And as, without flattery, I think Your Majesty the best of Kings, and my noble Lord of Buckingham the best of persons favoured, so I hope, without presumption, for my honest and true intentions to State and justice, and my love to my master, I am not the worst of chancellors. God preserve Your Majesty.

Your Majesty's most obliged and most obedient servant,

Fr. Verulam, Canc.

Feb. 10, 1619.

- **March 7, 1620**

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

With due thanks for your last visit. This day is a play-day with me. But I will wait on your Lordship, if it be necessary. I do hear from divers of judgment, that to-morrow's conference is like to pass in a calm, as to the referees. Sir Lionel Cranfield, who hath been formerly the trumpet, said yesterday, that he did now incline to Sir John Walter's opinion and motion not to have the referees meddled with, otherwise than to discount it from the King; and so not to look back, but to the future. And I do hear almost all men of judgment in the House wish now that way. I woo nobody: I do but listen, and I have doubt only of Sir Edward Coke, who I wish had some round *caveat* given him from the King; for your Lordship hath no great power with him: but I think a word from the King mates him.

If things be carried fair by the committees of the Lower House, I am in some doubt whether there will be occasion for your Lordship to speak to-morrow; though I confess I incline to wish you did, chiefly because you are fortunate in that kind; and, to be plain, also for our better countenance; when your Lordship, according to your noble proposition, shall show more regard of the fraternity you have with great counsellors than of the interest of your natural brother.

Always, good my Lord, let us think of times out of Parliament, as well as the present time in Parliament, and let us not all be put *es pourpoint*. Fair and moderate courses are ever best in causes of estate; the rather, because I wish this Parliament, by the sweet and united passages thereof, may increase the King's reputation with foreigners; who may make a far other judgment than we mean, of a beginning to question great counsellors and officers of the crown, by courts or assemblies of estates.

But the reflection upon my particular in this makes me more sparing than perhaps, as a counsellor, I ought to be. God ever preserve and prosper you.

Your Lordship's true servant all and ever,

Fr. St. Alban, Canc.

March 7, the day I received the seal, 1620.

- **March 14, 1620**

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

Your Lordship spake of purgatory. I am now in it, but my mind is in a calm; for my fortune is not my felicity. I know I have clean hands and a clean heart; and I hope a clean house for friends or servants. But Job himself, or whosoever was the justest judge, by such hunting for matters against him as hath been used against me, may for a time seem foul, specially in a time when



greatness is the mark and accusation is the game. And if this be to be a Chancellor, I think if the great seal lay upon Hounslow Heath, nobody would take it up. But the King and your Lordship will, I hope, put an end to these miseries one way or other. And in troth that which I fear most is lest continual attendance and business, together with these cares, and want of time to do my weak body right this spring by diet and physic, will cast me down; and then it will be thought feigning or fainting. But I hope in God I shall hold out.

God prosper you.

- **Before March 14, 1620**

To Mr. Matthew.

Sir,

I have received your letter, wherein you mention some passages at large, concerning the Lord [Digby] you know of. You touched also that point in a letter which you wrote upon my Lord's going over; which I answered, and am a little doubtful whether mine ever came to your hands. It is true that I wrote a little sullenly therein how I conceived that my Lord was a wise man in his own way, and perhaps thought it fit for him to be out with me; for at least I found no cause thereof in myself.

As for the latter of these points, I am of the same judgment still; but for the former, I perceive by what you write that it is merely some misunderstanding of his. And I do a little marvel at the instance, which had relation to that other crabbed man. For I conceived that both in passing that book, and (as I remember) two more, immediately after my Lord's going over, I had showed more readiness than many times I use in like cases. But to conclude, no man hath thought better of my Lord than I have done. I know his virtues, and namely that he hath much greatness of mind, which is a thing almost lost amongst men: nor can anybody be more sensible and remembering than I am of his former favours; so that I shall be most glad of his friendship.

Neither are the past occasions in my opinion such as need either reparation or declaration; but may well go under the title of nothing. Now I had rather you dealt between us than anybody else, because you are no way drenched in any man's humour. Of other things at another time; but this I was forward to write in the midst of more business than ever I had.

- **March 19, 1620**

To the Right Honourable his very good Lords the Lords Spiritual and Temporal  
in the Upper House of Parliament Assembled.

My very good Lords,

I humbly pray your Lordships all to make a favourable and true construction of my absence. It is no feigning nor fainting, but sickness both of my heart and of my back, though joined with that

comfort of mind, that persuadeth me that I am not far from heaven, whereof I feel the first fruits. And because, whether I live or die, I would be glad to preserve my honour and fame, as far as I am worthy; hearing that some complaints of base bribery are come before your Lordships, my requests unto your Lordships are: first, that you will maintain me in your good opinion, without prejudice, until my cause be heard; secondly, that, in regard I have sequestered my mind at this time in great part from worldly matters, thinking of my account and answer in a higher court, your Lordships should give me some convenient time, according to the course of other courts, to advise with ray counsel, and to make my answer; wherein nevertheless my counsel's part will be the least; for I shall not, by the grace of God, trick up an innocency with cavillations; but plainly and ingenuously (as your Lordships know my manner is) declare what I know or remember; thirdly, that, according to the course of justice, I may be allowed to except to the witnesses brought against me, and to move questions to your Lordships for their cross-examination, and likewise to produce my own witnesses for discovery of the truth; and lastly, if there come any more petitions of like nature, that your Lordships would be pleased not to take any prejudice or apprehension of any number or muster of them, especially against a judge that makes two thousand decrees and orders in a year (not to speak of the courses that have been taken for hunting out complaints against me); but that I may answer them, according to the rules of justice, severally and respectively.

These requests I hope appear to your Lordships no other than just. And so, thinking myself happy to have so noble Peers and reverend Prelates to discern of my cause, and desiring no privilege of greatness for subterfuge of guiltiness, but meaning (as I said) to deal fairly and plainly with your Lordships' and to put myself upon your honours and favours, I pray God to bless your counsels and your persons; and rest,

Your Lordships' humble servant,  
Fr. St. Alban, Canc.  
19th March, 1620.

- **June 9, 1620**

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very GOOD Lord,

I went to Kew for pleasure, but I met with pain. But neither pleasure nor pain can withdraw my mind from thinking of his Majesty's service. And because his Majesty shall see how I was occupied at Kew, I send him these papers of Rules for the Star Chamber; wherein his Majesty shall erect one of the noblest and durablest pillars for the justice of this kingdom in perpetuity that can be; after by his own wisdom and the advice of his Lords he shall have revised them, and established them. The manner and circumstances I refer to my attending his Majesty. The rules are not all set down, but I will do the rest within two or three days. I ever remain

Your Lordship's most obliged friend, and faithful servant,  
Fr. Verulam, Canc.

- **August 30, 1620**

Lord Chancellor Verulam to the Marquis of Buckingham.

If his Majesty's business or commandments require it, I will attend him at Windsor, though I would be glad to be spared, because quick airs at this time of the year do affect me. At London, and so at Theobalds and Hampton Court, I will not fail, God willing, to attend on his Majesty. Meanwhile I am exceeding glad to hear his Majesty has been lusty and well this Progress.

Fr. Verulam, Canc.

- **October 2, 1620**

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I write now only a letter of thanks to his Majesty, for that I hear, in my absence he was pleased to express towards me (though unworthy) a great deal of grace and good opinion before his Lords; which is much to my comfort, whereunto I must ever impute your Lordship as necessary. I have also written to him what signification I received from Secretary Naunton of his Majesty's will and pleasure, lest in so great a business there should be any mistaking. The pain of my foot is gone, but the weakness doth a little remain, so as I hope within a day or two to have full use of it. I ever remain,

Your Lordship's most obliged friend and faithful servant,  
Fr. Verulam, Canc.

- **October 2, 1620**

To the King's most Excellent Majesty.

It may please your Majesty,

I thought myself an unfortunate man that I could not attend you at Theoballs. But I hear that your Majesty hath done as God Almighty useth to do, which is to turn evil into good, in that your Majesty hath been pleased upon that occasion to express before your Lords your gracious opinion and favour towards me, which I most humbly thank your Majesty for, and will aspire to deserve.

Secretary Naunton this day brought me your pleasure in certain notes; that I should advise with the two Chief Justices (old Parliament-men) and Sir Edward Cook (who is also their senior in that school) and Sir Randall Crewe, the last Speaker, and such other Judges as we should think fit, touching that which mought in true policy, without packing or degenerate arts, prepare to a Parliament, in case your Majesty should resolve of one to be held; and withal he signified to me some particular points, which your Majesty very wisely had deduced.

All your Majesty's business is *super cor meum*, for I say it to heart. But this is a business *secundum cor meum*; and yet, as I will do your Majesty all possible good services in it, so I am far from seeking to impropriate to myself the thanks, but shall become *omnibus omnia*, as St. Paul sayeth, to attain your Majesty's ends.

As soon as I have occasion, I will write to your Majesty touching the same, and will have special care to communicate with my Lords, in some principal points, though all things are not at first fit for the whole table. I ever rest

Your Majesty's most bounden and most devoted servant,  
Fr. Verulam, Canc.

Your Majesty needeth not to doubt but that I shall carry the business with that secrecy which appertaineth.

2 October, 1620.

- **October 12, 1620**

To the King's most Excellent Majesty.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

It being one thing to speak or write, specially to a King, in public, another in private, although I have dedicated a work, or rather a portion of a work, which at last I have overcome, to your Majesty by a public epistle, where I speak to you in the hearing of others; yet I thought fit also humbly to seek access for the same, not so much to your person as to your judgment, by these private lines. The work, in what colours soever it may be set forth, is no more but a new logic, teaching to invent and judge by induction (as finding syllogism incompetent for sciences of nature), and thereby to make philosophy and sciences both more true and more active. This, tending to enlarge the bounds of Reason and to endow man's estate with new value, was no improper oblation to your Majesty, who, of men, is the greatest master of reason, and author of beneficence. There be two of your council, and one other bishop of this land, that know I have been about some such work near thirty years; so as I made no haste. And the reason why I have published it now, specially being imperfect, is, to speak plainly, because I number my days and would have it saved. There is another reason of my so doing, which is to try whether I can get help in one intended part of this work, namely, the compiling of a natural and experimental history, which must be the main foundation of a true and active philosophy.

This work is but a new body of clay, whereinto your Majesty by your countenance and protection, may breathe life. And, to tell your Majesty truly what I think, I account your favour may be to this work as much as an hundred years' time: for I am persuaded the work will gain upon men's minds in ages, but your gracing it may make it take hold more swiftly; which I would be glad of, it being a work meant not for praise or glory, but for practice, and the good of men.

One thing, I confess, I am ambitious of, with hope, which is, that after these beginnings, and the wheel once set on going, men shall suck more truth out of Christian pens than hitherto they have done out of heathen. I say with hope; because I hear my former book of the *Advancement of Learning* is well tasted in the universities here, and the English colleges abroad; and this is the same argument sunk deeper.

And so I ever humbly rest in prayers, and all other duties,

Your Majesty's most bounden and devoted servant,

Fr. Verulam, Canc.

York House, this 12th of October, 1620.

- 1620

To the King.

It may please your Majesty,

I received your Majesty's letter about midnight. And (because it was stronger than the ancient summons of the Exchequer, which is, *sicut teipsum et omnia tua diligis*; whereas this was *sicut*) I used all possible care to effect your Majesty good will and pleasure. I sent early to the Prince, and to my Lord Treasurer, and we attended his Highness, soon after seven of the clock, at Whitehall, to avoid further note.

We agreed that if the message came we would put the Lords into this way; That the answer should be that we understood they came prepared both with examination and precedent; and we likewise desired to be alike prepared, that the conference might be with more fruit. I did further speak with my Lord of Canterbury, when I came to the House (not letting him know any part of the business), that he would go on with a motion, which he had told me of the day before, that the Lords House might not sit Wednesday and Friday, because they were convocation days, and so was the former custom of Parliament. As good luck was, the House read two bills, and had no other business at all. Whereupon my Lord of Canterbury had his motion, and I adjourned the House till Saturday. It was no sooner done, but came the message from the Lower House. But the *consummation-est* was past, though I perceived a great willingness in many of the Lords to have recalled it, if it might have been. So with my best prayers for your Majesty's preservation, I rest.

Your Majesty's most bounden and most devoted servant,

Fr. St. Alban, Canc.

- **March 25, 1621**

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very GOOD Lord,

Yesterday I know was no day; now I hope I shall hear from your Lordship, who are my anchor in these floods. Meanwhile to ease my heart a little, I have written to his Majesty the inclosed; which I pray your Lordship to read advisedly, and to deliver it, or not to deliver it, as you think best. God ever prosper your Lordship.

Yours ever what I can,  
Fr. St. Alban, Canc.

- **March 25, 1621**

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

Time hath been when I have brought unto you *gemitum columbae* from others. Now I bring it from myself. I fly unto your Majesty with the wings of a dove, which once within these seven days I thought would have carried me a higher flight. When I enter into myself, I find not the materials of such a tempest as is comen upon me. I have been (as your Majesty knoweth best) never author of any immoderate counsel, but always desired to have things carried *suavibus modis*. I have been no avaricious oppressor of the people. I have been no haughty or intolerable or hateful man, in my conversation or carriage. I have inherited no hatred from my father, but am a good patriot born. Whence should this be? For these are the things that use to raise dislikes abroad.

For the House of Commons, I began my credit there, and now it must be the place of the sepulture thereof; and yet this Parliament, upon the message touching religion, the old love revived, and they said I was the same man still, only honesty was turned into honour. For the Upper House, even within these days before these troubles, they seemed as to take me into their arms, finding in me ingenuity which they took to be the true straight line of nobleness, without crooks or angles. And for the briberies and gifts wherewith I am charged, when the books of hearts shall be opened, I hope I shall not be found to have the troubled fountain of a corrupt heart in a depraved habit of taking rewards to pervert justice; howsoever I may be frail, and partake of the abuse of the times. And therefore I am resolved when I come to my answer, not to trick with my innocency (as I writ to the Lords) by cavillations or voidances, but to speak to them the language that my heart speaketh to me, in excusing, extenuating, or ingenuous confessing; praying to God to give me the grace to see to the bottom of my faults, and that no hardness of heart do steal upon me, under show of more neatness of conscience than is cause. But not to trouble your Majesty longer, craving pardon for this long mourning letter; That which I thirst fitter as the heart after the streams, is that I may know by my matchless friend that presenteth to you this letter, your Majesty's heart (which is an abyssus of goodness, as I am an abyssus of misery) towards me. I have been ever your man, and counted myself but an usufructuary of

myself, the property being yours: and now making myself an oblation to do with me as may best conduce to the honour of your justice, the honour of your mercy, and the use of your service, resting as clay in your Majesty's gracious hands.

Fr. St. Alban, Canc.

March 25, 1621.

- **April 20, 1621**

To the King.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

I think myself infinitely bounden to your Majesty, for vouchsafing me access to your Royal Person, and to touch the hem of your garment. I see your Majesty imitateth him that would not break the broken reed, nor quench the smoking flax; and as your Majesty imitateth Christ, so I hope assuredly my Lords of the Upper House will imitate you; and unto your Majesty's grace and mercy, and next to my Lords, I recommend myself. It is not possible, nor it were not safe, for me to answer particulars till I have my charge; which when I shall receive, I shall without fig-leaves or disguise excuse what I can excuse, extenuate what I can extenuate, and ingenuously confess what I can neither clear nor extenuate. And if there be anything which I mought conceive to be no offense, and yet is, I desire to be informed, that I may be twice penitent, once for my fault, and the second time for my error.

And so submitting all that I am to your Majesty's grace,

I rest.

20 April, 1621.

- **April 21, 1621**

To the King's most Excellent Majesty.

It may please your Majesty,

It hath pleased God for these three days past, to visit me with such extremity of headache, upon the hinder part of my head, fixed in one place, that I thought verily it had been some imposthumation. And then the little physic that I have told me, that either it must grow to a congelation, and so to a lethargy, or to break, and so to a mortal fever or sudden death. Which apprehension (and chiefly the anguish of the pain) made me unable to think of any business. But now that the pain itself is assuaged to be tolerable, I resume the care of my business, and therein prostrate myself again, by my letter, at your Majesty's feet.

Your Majesty can bear me witness, that at my last so comfortable access I did not so much as move your Majesty, by your absolute power of pardon or otherwise, to take my cause into your

hands and to interpose between the sentence of the House; and according to mine own desire your Majesty left it to the sentence of the House, and so was reported by my Lord Treasurer.

But now if not *per omnipotentiam* (as the divines speak) but *per potestatem suaviter disponentem*, your Majesty will graciously save me from a sentence with the good liking of the House, and that cup may pass from me; it is the utmost of my desires.

This I move with the more belief, because I assure myself that if it be reformation that is sought, the very taking away the Seal, upon my general submission, will be as much in example for these four hundred years, as any further severity.

The means of this I most humbly leave unto your Majesty. But surely I conceive, that your Majesty opening yourself in this kind to the Lords Counsellors, and a motion from the Prince after my submission, and my Lord Marquis using his interest with his friends in the House, may effect the sparing of a sentence; I making my humble suit to the House for that purpose, joined with the delivery of the Seal into your Majesty's hands.

This is the last suit I shall make to your Majesty in this business, prostrating myself at your mercy-seat, after fifteen years' service, wherein I have served your Majesty in my poor endeavours with an entire heart, and as I presumed to say unto your Majesty, am still a virgin for matters that concern your person or crown; and now only craving that after eight steps of honour I be not precipitated altogether.

But because he that hath taken bribes is apt to give bribes, I will go further, and present your Majesty with a bribe. For if your Majesty give me peace and leisure, and God give me life, I will present your Majesty with a good history of England, and a better digest of your laws. And so concluding with my prayers, I rest.

Your Majesty's afflicted, but ever devoted servant,  
Fr. St. Alban, Canc.

• **May 31, 1621**

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

Good my Lord,

Procure the warrant for my discharge this day. Death, I thank God, is so far from being unwelcome to me, as I have called for it (as Christian resolution would permit) any time these two months. But to die before the time of his Majesty's grace, and in this disgraceful place, is even the worst that could be; and when I am dead, he is gone that was always in one tenor, a true and perfect servant to his master, and one that was never author of any immoderate, no, nor unsafe, no (I will say it) not unfortunate counsel; and one that no temptation could ever make other than a trusty, and honest, and thrice loving friend to your Lordship; and howsoever I acknowledge the sentence just, and for reformation sake fit, the justest Chancellor that hath



been in the five changes since Sir Nicholas Bacon's time. God bless and prosper your Lordship, whatsoever become of me.

Your Lordship's true friend, living and dying,

Fr. St. Alban.

Tower, 31st May, 1621.

- **June 4, 1621**

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very GOOD Lord,

I heartily thank your Lordship for getting me out of prison, and now my body is out, my mind nevertheless will be still in prison, till I may be on my feet to do his Majesty and your Lordship faithful service. Wherein your Lordship, by the grace of God, shall find that my adversity hath neither spent nor pent my spirits. God prosper you.

Your Lordship's most obliged friend and faithful servant,

Fr. St. Alban.

- **June 4, 1621**

To the King.

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

I humbly thank your Majesty for my liberty, without which timely grant, any further grace would have come too late. But your Majesty that did shed tears in the beginning of my trouble, will I hope shed the dew of your grace and goodness upon me in the end. Let me live to serve you, else life is but the shadow of death to your Majesty's most devoted servant,

Fr. St. Alban.

- **1621**

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I hear yesterday was a day of very great honour to his Majesty, which I do congratulate. I hope also his Majesty may reap honour out of my adversity, as he hath done strength out of my prosperity. His Majesty knows best his own ways, and for me to despair of him were a sin not to be forgiven. I thank God I have overcome the bitterness of this cup by Christian resolution, so that worldly matters are but mint and cumin.

God ever preserve you.

- **1621**

To Mr. Matthew.

Sir,

I have been too long a debtor to you for a letter, and especially for such a letter, the words whereof were delivered by your hand, as if it had been in old gold. For it was not possible for entire affection to be more generously and effectually expressed. I can but return thanks to you; or rather, indeed, such an answer as may better be of thoughts than words. As for that which may concern myself, I hope God hath ordained me some small time, whereby I may redeem the loss of much. Your company was ever of contentment to me, and your absence of grief: but now it is of grief upon grief. I beseech you, therefore, make haste hither, where you shall meet with as good a welcome as your own heart can wish.

- **June 20, 1621**

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

Your Lordship I know, and the King both, mought think me very unworthy of that I have been, or that I am, if I should not by all means desire to be freed from the restraint which debarreth me from approach to his Majesty's person, which I ever so much loved and admired; and severeth me likewise from all conference with your Lordship, which is my second comfort. Nevertheless, if it be conceived that it may be matter of inconvenience or envy, my particular respects must give place; only in regard of my present urgent occasions, to take some present order for the debts that press me most, I have petitioned his Majesty to give me leave to stay at London till the last of July, and then I will dispose of my abode according to the sentence. I have sent to the Prince to join with you in it, for though the matter seem small, yet it importeth me much. God prosper you.

Your Lordship's true servant,  
Fr. St. Alban.

- **June 22, 1621**

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very GOOD Lord,

I humbly thank your Lordship for the grace and favour you did both to the message and messenger, in bringing Mr. Meautys to kiss his Majesty's hands, and to receive his pleasure from himself. My riches in my adversity have been, that I have had a good master, a good friend, and a good servant. I perceive by Mr. Meautys his Majesty's inclination that I should go first

to Gorhambury; and his Majesty's inclinations have ever been with me instead of directions. Wherefore I purpose, God willing, to go thither forth with, humbly thanking his Majesty, nevertheless, that he meant to have put my desire in my petition contained, into a way, if I had insisted upon it; but I will accommodate my present occasions as I may, and leave the times and seasons and ways to his Majesty's grace and choice.

Only I desire his Majesty to bear with me if I have pressed unseasonably. My letters out of the Tower were *de profundis*, and the world is a prison if I may not approach his Majesty, finding in my heart as I do. God preserve and prosper his Majesty and your Lordship.

Your Lordship's faithful and bounden servant,  
Fr. St. Alban.

• 1621

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I thank God I am come very well to Gorhambury, whereof I thought your Lordship would be glad to hear sometimes; my Lord, I wish myself by you in this stirring world, not for any love to place or business, for that is almost gone with me, but for my love to yourself, which can never cease in your Lordship's most obliged friend and true servant.

Fr. St. Alban.

**To the Marquis of Buckingham.**

My very good Lord,

I thought it my duty to take knowledge to his Majesty from your Lordship by the inclosed, that, much to my comfort, I understand his Majesty doth not forget me nor forsake me, but hath a gracious inclination to me, and taketh care of me; and to thank his Majesty for the same. I perceive by some speech that passed between your Lordship and Mr. Meautys, that some wretched detractor hath told you that it were strange I should be in debt; for that I could not but have received an hundred thousand pounds gifts since I had the Seal; which is an abominable falsehood. Such tales as these made St. James say that the tongue is a fire, and itself fired from hell, whither when these tongues shall return, they will beg a drop of cold water to cool them. I praise God for it, I never took penny for any benefice or ecclesiastical living, I never took penny for releasing anything I stopped at the seal, I never took penny for any commission or things of that nature, I never shared with any servant for any second or inferior profit. My offenses I have myself recorded; wherein I studied, as a good confessant, guiltiness and not excuse; and therefore I hope it leaves me fair to the King's grace, and will turn many mens' hearts to me.

As for my debts, I showed them your Lordship, when you saw the little house and the gallery, [Verulam Estates] besides a little wood or desert, which you saw not. If these things were not true (although the joys of the penitent be sometimes more than the joys of the innocent) I could not be as I am.

God bless you, and reward you for your constant love to me.

I rest, etc.

- **July 16, 1621**

To the King.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

I perceive by my noble and constant friend the Marquis, that your Majesty hath a gracious inclination towards me, and taketh care of me, for fifteen years the subject of your favour, now of your compassion; for which I most humbly thank your Majesty. This same *Nova Creatura* is the work of God's pardon and the King's; and since I have the inward seal of the one, I hope well of the other.

*Utar*, saith Seneca to his Master, *magnis exemplis; nec meæ fortunæ, sed tuæ*. Demosthenes was banished for bribery of the highest nature, yet was recalled with honour. Marcus Livius was condemned for exactions, yet afterwards made Consul and Censor. Seneca banished for divers corruptions; yet was afterwards restored, and an instrument of that memorable *Quinquennium Neronis*. Many more. This, if it please your Majesty, I do not say for appetite of employment, but for hope that if I do by myself as is fit, your Majesty will never suffer me to die in want or dishonour. I do now feed myself upon remembrance, how when your Majesty used to go a progress, what loving and confident charges you were wont to give me touching your business. For as Aristotle saith, young men may be happy by hope, so why should not old men, and sequestered men, by remembrance? God ever prosper and preserve your Majesty.

Your Majesty's most bounden and devoted Servant,

Fr. St. Alban.

- **September 1621**

To the Prince.

May it please your Highness,

I cannot too oft acknowledge your Highness' favour in my troubles, but acknowledgment now is but begging of new favour; yet even that is not inconvenient; for thanksgiving and petition go well together, even to God himself; my humble suit to your Highness is that I may be thought on for means to subsist; and to that purpose, that your Highness will join with my noble friend to the King. That done, I shall ever be ready, either at God's call or his Majesty's, and as happy, to my thinking, as a man can be, that must leave to serve such a King.

God preserve and prosper your Highness.

- **January 21, 1622**

To Sir Edward Conway.

Dear Good Mr. Secretary,

When you visited me, you expressed in so noble a fashion a vif sense of my misfortunes, as I cannot but express myself no less sensible of your good fortunes, and therefore do congratulate with you for your new honour now settled. The excellent Marquis brought me yesterday to kiss the King's hands. So as now methinks I am in the state of grace. Think of me and speak of me as occasion serveth. I shall want no will to deserve it, at least nobleness is never lost. I rest.

Your affectionate friend to do you service,

Fr. St. Alban.

Bed. House, this 21st of Jan. 1622.

- **February 5, 1622**

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

Excellent Lord,

I perceive this day by Mr. Comptroller that I live continually in your Lordship's remembrance, and noble purposes, concerning my fortunes, as well for the comfort of my estate as for countenancing me otherwise by his Majesty's employments and graces, for which I most humbly kiss your hands, leaving the times to your good Lordship; which, considering my age and wants, I assure myself your Lordship will the sooner take into your care. And for my house at Gorhambury, I do infinitely desire your Lordship should have it, and howsoever I may treat, I will conclude with none, till I know your Lordship's further pleasure; ever resting.

Your Lordship's most obliged and faithful servant,

Fr. St. Alban.

Bed. House, this 5th of Feb. 1622.

- **January 1623**

To the Right Honourable his very good Lord the Earl of Southampton.

My very good Lord,

It pleased your Lordship when we met last, and did not think, I dare say, that a Parliament would have been so soon, to assure me of your love and favour; and it is true that out of that which I have heard and observed of your noble nature I have a great affiance in your Lordship. I would be glad to receive my writ this Parliament, that since the root of my dignity is saved to me it might also bear fruit and that I may not die in dishonour. But it is far from me to desire this except it may

be with the love and consent of the Lords: if their Lordships shall vouchsafe to think me worthy of their company or fit to do them service, or to have suffered sufficiently, whereby I may now be after three years a subject of their grace as I was before a subject of their justice.

In this matter I hold your Lordship's favour so essential as if God shall put it into your heart to give me your favour and furtherance, I will apply my industry and other friends to cooperate with your Lordship. Otherwise I shall give over to think of it; and yet ever rest,

Your Lordship's affectionate and humble servant,

Fr. St. Alban.

Last of January, 1623.

### **To the Earl of Oxford.**

My very good Lord,

Let me be an humble suitor to your Lordship for your noble favour. I would be glad to receive my writ this Parliament, that I may not die in dishonour. But by no means, except it should be with the love and consent of my Lords to readmit me, if their Lordships vouchsafe to think me worthy of their company; or if they think that which I have suffered now these three years, in loss of place, in loss of means, and in loss of liberty (for a great time), to be a sufficient expiation for my faults, whereby I may now seem in their eyes to be a fit subject of their grace, as I have been before of their justice. My good Lord, the good which the commonwealth mought reap of my suffering, is already sinned. Justice is done. An example is made for reformation. The authority of the House for judicature is established. There can be no further use of my misery; perhaps some little may be of my service; for I hope I shall be found a man humbled as a Christian, though not dejected as a worldling. I have great opinion of your Lordship's power, and great hope for many reasons of your favour; which if I may obtain, I can say no more but nobleness is ever requited in itself; and God (whose special favour in my afflictions I have manifestly found to my comfort) will I trust be my paymaster of that which cannot be requited by your Lordship's affectionate humble servant, etc.

### **• July 30, 1624**

To the King.

Most gracious and dread Sovereign,

Before I make my petition to your Majesty, I make my prayers to God above, *pectore ab imo* that if I have held anything so dear as your Majesty's service, nay your heart's ease, and your honour's, I may be repulsed with a denial. But if that hath been the principal with me, that God, who knoweth my heart, would move your Majesty's royal heart to take compassion of me and to grant my desire. I prostrate myself at your Majesty's feet; I, your ancient servant, now sixty-four

years old in age, and three years five months old in misery. I desire not from your Majesty means, nor place, nor employment, but only, after so long a time of expiation, a complete and total remission of the sentence of the Upper House, to the end that blot of ignominy may be removed from me, and from my memory with posterity; that I die not a condemned man, but may be to your Majesty, as I am to God, *nova creatura*.

Your Majesty hath pardoned the like to Sir John Bennet, between whose case and mine (not being partial to myself, but speaking out of the general opinion) there was as much difference, I will not say as between black and white, but as between black and grey, or ash-coloured. Look therefore down, dear Sovereign, upon me also in pity. I know your Majesty's heart is inscrutable for goodness; and my Lord of Buckingham was wont to tell me you were the best-natured man in the world; and it is God's property, that those he hath loved, he loveth to the end. Let your Majesty's grace, in this my desire, stream down upon me, and let it be out of the fountain and spring-head, and *ex mero motu*, that, living or dying, the print of the goodness of King James may be in my heart, and his praises in my mouth.

This my most humble request granted, may make me live a year or two happily; and denied, will kill me quickly. But yet the last thing that will die in me will be the heart and affection of,

Your Majesty's most humble, and true devoted servant,  
Fr. St. Alban.

- **November 1625**

To the Duke of Buckingham.

Excellent Lord,

I could not but signify unto your Grace my rejoicing that God hath sent your Grace a son and heir, and that you are fortunate as well in your house as in the state of the kingdom. These blessings come from God, as I do not doubt but your Grace doth with all thankfulness acknowledge, vowing to him your service. Myself, I praise his divine Majesty, have gotten some step into health. My wants are great; but yet I want not a desire to do your Grace service, and I marvel that your Grace should think to pull down the monarchy of Spain without my good help. Your Grace will give me leave to be merry, however the world goeth with me. I ever rest,

Your Grace's most faithful and obliged servant, etc.  
I wish your Grace a good new year.

**To Sir Humphrey May, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.**

Good Mr. Chancellor,

I did wonder what was become of you, and was very glad to hear you were come to Court; which methinks, as the times go, should miss you as well as I.

I send you another letter, which I writ to you of an old date, to avoid repetition; and I continue my request then to you, to sound the Duke of Buckingham's good affection towards me, before you do move him in the particular petitions.

Only the present occasion doth invite me to desire that his Grace would procure me a pardon of the King of the whole sentence. My writ for Parliament I have now had twice before the time, and that without any express restraint not to use it. It is true that I shall not be able, in respect of my health, to attend in Parliament; but yet I mought make a proxy. Time hath turned envy to pity; and I have had a long cleansing week of five years' expiation and more.

Sir John Bennet hath his pardon; my Lord of Somerset hath his pardon; and, they say, shall sit in Parliament. My Lord of Suffolk Cometh to Parliament, though not to Council. I hope I deserve not to be the only outcast. God keep you. I ever rest,

Your most affectionate friend to do you service.

I wish you a good new year.

### **To the Earl of Arundel and Surrey.**

My very good Lord,

I was likely to have had the fortune of Caius Plinius the elder, who lost his life by trying an experiment about the burning of the mountain Vesuvius. For I was also desirous to try an experiment or two, touching the conservation and induration of bodies. As for the experiment itself, it succeeded excellently well; but in the journey (between London and Highgate) I was taken with such a fit of casting, as I knew not whether it were the stone, or some surfeit, or cold, or indeed a touch of them all three. But when I came to your Lordship's house, I was not able to go back, and therefore was forced to take up my lodging here, where your housekeeper is very careful and diligent about me; which I assure myself your Lordship will not only pardon towards him, but think the better of him for it. For indeed your Lordship's house was happy to me; and I kiss your noble hands for the welcome which I am sure you give me to it, etc.

I know how unfit it is for me to write to your Lordship with any other hand than mine own; but in troth my fingers are so disjointed with this fit of sickness, that I cannot steadily hold a pen.



## Part VI. Undated:

### Important Letters Written by Bacon

To the Lord of Canterbury. [Whitgift]

It may please your Grace, I have considered the objections, perused the statutes, and framed the alterations, which I send; still keeping myself within the brevity of a letter and form of a narration; not entering into a form of argument or disputation: For in my poor conceit it is somewhat against the majesty of princes' actions to make too curious and striving apologies; but rather to set them forth plainly, and so as there may appear an harmony and constancy in them, so that one part upholdeth another. And so I wish your Grace all prosperity. From my poor lodging, this, etc.

Your Grace's most dutiful,  
Pupil and Servant.

My Lord,

It is a great grief unto me, joined with marvel, that her Majesty should retain an hard conceit of my speeches in Parliament. It mought please her sacred Majesty to think what my end should be in those speeches, if it were not duty, and duty alone. I am not so simple but I know the common beaten way to please. And whereas popularity hath been objected, I muse what care I should take to please many, that taketh a course of life to deal with few. On the other side, her Majesty's grace and particular favour towards me hath been such, as I esteem no worldly thing above the comfort to enjoy it, except it be the conscience to deserve it. But if the not seconding of some particular person's opinion shall be presumption, and to differ upon the manner shall be to impeach the end, it shall teach my devotion not to exceed wishes, and those in silence. Yet notwithstanding (to speak vainly as in grief) it may be her Majesty hath discouraged as good a heart as ever looked towards her service, and as void of self-love. And so in more grief than I can well express, and much more than I can well dissemble, I leave your Lordship, being as ever,

Your Lordship's entirely devoted.

**A Letter of Expostulation to the Attorney General Sir Edward Coke.**

Mr. Attorney,

I thought best, once for all, to let you know in plainness what I find of you, and what you shall find of me. You take to yourself a liberty to disgrace and disable my law, my experience, my discretion. What it pleaseth you, I pray, think of me: I am one that knows both mine own wants and other men's; and it may be, perchance, that mine mend, and others stand at a stay. And surely I may not endure in public place to be wronged, without repelling the same to my best advantage to right myself. You are great, and therefore have the more enviers, which would be glad to have you paid at another's cost. Since the time I missed the Solicitor's place (the rather I think by your means) I cannot expect that you and I shall ever serve as Attorney and Solicitor together: but either to serve with another upon your remove, or to step into some other course; so as I am more free than ever I was from any occasion of unworthy conforming myself to you, more than general good manners or your particular good usage shall provoke. And if you had not been shortsighted in your own fortune (as I think) you might have had more use of me. But that tide is passed.

I write not this to show my friends what a brave letter I have written to Mr. Attorney; I have none of those humours. But that I have written is to a good end, that is, to the more decent carriage of my mistress' service, and to our particular better understanding one of another. This letter, if it shall be answered by you in deed, and not in word, I suppose it will not be worse for us both. Else it is but a few lines lost, which for a much smaller matter I would have adventured. So this being but to yourself, I for myself rest.

**To the Earl of Salisbury.**

It may please your Lordship,

I am not privy to myself of any such ill deserving towards your Lordship, as that I should think it an impudent thing to be suitor for your favour in a reasonable matter, your Lordship being to me as (with your good favour) you cannot cease to be, but rather it were a simple and arrogant part in me to forbear it. It is thought Mr. Attorney shall be Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. In case Mr. Solicitor rise, I would be glad now at last to be Solicitor, chiefly because I think it will increase my practice, wherein God blessing me a few years, I may amend my state, and so after fall to my studies and ease, whereof one is requisite for my body, and the other sorteth with my mind. Herein if I may find your Lordship's favour, I shall be more happy than I have been, which may make me also more wise. I have small store of means about the King, and to sue myself is not so fit.

And therefore I shall leave it to God, his Majesty, and your Lordship. For if I must still be next the door, I thank God in these transitory things I am well resolved. So beseeching your Lordship not to think this letter the less humble, because it is plain, I remain,

At your Lordship's service very humbly,

Fr. Bacon.

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**A Letter to the Earl of Salisbury, of Courtesy upon a New Year Tide.**

It may please your good Lordship,

Having no gift to present you with in any degree proportionable to my mind, I desire nevertheless to take the advantage of a ceremony to express myself to your Lordship; it being the first time I could make the like acknowledgment, when I stood out of the person of a suitor. Wherefore I most humbly pray your Lordship to think of me, that now it hath pleased you, by many effectual and great benefits, to add the assurance and comfort of your love and favour to that precedent disposition which was in me to admire your virtue and merits, I do esteem whatsoever I have or may have in this world but as trash, in comparison of having the honour and happiness to be a near and well accepted kinsman to so rare and worthy a counsellor, governor, and patriot. For having been a studious if not curious observer, as well of antiquities of virtue as late pieces, I forbear to say to your Lordship what I find and conceive; but to any other I would think to make myself believed. But not to be tedious (in that which may have the show of a compliment) I can but wish your Lordship many happy years; many more than your father had; even so many more as we may need you more. So I remain.

**To Sir George Carey in France upon sending him his writing  
*In Felicem Memoriam Elizabeth.***

My Very Good Lord,

Being asked the question by this bearer, an old servant of my brother Anthony Bacon, whether I would command him any service into France, and being at better leisure than I would, in regard of sickness, I began to remember that neither your business nor mine (though great and continual) can be upon an exact account any just occasion why so much good will as hath passed between us should be so much discontinued as it hath been. And therefore, because one must begin, I thought to provoke your remembrance of me by my letter. And thinking how to fit it with somewhat besides salutations, it came to my mind that this last summer vacation, by occasion of a factious book that endeavoured to verify *Misera Femina* (the addition of the Pope's Bull) upon Queen Elizabeth, I did write a few lines in her memorial, which I thought you would be well pleased to read, both for the argument, and because you were wont to bear affection to my pen. *Verum, ut aliud ex alio*, if it came handsomely to pass, I would be glad the President De Thou (who hath written a history, as you know, of that fame and diligence) saw it; chiefly because I know not whether it may not serve him for some use of his story; wherein I would be glad he did right to the truth, and to the memory of that Lady, as I perceive by that he hath already written he is well inclined to do. I would be glad also it were some occasion (such as absence may permit) of some acquaintance or mutual notice between us. For though he hath many ways the precedence (chiefly in worth), yet this is common to us both, that we serve our sovereigns in places of law eminent: and not ourselves only, but that our fathers did so before us; and lastly, that both of us love learning and liberal sciences, which was

ever a bond of friendship in the greatest distances of places. But of this I make no further request than your own occasions and respects (to me unknown) may further or limit; my principal purpose being to salute you, and to send you this token: whereunto I will add my very kind commendations to my Lady; and so commit you both to God's holy protection.

### To the King.

It may please Your Excellent Majesty, My principal end being to do your Majesty service, I crave leave to make at this time to your Majesty this most humble oblation of myself. I may truly say with the psalm. *Multum incola fuit anima mea*; for my life hath been conversant in things wherein I take little pleasure. Your Majesty may have heard somewhat that my father an honest man, and somewhat you may have seen of myself, though not to make any true judgment by, because I have hitherto had only *potestatem verborum* nor that neither. I was three of my young years bred with an ambassador in France, and since I have been an old truant, in the school-house of your council-chamber, though on the second form; yet longer than any that now sitteth bath been on the head form. If your Majesty find any aptness in me, or if you find any scarcity in others, whereby you may think it fit for your service to remove me to business of although I have a fair way before me for profit (and by your Majesty's grace and favour for honour and advancement), and in a course less exposed to the blasts of fortune, yet now that he is gone, *quo vivente virtutibus certissimum exitium*, I will be ready as a chessman to be wherever your Majesty's royal hand shall set me. Your Majesty will bear me witness, I have not suddenly opened myself thus far. I have looked on upon others, I see the exceptions, I see the distractions, and I fear Tacitus will be a prophet, *magis alii homines quam alii mores*. I know mine own heart, and I know not whether God that hath touched my heart with the affection may not touch your royal heart to discern it. Howsoever, I shall at least go on honestly in mine ordinary course, and supply the rest in prayers for you, remaining, etc.

### To the Lord Somerset.

It may please your good L, I am sorry the joint masque from the four Inns of Court failed; wherein I conceive there is no other ground of that event but impossibility. Nevertheless, because it falleth out that at this time Gray's Inn is well furnished of gallant young gentlemen, your L, may be pleased to know that rather than this occasion shall pass without some demonstration of affection from the Inns of Court, there are a dozen gentlemen of Gray's Inn that out of the honour which they bear to your Lordship and my Lord Chamberlain, to whom at their last masque they were so much bounden, will be ready to furnish a masque; wishing it were in their powers to perform it according to their minds.

And so for the present I humbly take my leave, resting your Ls very humbly and much bounden,

Fr. Bacon.

# Brief Glossary

<i>Adv.</i>	Advancement of Learning
<i>Aph.</i>	Aphorisms
<i>Apo.</i>	Apophthegms
<i>Civ. Conv.</i>	Short Notes for Civil Conversation
<i>Col. Good &amp; Evil</i>	Colours of Good and Evil
<i>De Aug.</i>	De Augmentis Scientiarum
<i>Epis. Dedic.</i>	Epistle Dedicatory
<i>Err.</i>	Error
<i>Essays, Epis. Dedic.</i>	Essays Or Counsels, Civil and Moral, Epistle Dedicatory
<i>Fr.</i>	French
<i>Grk.</i>	Greek
<i>Hist. Densi et Rari.</i>	Historia Densi et Rari
<i>Hist. Gr. Brit.</i>	History of Great Britain
<i>Hist. Life &amp; Death.</i>	History of Life and Deat
<i>Hist. Vent.</i>	Historia Ventorum
<i>Hist. Nat et Exp.</i>	Historia Naturalis et Experimentalis
<i>Idem.,</i>	Same edition and chapter
<i>In. Mag.</i>	Instauratio Magna
<i>Ital.</i>	Italian
<i>Life.</i>	The Life of Francis Bacon by James Spedding
<i>Lit.</i>	Literature
<i>Lit. Works.</i>	Literary Works
<i>Ltn.</i>	Latin
<i>Med. Sac.</i>	Meditationes Sacræ
<i>Nov. Org.</i>	Novum Organum
<i>Orig. Disc.</i>	Original discovery
<i>Promus.</i>	The Promus of Formularies and Elegancies
<i>Syl. Sylv.</i>	Sylva Sylvarum
<i>Temp. Par. Masc.</i>	Temporis Partus Masculus

*Tr. Gr. King. Brit.*

Of the True Greatness of the Kingdom of Britain

*Val. Term.*

Valerius Terminus

*Vitæ et Mortis-Abece. Nat.*

Historia Vitæ et Mortis, Abecedarium Naturæ

*Spedding Works.*

*The Philosophical, Literary, and Professional Works of Francis Bacon* in seven volumes, octavo, issued in England in 1857-59, under the editorship of Messrs. Spedding, Ellis, and Heath, and reprinted in the United States with the sanction and aid of Mr Spedding, in fifteen volumes, crown octavo: *The Works of Francis Bacon* by James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis, Douglas Denon Heath, published by Brown & Taggard, 1861

*Yt*

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